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THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Quarterly Review.

Πύλαι ᾅδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς.—*Matt.* xvi. 18.

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THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Quarterly Review.

JULY, MDCCCXLIII.

ART. I.—*The Quarterly Review for May*, 1843—*No. CXLIII. Art. VIII. On the Rubrics and Ritual of the Church.* London: Murray. 1843.

THE course pursued by the reviewer, in the article on which we now purpose to offer certain animadversions, is somewhat singular; for, in former numbers, a very different tone, unless we are altogether mistaken in our apprehension of the present and preceding articles, was adopted by that journal, from that which pervades the remarks on the rubrics and ritual of the Church in the number just published. Our readers will remember that some previous articles indicated a considerable degree of acquiescence, to say the least, in the peculiar views of the *Tracts for the Times*. At all events, the articles to which we refer were viewed by the public as friendly to those publications. They were so viewed by friends and by foes—by those who advocated the principles of the *Tracts*, as well as by those who opposed them. Indeed, there could be no mistake on the subject. The *Quarterly Review* was claimed by the writers as a powerful ally, while all sound and prudent Churchmen regretted that the countenance of that periodical should be given to publications which, though they were ably written, contained no small portion of error.

One circumstance strikes us as very remarkable in this matter. In all former articles no term was used, in speaking of the writers of the *Tracts*, which could be considered as offensive, or which was adopted by the acknowledged opponents of those publications; but in the article now under review a decided change in this respect is evident, and the term or desig-

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nation *Tractarian* is uniformly adopted. We rather object to the use of names, though in some cases the term has been used in this journal; but our surprise was unbounded to find it adopted by the *Quarterly Review.*

Our readers will remember, that we have offered a uniform and steady resistance to the *Tracts for the Times,* on those points respecting which we have considered them to be in error. Our opposition has never been marked with violence, but it has been characterized by firmness. We, therefore, in common with all who love the formularies of the Church, rejoice to find that the *Quarterly Review* has changed its course; but, at the same time, we cannot acquit that journal of inconsistency. *Either its former or its present views are erroneous.* If its present views be correct, it follows that there must have been inconsistency heretofore. Nor can we get rid of the uncomfortable reflection, that the *Quarterly* reviewer is anxious to shape his course according to the times. We know well, that certain articles in that journal, during the last few years, did more to advance the progress of the opinions advocated in the *Tracts,* than any direct defences from their acknowledged advocates. If, therefore, the reviewer imagines, as appears to be the case from the tone of the article, that the peculiar views of the *Tracts* are mischievous, he himself should remember, that he has something to answer for, since no one can doubt that his former articles tended to promote the circulation of those publications. This circumstance must deprive the reviewer of the merit, which otherwise would have been his due, for the opposition which he is now directing against his former friends and allies. The public, indeed, will scarcely fail to remark, that the tide is now turned in a different direction. This circumstance is sufficient to account for the change of tone in the *Quarterly Review.* We rejoice, as we have said, in the change; but we cannot shut our eyes to the inconsistency which has marked the course of our contemporary.

Having made these observations on the evident change in the *Quarterly,* we now proceed to consider certain points in the article to which we have already referred. We aver our belief, then, that, in some of his statements, the reviewer, though opposed to the *Tracts,* is decidedly in error. Of course our mere assertion will not be received without proof. We intend, therefore, to submit to our readers the statements against which our objections are directed; and we shall quote certain extracts, in the order in which they stand in the article, so that the points may be distinctly seen and understood.

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In our opinion there is some little discrepancy between the statement at page 233, and that at page 238, respecting schism. In the former page the reviewer expresses his apprehension of "*the danger of a serious and mischievous schism;*" but in the latter he says, "*however a few unreflecting or over-imaginative persons may persist in some foolish singularities, either of doctrine or ceremony, there is no longer (if ever there was) any danger of extensive apostasy or serious schism.*" We enter not into the question, whether there be or be not any danger of an extensive schism; for our object in making the quotations was simply to point out the inconsistency of the two. The reader will perceive that the assertion of the former is flatly contradicted by the latter. This circumstance, trivial as it may appear to some persons, is, we think, calculated to shake the confidence of the public in the reviewer, if not materially to weaken the arguments which he has put forth in his lengthened article. We leave the discrepancy without further comment, feeling that we have performed a duty in pointing it out.

We proceed to notice the reviewer's statement respecting the mode of interpreting the rubrics and canons, and the authority by which doubtful matters are to be settled. He remarks—

"Before we arrive at these details, there is a grave preliminary question to be disposed of. By what law, and before what tribunal, are we to try the cause? The strict rubricians will say, the canons and the rubric are the law, and Convocation should be the tribunal. Now we will readily concede the first of these propositions—the second we must question. We admit the articles, canons, and rubric are the law, established and sanctioned by the supreme power in Church and State; but not all, at this day, of the same practical authority. We must observe that these three codes, as we may call them, are specially adapted to the three great branches of Church concerns—the *articles* are doctrinal, the *canons* disciplinal, and the *rubrics* ritual; but rites, and, above all, discipline, are liable to change and derangement from the lapse of time" (p. 239).

The conclusion at which the reviewer arrives is, that the rubrics and canons are to be interpreted by custom—

"Which practice and usages ought, in our opinion, like precedents in the courts of law, to be admitted to explain and determine whatever may be obscure or conflicting in the literal expressions" (pp. 239, 240).

It is true that the law of the land is interpreted, in all points where obscurity exists, by usage and custom; but we cannot conceive how this principle can be applied to some of the rubrics adduced by the reviewer. In all cases, in which the law of the land is clear and express, the strict letter is followed; but the

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writer of the article in question would apply the principle, which is applied to the common or unwritten law, and to doubtful points in the *Lex Scripta*, to those rubrics of the Church, respecting the meaning of which there can be no difference of opinion; and this strange method is adopted merely because irregularities have arisen in the practice of the clergy. Why the principle should be applied to the rubrics, which are clear and obvious, we cannot imagine; and we are surprised that the *Quarterly Review* should countenance such a latitudinarian sentiment. Should such a principle be generally admitted (but we are thankful to add, that the notion is not general), any changes, even such as would tend to the subversion of the Church—might be introduced and defended. The sentiment is so unlike the views which have usually been put forth in the *Quarterly Review*, that we are at a loss to account for the change. True it is, that, on many topics, that publication has adopted a principle of expediency; but we never imagined that, in such solemn matters as those discussed in the article before us, so latitudinarian a principle of interpretation would have been admitted.

The reviewer, however, feels the difficulty of his position. He perceives that an authority to settle disputed points should exist somewhere. The bishops, in their collective capacity, have it not, as the writer seems to allow; the Parliament has no concern in the matter, for that would be to place the Church in subjection to the State; neither is any plan proposed in the article under review. Further, it is admitted that the Convocation is the proper authority in such cases; yet the writer deprecates the meeting of that assembly. He admits that the attention of enquiring persons is naturally directed to that body: still hesatisfies himself, that the present is the wiser course. He prefers the present uncertainty to any measures which might originate in Convocation. And why does he arrive at such a conclusion? Simply because he chooses to assert, that the members would employ their time in strife and discord, rather than in consulting the good of the Church. Thus the writer remarks:—

"Instead of an occasional crisis, which produces temporary regret at the absence of the Convocation, we should inevitably have, if Convocation were to be restored to the actual exercise of its theoretic powers, a constant agitation in the Church—a never-intermitting fever of feud and faction, more intense, more uncontrollable, and more passionate than that which Parliamentary elections create in the political world; and a development, we fear, of individual vanity, paradox,

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and ambition, which could not fail to multiply sects, schisms, and contentions, and, within no long period, to scatter the Church and religion itself to the winds—not of heaven! We need not, for our present purpose, enter into any details on this subject" (p. 241).

The reviewer expresses his conviction, that his views will be unpalatable to many, "*especially to the clergy.*" He is aware that the course which he has adopted is a doubtful one. We think, too, that we shall be able to show that his views are unsound and dangerous.

It will be seen, from the above extract, that the writer supposes that the clergy in Convocation would spend their time in quarrelling with one another. We ask the writer on what ground his conclusion is formed? He will probably reply, that for some years prior to the period when Convocation ceased to act, there were frequent collisions between the two houses, and frequent squabbles among the members of the lower. All this we admit; but the circumstances of the times must be considered before we can arrive at a sound conclusion on the matter. The confusions which existed arose entirely from political feelings. Whether the opinion were well or ill founded is now beside the question; but that there was a prevalent feeling that the Church was in danger cannot be disputed. This notion arose out of the changes which occurred at the Revolution. The bishops were generally well inclined to the Government; but many of the clergy were apprehensive of danger to the Church from the principles introduced by the Revolution. This is the key to the proceedings of that period; and with the feelings which were so common it was not possible for the bishops and clergy to act together. But no such causes of dispute exist at present. It is a libel on the clergy to suppose that they cannot meet except to quarrel. Facts, too, are against the reviewer's theory. We have shown that no example can be drawn from the period subsequent to the Revolution; yet the writer evidently alludes to *that* only, passing by those important seasons in our history when the gravest questions were discussed and settled. Look at the year 1661, when the Book of Common Prayer was revised! Look again at the year 1603, when our present canons were arranged! Did the clergy quarrel on these occasions? No; because there was no cause for strife, as was the case subsequent to 1688. Had this writer's principles always been acted on, the Prayer Book would not have existed, nor would the canons have been put forth. As to the assertion that the election of proctors would be attended with greater evils than the election of members of Parliament, we must say that it is most foolish and absurd. How is it possible that danger could arise?

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In the first place, the *ex-officio* members would constitute a very important part of the lower house; while the proctors for the parochial clergy would necessarily be the most deserving of the body. What analogy there can be between an election of a proctor and that of a representative, we cannot pretend to have discovered. Incumbents only would be empowered to vote; and surely they would quietly exercise that important duty. Assuredly the reviewer has no just ground for forming a different conclusion. It appears to us quite ridiculous to imagine, that the possession of a vote for a proctor by one man in a parish, and that man the incumbent, could lead to such consequences as sometimes take place in the election of members of Parliament.

Now, so far from apprehending danger from the meeting of Convocation, we clearly see danger from the want of such meetings. We would not advocate the cause of Convocation, so far as to wish the members to meet annually with the Parliament: we think that occasional meetings would be sufficient. But we are so apprehensive of Parliamentary interference, that we should most gladly consent to a proposal for allowing the bishops to act, in their collective capacity, in the name of, and for, the Convocation. If the Convocation were to assemble, we feel convinced that the lower house would be quite ready to yield certain powers to the bishops. To accomplish this end would be most desirable, if nothing more were attempted; and we think that some such measure would be carried.

In our opinion, therefore, the reviewer is guilty of a libel on the clergy, by insinuating that they could not assemble in Convocation without strife and contention; and we have proved that the peculiar circumstances of the country subsequent to 1688 afford no ground for any such conclusion.

The reviewer admits the necessity of uniformity in our various dioceses, though he does not tell us how it is to be effected. He seems, however, to intimate that this desirable end is to be attained by an agreement among the bishops, the archbishop taking the lead. Whatever is decided for one diocese should, he thinks, be extended to the whole. We too are of the same opinion; but no agreement among the bishops could effect this desirable end. It could be accomplished in one way alone—namely, by Convocation. The unseemliness of different practices in different dioceses is thus described:—

"It is, for example, not seemly—if the matter be at all worthy of episcopal interference, as we think it certainly is—that a preacher should be enjoined to wear a white gown at one end of London-bridge, and a black one on the other, as it must be the case till the Bishop of Winchester shall have adopted the Bishop of London's views; or, which

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we rather hope, the Bishop of London may reconsider the case, and revert to what has been, we think we can show, the undeviating practice of parish churches, at least, since the Reformation" (p. 243).

In the first place, we consider this passage as disrespectful to the Bishop of London. What has he done? He merely suggested that the surplice should be adopted at morning service. For the sake of argument, we may admit that the question is doubtful; but, in all such cases, the Church makes the decision of the diocesan of equal authority with the rubrics. The bishop did not *enjoin*, as the reviewer here imagines—he merely *suggested*. Had he enjoined the use of the surplice, his injunction must have been obeyed. For this reviewer, then, or any other person, to take upon himself to recommend the bishop to retrace his steps, is, in our opinion, disrespectful to his lordship.

But, secondly, we deny the writer's assertion respecting the use of the gown. He says he could prove its use from the time of the Reformation. This position we deny; but the proofs on the subject we shall state presently, when we quote the reviewer's remarks respecting the prayer for the Church militant; for the two questions are so united, that they cannot be separated. Leaving the point, therefore, for the present, we proceed to notice some other statements, which, in our judgment, are novel and erroneous.

Alluding to the settlement of the Anglican liturgy at the Reformation, the writer says, in a note—"*Even to this hour the ancient mass and the reformed communion differ very little in their liturgical forms.*" This is a singular, and, we think, a dangerous statement, inasmuch as it is calculated to encourage the enemies of the Church to repeat the often-made and as often-confuted assertion, that there is very little difference between the communion service and the mass-book. But the statement is not true, as a comparison of the two books will show. We regret, therefore, that a statement, which we must consider as unguarded, should have been put forth by the *Quarterly Review*.

It is not our intention to discuss at length the question of the daily service. The reviewer imagines, though the rubric is express on the subject, that the Reformers did not intend the daily use of the Common Prayer. This opinion is grounded on the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, and certain expressions in the canons which enjoin the observance of *holy-days*, and the use of the *litany* on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*. Because the *daily service* is not enjoined in the canons, the reviewer infers that it was not intended to be used. This is a singular method of reasoning, truly. The reviewer attempts to meet the objections derived from the fact, that the rubric has provided for the daily

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service; and were there no historical evidence on the subject, there might be some colour in his reasoning. But, unfortunately for his theory, facts are against it; and facts are stubborn things. We are not now dealing with the question respecting the revival or non-revival of the daily service, we are merely disproving the reviewer's theory; and this we are enabled to do by *facts*. It is a fact, which admits of ready proof, that the daily service was practised generally long after the Reformation. Evidence may be found on the subject in Foxe, in Strype, and in many works of the time of Elizabeth and James—especially in works of biography, both of public and private individuals, in which the *fact* is mentioned, and mentioned too in such a manner as to leave no doubt on the subject. Even at the period of the Revolution, Bishop Burnett suggested to the Prince of Orange, after he had taken up his residence at St. James's, and before the crown was tendered to his highness, that he should attend the *daily morning prayers*, at least, by way of example, and in order to produce a favourable impression upon the people. This circumstance shows that the practice was common in London at that time. During the Plague, in 1655, and after the great fire in 1666, the evidence, as far as London is concerned, of daily service being performed, is most conclusive. At the Restoration the daily service was revived; and previous to the civil wars the practice was well nigh general. As late as the time of Queen Anne, Paterson, in his "Pietas Londinensis," has given a list of many churches in which the daily service was used; in short, the theory of the reviewer is completely overturned by facts.*

The next question is one of far greater importance. The reviewer wished to disprove the Bishop of London's assertion respecting the introduction of gowns; and, to support his views, he is compelled to resort to another theory, namely, that the communion service was not intended to be used with the daily prayers, but that it was altogether a distinct and separate form. This position, as we shall presently show, is equally untenable with the preceding. He states that—

"The Sunday altar service, when there is no communion, is not by any rubric enjoined, and was not, in fact, designed to form any part of the morning service, to which it has been in modern times appended. There were four services established in the Reformed Church: morn-

* In the time of Queen Anne, when Paterson wrote, it was the custom, in some churches in London, to commence the daily morning prayers at six o'clock in the summer, and at seven o'clock during the winter season. But on *Sundays* and *holy-days* the service commenced at *ten* o'clock.

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ing and evening service, in theory, at least, every day; on Wednesdays and Fridays, the litany; on ordinary Sundays and holy-days, an altar service; and on communion days the full communion service. The distribution and hours of these services were, as far as we know, as follows:—the morning and evening service were the first and last works of the day; on Wednesdays and Fridays the litany was said at any time after matins, and on Sundays at any time before the noon or altar service; then on Sundays and holy-days came, after the litany, and generally, but not by rubric, necessarily at the same time, the communion."

Again—

"There is no rubric, and no other reason than the personal convenience of the minister and the congregation, why matins, and the litany, and the altar service—each of which, both in matter and form, is perfectly distinct—should be on the Sunday mornings joined altogether, and executed in immediate succession; the authors of the rubrics meant—the rubrics, at least, indicate that meaning—that they should occur at intervals."

Again, endeavouring to prove their distinctness from the alleged tautology, he says—

"The sovereign is prayed for at least four, and might be five, different times, whenever the united service is performed—first, in the morning prayer; then in the litany; then in the collect of the communion service; then in the prayer for the Church militant; and, finally, a fifth time, if the canon were to be strictly complied with, in the bidding prayer from the pulpit."

Again, alluding to the prayer for the Church militant—

"The framers of the rubric, which seems to direct its use 'when there is no communion,' could hardly have intended that it should be used in the same service, and by the same congregation, that had, half an hour before, made the same requests in the general litany" (pp. 255-8).

The reviewer allows, that if the rubric were express, it ought not to be departed from on the ground that the same petitions had been used in the litany. But he contends that the matter is left undecided. He admits that the general rubric at the end of the service is positive—"that when there is no communion, the Church militant prayer should still be read." He adds, however, "but there is a special rubric, which seems to imply the contrary: 'Then (after sermon) shall the priest return to the Lord's table.'" "And when there is a communion, the priest shall then place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient. After which done, the priest shall say," &c.

He remarks upon this—

"It seems, then, that *after* the priest has arranged the bread and wine for the communion, he is to say the Church militant prayer: is

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not that very like saying, that when there is not to be a communion this prayer is not to be said? Here, then, are two rubrics at variance at least, if not contradictory; and the clergy, in their doubt, and choice of difficulties, decided, we think wisely, to adopt the interpretation which best accorded with the *rationale* of the service, and was most convenient and seeming in practice" (p. 258).

Respecting the reasons which induced the clergy to give up the use of the prayer for the Church militant, the reviewer is altogether mistaken. None of those, we are convinced, who do not use the prayer, think of justifying themselves on the authority of the rubric. On the contrary, the clergy admit that the omission is not authorized by the rubric; and it is only now, when men are looking about for arguments to justify the irregularities which custom has established, that the attempt at such a line of justification has been made. The reviewer's principle respecting the two rubrics would make sad havoc with the services of the Church, if generally applied. The argument is this, *that as the rubric prescribes the use of the prayer for the Church militant after the bread and wine are arranged, it is not to be used at other times, or when there is no communion!* This is a most extraordinary argument truly. The reviewer affects to see a *variance*, if not a *contradiction*, between the two; whereas there is nothing of the sort. It is scarcely probable that the reviewer should have been the first man to discover the *variance*, if it had existed; yet sure we are that they were never considered to be at variance before. It is a strange mode of arguing to allege, that the express rubric, appointing the use of the prayer when there is no communion, is nullified by another, which enjoins it when the communion is celebrated! The one rubric appoints the use of the prayer at the celebration of the communion—the other enjoins it at all times. In this there is no contradiction; and that man must be sorely at a loss for arguments who can resort to such a course to prop up a new theory. Whatever may continue to be the practice with respect to the prayer, we are quite sure that very few, whether of those who comply with, or of those who violate the rubric, will adopt the argument of the reviewer, if indeed so strange an assertion can be dignified with the name of argument.

Our readers will perceive that the reviewer wishes to establish the position, that the prayer for the Church militant was not intended to be used after the sermon on ordinary occasions. Various reasons or statements are adduced. But if the main position adopted by the reviewer be sound—the position which we are about to controvert, namely, that the services ought not to be joined together, but that the sermon should invariably follow the morning prayers—he has no need even to attempt to show

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that the rubric does not require the use of the prayer after sermon, since, according to his scheme, the communion service ought never to be read with the daily prayers, and consequently it could never interfere with the sermon.

Were the reviewer able to establish his position respecting the division of the services, he could not even then support his assertion, that the surplice was never used for preaching, unless he could prove what we have just hinted at, namely, that the sermon never followed the communion service. We cannot suppose that the Reformers did not read the prayer in the surplice. It is indeed admitted, that it could not otherwise be read. Nor can we suppose that the Reformers omitted the prayer. The theory of separate services, however, is adopted by the reviewer for the purpose of supporting his notion, that from the Reformation the clergy did not preach in the surplice. Thus he elsewhere remarks, after stating that he shall not go into the controversy respecting gowns:—

"We need not go beyond the broad fact, that, ever since the Church of England has been a Reformed Church, there is every reason to believe her ministers have performed her sacred offices in a surplice, and her preachers have (with exceptions that only prove the general rule) preached in black gowns" (p. 261).

After some remarks, to show that the gown was the ordinary dress of the clergy, and that preaching was to be performed in the ordinary dress, the reviewer sums up this question as follows:—

"Thus, then, it appears to us, that the *black and white gown* controversy is, or ought to be, at an end; and that it is as clear as any rubrical question that ever was mooted, that the use of the surplice in the pulpit (except in colleges and cathedrals) is wholly unsanctioned, and, as we think, forbidden by ecclesiastical authority, and is an innovation on the practice of the Church, and contrary to the true reason and distinction on which the varieties of clerical dress were instituted. If, therefore, ministers think it their duty to return, on ordinary occasions, to the altar after the sermon, they must needs take the slight trouble of resuming the surplice; for there seems little reason to doubt that to preach in the surplice is as uncanonical and unreasonable, as it is unusual" (p. 264).

Now it is clear that the reviewer is fully aware that his position cannot be maintained, unless the theory respecting the division of services be adopted. He sees clearly that, if the prayer is to be read after sermon, it must be read in the surplice; and this circumstance would militate against his assertion, that the clergy have always preached in black gowns. Hence his anxious desire and great labour to induce the belief, that the services were never intended to be used together. It follows,

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as a consequence not to be got rid of by sophistry, that if the communion service was used with the daily prayers, the sermon must originally have been delivered in the surplice, inasmuch as the rubric is express respecting the prayer, which could not be read in a black gown. To get rid of this difficulty, the theory of separate services has been adopted by the reviewer.

But, like many other favourite theories, it will not bear the test of examination. Were it not possible to bring facts to bear upon our argument, we should still consider the question as settled. But, unfortunately for the reviewer, his theory is overturned by facts. A few words will settle the question.

We assert, then, and we make the assertion without any fear of confutation, that not only were the services not divided from the Reformation, but that no division was intended. The facts of the case are easily ascertained; nor can we comprehend how they were lost sight of by the reviewer. Not a few persons, who wish to revise and remodel our services, make the assertion; and the assertion is taken for granted by many who are by no means inclined to innovations. But the services never were separated. From the Reformation the communion service succeeded the daily prayers, as is still the custom. That some clergymen wished to separate them, we do not deny; but as early as 1571, Grindal checked the practice in the province of York. The reviewer alludes to his injunction, but does not quote it; we therefore submit it to the notice of our readers. "The minister not to pause or stay between the morning prayer, litany, and communion, but to say the morning prayer litany, and communion, or the service appointed to be said (when there was no communion) together, without any intermission." Alluding to this injunction, the reviewer remarks, "How far this extended, or how long it lasted, we know not." This is a very extraordinary sentence. Does the reviewer mean to say, that subsequent to the year 1571, when this injunction was issued, the services were separated? If such be his meaning, we can only say, as the reader will presently see, that it is confuted by facts. Before, however, we enter upon these facts, we wish to explain that state of things which called forth Grindal's injunction. Some short interval elapsed, in the early period of the Reformation, on communion days, between the conclusion of the morning service and the administration of the Eucharist; but still not such an interval as to make them two distinct services. Thus it is remarked by an eminent ritualist—

"It is very probable, though the assembly did not dissolve, yet was there such a ceasing and rest from sacred employments as might give the curate time, in that interval, both to receive the names of such as

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intended to communicate, as also to admonish, and, in case of obstinacy, to repel scandalous persons from that ordinance."*

This interval may have been longer or shorter in different places, and irregularity was the consequence. In the province of York, too, this irregularity prevailed more than in other places, until Grindal checked it by his injunction. But from this period there could have been no separation of the services. The facts, to which we have referred as decisive of the question, are these. From the time of the Reformation, it has been the practice to set apart *days of fasting and thanksgiving.* At present it is the custom merely to print the particular prayers, which are to be inserted in the ordinary service; but down to a comparatively recent period, the whole service for the particular day, including the various portions of the daily prayers with the additions peculiar to the occasion, was printed by the royal printer, and copies forwarded to all the parishes in the kingdom. Numbers of these forms are still in existence. They may be examined, and they ought to be examined, by all persons who wish to come to a right conclusion on this subject; for they are decisive of the question at issue. They prove the practice of the Church, from the earliest period, to have been just what it is at present. Each form contains the daily prayers, the litany, and the communion service, in one continuous order, the last being connected with the two former by two or three sentences from the offertory. In these forms everything is printed, even the lessons and the psalms; so that in reading the service the officiating minister had no need to turn to the Book of Common Prayer. The directions, too, are such as to show that the practice always was to read the whole of the services in continuation on the mornings of *Sundays* and *holy-days.* Here, then, we have the most decisive evidence on the subject—such as cannot be controverted; and it quite demolishes the theory of the reviewer.

The notion, that the services were intended to be used at separate times, appears to have originated in the fact, that they were framed at different periods. For example, after the accession of Edward VI. the first thing which the Reformers did was tore form the *mass,* inasmuch as, in consequence of the doctrine of transubstantiation, this was the most corrupt of the offices then in use. The communion service, therefore, was prepared and printed, and used sometime before the liturgy was completed. This fact accounts for some apparent *tautologies,* as they are termed by the reviewer; and also for the opinion, that the services were intended to be used at separate times.

* Le Strange's "Alliance of Divine Offices" (p. 163).

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We might also remark, that if the reviewer's theory had been correct, the question would not have been lost sight of at the last review, when almost every point was discussed in Convocation, or at the Hampton Court Conference. But on this point more need not be added, as the facts which we have specified settle the question.

One other point remains to be noticed. The reviewer quotes the following passage from the paper "*concerning the service of the Church :*"—

"And forasmuch as nothing can be so plainly set forth, but doubts may arise in the use and practice of the same, to appease all such diversity (if any arise), and for the resolution of all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in this book, the parties that so doubt, or diverse take anything, shall always resort to the bishop of the diocese, who, by his discretion, shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order may not be contrary to anything contained in this book; and if the bishop of the diocese be in doubt, he may send for the resolution thereof to the archbishop."

He adds, respecting the Bishop of London—

"We believe that if that learned prelate had discussed the topics with some of his brethren, his decisions might not have appeared in their present shape. Can we doubt that if the *Archbishop* had been, as the rubric suggests, consulted, he would have been indisposed to show so much countenance, as the Bishop of London has done, to some of these novelties or revivals of obsolete usages? .....But the Bishop of London's opinions having been promulgated, and being, as far as we can discover, by no means in accordance with the opinions of some other, perhaps we might say *any* other, of the prelates—certainly not satisfactory to a great body of the clergy—it seems absolutely necessary that something should be done to restore confidence and uniformity to the performance of divine service throughout the country" (p. 289).

This passage is most disrespectful to the Bishop of London, whom, as his diocesan, the reviewer ought to reverence and to obey in all things lawful. It insinuates a dereliction of duty on the part of the Bishop, in not consulting with the Archbishop fcbore he delivered his charge. This is a new and a very strange odetrine—a doctrine not recognized by the Church, and one which is rejected by the very rubric which the reviewer quotes in support of his position. What does the rubric suggest? Merely that the Archbishop *may*, not *must*, be consulted, if the Bishop himself has any doubt in his own mind—not otherwise. The Archbishop cannot interfere except in such cases. But the Bishop of London was not in any doubt; consequently he did not fail in his duty in not consulting the Archbishop. Nor can his Grace concur with the reviewer; on the contrary, he would never interfere with any bishop, unless compelled to do

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so by a sense of duty. In the case alluded to by the reviewer, the archbishop has no authority to interfere. He cannot dictate to any bishop an interpretation of a rubric. All he can do is to decide when the bishop seeks his counsel.

We would further remind the reviewer, that in all matters of doubt the bishop is himself a *rubric*, his suggestions and decisions being so regarded by the Church. Even on the reviewer's own ground, therefore, that of the doubtfulness of the point in dispute, the bishop has full authority to decide. Nor can any other power interfere in such matters, except the Convocation.

The reviewer, however, will not consent to the revival of Convocation: yet in no other way, except in a synod, can many doubtful matters be set at rest. Still he argues that something must be done; and he argues it on grounds most disrespectful and disparaging to the Bishop of London, namely, that the course pursued by his lordship renders it necessary that matters should not be permitted to remain in their present state. According to this writer's view, the question must be settled by an agreement among the bishops. But how would any such agreement settle disputed points? In each diocese the authority of the individual bishop alone would avail; and how could this be rendered greater, merely because other bishops recommended the same things? Each bishop would even then do just what the Bishop of London has done. But supposing all the bench to agree, how long would the agreement subsist? No bishop is bound by the acts of his predecessor; and the decisions of the whole bench would have no authority, as such, for even then each single bishop would enforce his own injunctions, not by the power of his brethren, but by his own. The plan of the reviewer, therefore, would be worse than useless. In their collective capacity the bishops can do nothing. Here, then, is an argument for Convocation, if they were to do nothing more than delegate to the bishops certain powers, which at present they do not possess.

We have now concluded our animadversions on the article in the *Quarterly Review*; but still we cannot dismiss the subject without an expression of our regret at the course pursued by the reviewer—a course both disrespectful to the Bishop of London, and calculated to do much mischief in the country. The article makes every clergyman the judge in certain cases of doubt, and not the bishop, though the Church makes the latter the ultimate resort. Is this calculated to promote the peace of the Church of England? Sure we are that all the disaffected clergy, as well as all those whose ignorance of such matters renders them incapable of forming a judgment (of whom the number is not inconsiderable), will shelter themselves from the

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charge of irregularity under this article in the *Quarterly Review*. Numbers, who have no other feeling in common with the *Quarterly Review*, will quote it, and applaud it as a demonstration against the *Tracts for the Times*, and as a cloak for their own irregular and uncanonical conduct.

Before we close we are anxious to mention a fact, which, in our opinion, as bearing on the Bishop of London's charge, is of no small importance. We can state, on authority which cannot be questioned, that the Bishop of Calcutta has expressed his most decided approval of the charge. He also considers it as a most powerful defence of the truth against the erroneous views of the *Tracts*. Still further, the Bishop of Calcutta conceives that the clamours which have been raised against it are unreasonable and unjust, and that the Bishop of London was perfectly right in insisting on those rubrical observances against which so many voices are raised. Such is the view of the Bishop of Calcutta, and, in our opinion, it far more than counterbalances the objections, which have been raised in England. But the strongest proof of approval, on the part of that right reverend prelate remains to be told. It is this. The Bishop of Calcutta has actually reprinted the Bishop of London's charge, for circulation among the clergy of his diocese. This fact must be most gratifying to the Bishop of London: and, moreover, it is calculated to set right the minds of many, who have been led astray by the calumnies, which have been so liberally heaped upon his lordship.

The obvious inferences from this fact are these. The Bishop of Calcutta is quite as capable of forming a judgment on the questions discussed in the charge as persons in England, and his views are quite as likely to be correct. Nay, residing at so great a distance, he is far less likely to be influenced by prejudice, or led away by his feelings, than the clergy or laity at home. Besides, it cannot be even pretended that he favours the *Tracts for the Times;* for he has shown himself to be one of the ablest opponents of those publications. Bishop Wilson was one of the most distinguished ornaments of that section in the Church, by whom the Bishop of London's charge is most censured; nor will any one venture to affirm that his views have undergone change. Either, therefore, the Bishop of Calcutta is in error, or those who condemn the Bishop of London. We contend, that it is far more probable that the error should lie with the latter than with the former. If, then, the Bishop of Calcutta so far approves of the charge as actually to print it for circulation in India, we may be assured, that, in his opinion, it is opposed to the *Tracts*. The approval of such a man will undoubtedly surprise many, who, in the most unchristian man-

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ner, have poured out the vials of their wrath against the Bishop of London; but it will tend very materially towards leading the public to a right conclusion on the subject. It will open the eyes of some to the misrepresentations to which his lordship has been exposed. They will perceive, that while the advocates of the *Tracts* may be disposed to introduce novel and unauthorized usages, it is the bounden duty of all consistent Churchmen to comply with all the requirements of the Church. Our obvious course at the present moment is this: to take our stand upon the rubrics—to say, thus far are we authorized to go, and no further. This is the very course which has been pursued by the Bishop of London. That, ere long, the line adopted by that right reverend prelate—a line between the two extremes by which the Church is now so harassed—will be approved by all right-minded men, is our most decided conviction.

ART. II.—*The Christian's Day of Rest.* By the Rev. H. H. SWINNY, M.A. Cambridge: Stevenson. 1843.

2. *The Restoration of the Jews to their own Land, in connexion with their future Conversion, and the final Blessedness of our Earth.* London: Longman.

WE could scarcely name a subject more important in itself, or one which has more frequently occupied the attention of the Church, in the able dissertations which have been written concerning it, than the Sabbath, or the Lord's day. And rightly has the attention of the Church been especially directed to the first most solemn and most sacred of the institutions of God—to that institution which points to the commencement, and prepares for the consummation of the present constitution of things; which commemorates the creation, and anticipates in acts of faith the rest that remaineth for the people of God. Yet it is a subject which very few have rightly apprehended, and concerning which all the discussions would have been much simplified, and some of them wholly superseded, if men had regarded the Sabbath in its true character, with light derived *both* from its *first* institution at creation, and as it is *now restored* in the Lord's day; and by dismissing from our minds, during this investigation of its true and abiding character, such adjuncts of the Sabbath as came in, either by the fall or at the giving of the law, and which have been superseded by Christianity, like circumcision and the Mosaic ordinances.

The law and the gospel are contrasted in Scripture, as Hagar and Sarah—as the bondwoman and the free. The law, taken

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as a whole, was intended for discipline—was, in all its ordinances, a bondage and restraint upon sin not yet atoned for, and corruption not yet removed—was added because of transgression. And the Jews, by attempting to evade the conviction of sin and bondage, to which they were shut up under the law, only thereby manifested a deeper corruption, and added hypocrisy to transgression. The true and honest convictions which the law was calculated to produce are those which are expressed by St. Paul (Rom vii. 13), "that sin, by the commandment, might become exceeding sinful." And as from this conviction there was no honest escape, and the law itself provided no remedy, the sincere Jew could only cry out in present anguish, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me?" and look forward in faith to a coming Saviour, who should both atone for the sin, and furnish strength to overcome the corruption. And there is now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus; for the righteousness of the law may be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit; and He that raised up Christ from the dead doth quicken our mortal bodies by his Spirit (Rom. viii. 1, 4, 11).

Instead of yielding to the honest convictions of the law, and being content with being shut up unto the faith in a promised Redeemer, the Pharisees stifled conscience by multiplying forms, and substituted these in place of the weightier matters of the law, and of those spiritual realities which should be the foundation of all forms, and the end to which they lead. Therefore our Lord called them whited sepulchres, and platters clean on the outside, and hypocrites; and took every opportunity, by his actions, as well as words, to show them that God regarded man more than the law, and the heart more than the demeanour. And while they were continually accusing him of breaking the law, when he disregarded those trifling punctilios with which they, by their traditions, had encumbered the Sabbath, he was continually teaching them, both by word and by deed, that "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." At a far earlier period also, while the first temple subsisted, and before the traditions alluded to in the Gospels came in, the Jews had begun the practice of substituting forms for realities in worship; and in proportion as the spirit of the reality became degenerate they increased the rigidity of the forms, till the very observances, which were most unquestionably of divine appointment, became an abomination to the Lord.

"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord. Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I

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cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear; your hands are full of blood." (Isa. i.)

And in a subsequent strain of warning and exhortation, occasion is taken both to point out the futility of the mere external observances on which the Jews prided themselves, and also to show the true character of the Sabbath, as God required it to be observed; into the spirit of which David, and some few of the more illustrious of the Old Testament saints, unquestionably entered, and which every Christian should seek to imbibe, and endeavour to make the principle of thought and action in his observance of the Lord's day.

"Cry aloud, spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins. Yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God: they ask of me the ordinances of justice; they take delight in approaching to God. Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not? Wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast ye find pleasure, and exact all your labours."

And then, concerning the right observance of the day of the Lord, it is written—

"If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy-day, and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable, and shalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words, then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord, and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." (Isa. lviii.)

Though this is indisputably the light in which the Sabbath should have been always regarded, we know that it was not so regarded by the Jews of old, nor is it so regarded by the Jews of the present day. And their example, in making the Sabbath a day of gloom and penance, has been too much followed by Christians in our observance of the Lord's day, when both the change of the dispensation and the change in the day combine to render such a mistake doubly inexcusable. The Mosaic dispensation was, in all its institutions, designed for discipline and restraint—it was the schoolmaster to bring us to Christ; and it is not inconsistent with this purpose to regard the Sabbath as of the same character, and even make the yoke heavier, to attribute the greater merit to those who underwent the burden. But Christianity implanted a new principle in man, which both

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empowers and restrains the spirit, and can therefore dispense with the external and formal restraints; and the whole genius and character of the Gospel is freedom, the glorious liberty of the sons of God; the especial characteristic of the mission of Christ being, that he brake every yoke.

The early Christians were careful to mark this, by making all their church services of a festal and joyous, as well as of a holy character; and the Lord's day was regarded by them as especially a day of rejoicing, in commemoration of the greatest act of triumph and the greatest cause for joy which had ever occurred in the history of fallen man—the resurrection of the Son of Man, and the commencement of a new epoch—the new creation. Church history informs us that the common salutation of the primitive Christians was the joyful cry, "HE IS RISEN!" And the Lord's day was regarded as ever worthy of being observed for a festal holy-day, and fasting on that day was strictly prohibited; and it was enjoined also that prayer should be made standing, on the Lord's day, in token of the resurrection. Praying standing was enacted by the council of Nice, canon 20. And Cave, in his "Primitive Christianity," writes thus:—

"After Christ's resurrection, the apostles and primitive Christians did especially assemble upon the first day of the week; and, whatever they might do at other times, the first day of the week was their more solemn time of meeting. They looked upon the Lord's day as a time to be celebrated with great expressions of joy, as being the happy memory of Christ's resurrection, and accordingly restrained whatever might savour of sorrow and sadness. Fasting on that day they prohibited with the greatest severity, accounting it utterly unlawful; and as they accounted it a joyful and good day, so they did whatever they thought might contribute to honour it. Constantine, and the elder and younger Theodosius, passed many laws to prohibit works and shows, and to hallow the day.....Their great observance of this day appears from their constant attendance upon the solemnities of public worship, from which nothing but sickness and absolute necessity did detain them.....And Ignatius says, 'Let every one keep the Lord's day festival, the resurrection day, the queen and empress of all days, in which our life was raised again, and death conquered by our Lord and Saviour.'"

There are clearly three views of the Sabbath, and three meanings attached to the word, according as we think of the Creation Sabbath, the Jewish Sabbath, or the Christian Sabbath. Yet these three holy-days have such connexion with each other, and such community of purpose, as to make the law of the first institution at creation of perpetual obligation, and applicable to the Jewish and the Christian Sabbath. But still we should distinguish that part of the institution which is obligatory through-

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out, and shall subsist for ever, from the accidental circumstances which belong rather to the dispensations than to the Sabbath itself, and so may pass away when the dispensation changes, and yet the Sabbath itself remain in its integrity and obligation; and this especially applies to the Christian, as succeeding to the Jewish Sabbath.

We, who have been emancipated by Christianity, both from the real and the factitious bondage of the Jewish Sabbath, in exchanging it for the Lord's day, are not always able to rise into the full liberty and joy of our Sabbath—partly from the influence which habit and precedent continue to exercise, and still more from our dwelling too much upon the secondary and accidental accompaniments of the day, consequent upon the fall, and commemorative of the Egyptian bondage, and not insisting enough upon its primary character, as deducible from the original institution of the Sabbath. The six days' *work* of creation, and the *rest of God* on the seventh day, teaches us the primary character of the Sabbath; but we are in the midst of a fallen creation—the children of Israel were just delivered from the bondage of Egypt; and rest *after labour*, relief from *suffering*, deliverance from *captivity*, are among the secondary ideas which we associate with the Sabbath. And both characters of the day are recognized in the Pentateuch: the creation being that referred to in Exodus—the deliverance from Egypt that referred to in Deuteronomy.

"Remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence, through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm; therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day" (Deut. v. 25).

It cannot but be acknowledged that, circumstanced as we are *since the fall*, a returning day of rest, after six days of toil, is a most merciful provision for a weary creation to be re-invigorated so as to resume its toil; and the neglect of this provision is found to bring its appropriate punishment in premature decay both of body and mind. As members of the Church, we find a day of leisure once a week, when all may meet to join in common worship and receive common instruction, to be a most important provision for the well-being of the Church, and also for her bearing witness to Christ, and carrying out the blessings of salvation to the world. And as individuals, each of whom must answer for himself before God, a day on which we are thus regularly invited to retire from the bustle and care of a world engrossed in external things, and the passing interests of a day, and to fall back upon the deep privacy of our own being, and

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in the hidden recesses of the human heart to hold spiritual communion with the God of the spirits of all flesh, and *that* concerning the things of *eternity*, is an inestimable privilege; and without it no external defences could preserve us long from being broken by the assaults and contaminated by the defilements which surround us. But all these, and the many similar blessings which we might enumerate, resulting from the setting apart of one day in seven from all secular employments, are for *our advantage*, and therefore secondary—they do not come up to the full import of a day *dedicated to God*. Most important ends *for us* they all are, but they do not fulfil the *original* purpose in the *appointment* of a Sabbath; nay, they tend rather to divert us from, than to lead us towards, the full import of that rest which is above and beyond all these—which began in the perfection of visible things, and shall be attained by the removal of all imperfection—in which not only the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are for ever at rest, but every faculty of mind and body find active and full employment in the service of God. *This* is the *sabbatismos*, the *rest* that remaineth for us; a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable, and for the honour of Him the Lord our God.

For consider what the Sabbath was at its first institution. It was a day hallowed in commemoration of a perfected creation; and that not a work of toil, but the *fiat* of the Omnipotent Word—who could as easily have commanded the whole into existence in an instant, as he said, "Let there be light, and there was light." But *time* and *order* were observed for the better comprehension of the work by *finite* minds, and that it might also foreshow future things in the new creation, for which time and order would be indispensably requisite. And consider what man was. He was the last and the most perfect work of creation—he was the image of God. And the Sabbath which Adam was commanded to hallow was the *first* day of his life—the very first day of his existence; in the fresh vigour of that perfect body and mind which he had just received from God; in the full tide of joy, and love, and praise which the godlike creature man alone could adequately return into the bosom of the Creator; though the cherubim and seraphim, and all the heavenly hosts might, *from man*, catch up and echo the strain. Such was the Sabbath at its *first* institution, and such was the way in which man was commanded to hallow it. *Worship* was Adam's *first* work; to it he devoted all the powers which God had given him.

And consider what the Christian Sabbath in itself truly and essentially is; as the Lord's day, commemorating the resurrec-

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tion of Christ, who on this day triumphed over death, and became the first-fruits of them that slept. By the fall of man the old creation had been brought under the dominion of death—had become, in this sense, legally extinct. God might justly have annihilated man, and all the work of his hands. But mercy rejoiced over judgment—the doom did not take effect; the promise of a Redeemer was given, and faith and hope held on until the appointed time. That which faith had waited for became a fact, at length, in the resurrection of Christ; death, which had been brought in by the fall of the first Adam, was abolished by the victory of the second; and as in the failure of Adam the old creation virtually ceased to be—for it was no longer that witness of God for which it was designed—so in the triumph of Christ the new creation virtually came into being, and took its eternal standing of infallibility in him the head; the turning point between the old and the new being his resurrection, and the Lord's day being the first day of man's immortality.

God the Father, in raising Christ Jesus from the dead, proclaimed the accepted sacrifice, and so constituted the risen Son the second Adam, the new and indefectible head of creation; and as it was by the eternal Spirit that our Lord was raised, and he on the seventh returning Sabbath bestowed the Holy Ghost upon the Church, we on the Lord's day commemorate the day of Pentecost as well as the passover—the first day of regeneration in the Church, as well as the first day of resurrection. And thus our mouths are opened on this day to celebrate the praises of God, who hath brought in the new creation; of the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath ascended up on high, leading captivity captive, and hath received gifts for men, yea, even for the rebellious, that the Lord God might dwell amongst them; and of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, whom the Father hath sent in the Son's name, to abide with the Church during all her trials. And thus to worship at once the Triune God, the ever-blessed and adorable Trinity, whose threefold operations came into manifestation as on this day: to worship the Father, through the Son, by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost.

These considerations suffice to show that the Christian Sabbath passes beyond the Creation Sabbath as much as spiritual things pass beyond natural things, and that it passes infinitely beyond the Jewish Sabbath, which was rather a restraint from that which was evil, than the enjoyment of that which was good. The Jewish Sabbath was not, like that of the creation, ordained for man who had not sinned; nor yet, like the Christian, for men who had been redeemed by the Son and sanctified by the Holy Ghost; but more like a merciful restraint upon men under the

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dominion of sin, who could not be trusted with the unrestrained use of their powers. This is the view which St. Paul takes of the law and of all its provisions:—

"I find that when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is in my members" (Rom. vii.)

And, on the contrary, while he denies that the Sabbath *ordained at the creation* had been ever attained by *those under the law*, St. Paul asserts on other occasions that *we do attain it*, and even pass beyond that which the creation Sabbath was at its first institution, since *it only typified* realities which we *enjoy—it* was the *shadow* of those things, the *substance* of which is reserved for us. The works were finished from the foundation of the world, and a corresponding rest had been promised; but Joshua led them not into that rest, since David spake of it as not attained even in *his day*. They all in unbelief failed of it; but we by faith attain *that rest*—that keeping of a Sabbath—which remaineth to the people of God. For we which have believed do enter into rest (Heb. iv. 3, 7, 9).

If the heart of man were right towards God, the inclinations and affections of man would correspond with the will of God, and his service would be a delight; it would not then be necessary to enforce duty by commandment, and *that* commandments increasingly rigid in proportion to the importance of the duty—our duties would have been spontaneous, and his service we should have found to be perfect freedom. In the inferior creatures we behold this harmony still, and may learn, from their several instincts, with what alacrity, and diligence, and pleasure, the duties of man would have been performed, if his heart had not been alienated from God; and with what increased delight—joy heightened by the zest of contrast—these duties will be performed when the heart is renewed after the image of Him that created us in righteousness and holiness of truth. The man after God's heart felt this when he said, "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of the Lord; my heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God." The altars of the Lord, David made his place of refuge, the centre of his affections, and his home; like as the sparrow and the swallow found a home in their nests. "O Lord God of hosts, my King and my God! blessed are they that dwell in thy house, they will still be praising thee." ....."A day in thy courts is better than a thousand."....."For the Lord God is a sun and shield; the Lord will give grace and glory." (Ps. lxxxiv.)

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And a greater than David exemplified it continually. The doing His Father's will was both a delight and like a necessity, or law of his very being. "A body hast thou prepared me; lo! I come, I delight to do thy will, yea, thy law is within my heart" (Heb. x. 5). And when his parents sought him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance, he was in the temple, and said to them, "How was it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be at my Father's house." They ought to have known that *there* was the place where *He* ought to be found. But they had not learned that he had meat to eat that they knew not of; and that, as he afterwards said to his disciples, it was his meat and drink to do his Father's will, and accomplish the purpose for which he came. Yet Him the Pharisees were continually accusing of violating the Sabbath, because he disregarded those petty punctilios in which they made its observance to consist, and broke through those bonds which they by their traditions had woven, to bind the law as an intolerable burden upon the shoulders of the people; themselves at the same time evading it, and not touching the burden with their little finger.

It is vain, as well as burdensome, to endeavour to keep the letter of commandments unless we first enter into the spirit of them, and have our own spirits brought into conformity with the principles on which the observances are made to rest. And unless we are truly imbued with the spirit of Christianity, we shall incur the peril of such a bondage to the letter, and such a failure in the reality, as we see in the Pharisees; and we may also add, as we see in the Romanists, and in some of the more rigid of the Presbyterians—in all of whom the mistake is the same, from not rightly apprehending the true spirit of the Gospel; a spirit which is the reverse of bondage—which is liberty and joy.

Christianity is a great advance upon the Mosaic law, as the law was a great advance on that which men knew before concerning the purpose and will of God. Christianity, or the new covenant, is an advance to a higher standing, as well as greater enlargement than men had attained under the old covenant, or at any former period. This standing is called a new creation, and it is said, "If any man be in Christ Jesus he is a new creature—old things are passed away; behold all things are become new." This new and higher character pervades all the Christian institutions, as compared with any preceding institutions, in order that the duties and occupations of Christianity may rank and keep pace with the elevation which man himself has attained thereby; for all must be in harmony—ordinances take their

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character from those that fill them—"the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath."

It is of the greatest importance to keep this in mind at the present time, when there is so strong a desire to revive all those institutions and forms which obtained a place in the Church during the first ages, and which men naturally assume, and justly of those that are orthodox, could only have fallen into decay by the neglect and indifference, if not the infidelity of modern times. To determine how far this assumption is correct, we need correct principle to guide us. For we cannot in all instances ascertain what was the uniform practice of the early Church; and in many of the instances where most uniformity appears, we have reason to believe that the practices did not rest upon any principle, but were mere accommodations to the prejudices or customs of those around them, whom they would not offend by any unnecessary opposition or contrast. So St. Paul ate either meat or herbs, as the case might require, and took whatever was sold in the markets, asking no questions for conscience sake; and again he also writes, "Let no man judge another in the matter of new moon, or Sabbath, or holy-days." Yet when the early Christians found that passover cakes were brought into the Church, and that superstitious observance of the Saturday and other Jewish customs were adopted, however ignorantly, they strenuously resisted these things as involving the evil principle of Judaizing, and so going back from the faith; and have left many canons upon record expressly forbidding the introduction of such things into the Church.

But, on the same grounds, we must take care not to violate unnecessarily the customs and prejudices of those *around us*, by introducing *obsolete* practices which rest on no principle, or on principle which is in any degree doubtful. We have no right to *revive* practices which have fallen into desuetude, *except upon principle;* for the first presumption is, that they had decayed and waxed old, and *therefore* have vanished away. And the principle with us should be both *clear and strong*, to warrant our offending against the established customs and natural prejudices of our age, which the revival of obsolete practices must always do. And many ancient practices were certainly *local* as well as temporary, and are therefore quite incapable of transference to another country, and are only rendered ridiculous in making the attempt.

The Jews, not believing in Christ, naturally regard the Mosaic institutions as still binding upon them, and endeavour to keep the law in the several lands whither they are scattered. And

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what is the result? A mere pretence, maintained by all sorts of equivocations—generating hypocrisy, playing fast and loose with the word of God, and eating out all honesty and all faith from man, by undermining the foundations of the commandments and promises of God. And so the scattering, the very punishment for their rejection of the Gospel, is made by them a means of increasing their hardness of heart and unbelief, instead of breaking their pride, by convincing them of their outcast and helpless condition.

The Mosaic institutions were all appointed with exact and specific reference to the people of Israel and to the land of Canaan, and could not, in the strict letter, be carried out by any other people or in any other land. The casting off of the Jews, and their scattering into distant lands, rendered it, *ipso facto*, impossible that they could keep truly any one portion, even those which seem the most trivial of the Mosaic institutions. The prediction is literally and strictly fulfilled during their dispersion, that "the children of Israel...abide...without a king, and without a priest, and without a sacrifice, and without a place of worship, and without an ephod, and without teraphim" (Hos. iii. 4). And they cannot recover these things but by returning and seeking the Lord. But for *Christians* to attempt to imitate such *local* and now *maimed* institutions is adding a species of apostasy to the absurdity, for in Christianity we have the *reality* denoted by these forms, and the literal observance of the forms *in any other country than Judea is impossible.*

The Mosaic institutions all hold together in more intimate connexion than is at first view apparent; so that the loss of *any one* ordinance invalidates, and often virtually annihilates, *all the other ordinances.* The high priesthood was set in the tribe of Aaron—there could be but one at any given time, and there was but one altar in one appointed place at which he could officiate. And the *truth* and efficiency of the whole priesthood consisted in there being a *true* high priest; and the efficacy of *their* sacrifices depended upon *his*, and especially on *that* offered by him on the day of atonement. Therefore it is that St. Paul makes so much of this point in the epistle to the Hebrews, and shows that Christ bears the same relationship towards the Church which the high priest bore towards the Jewish people. And hence we perceive that, like as the Church is dependent for all blessings on the continual mediation and ever living intercession of our High Priest in the heavens, so the priestly office among the Jews, and the consequent pardon and blessing of the people, depended entirely upon the intercession of the high priest once a year, in the most holy place at Jerusalem, on the day called,

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on this very account, *ha-jom—the day;* regarded by them as the day which decided the destiny of the nation for that year. The Jews have no high priest since their dispersion, and are consequently without a priesthood.

And again: *out of their own land* the Jews can have *no sacrifices* which it would be lawful to offer. For the flocks were regarded as unclean, and so unfit to be used in sacrifice, unless the firstlings had been offered to the Lord; implying both the possession of lands and flocks, and not the mere purchase of a victim, and also that there were true priests imparting a continual blessing. Nor were the people at liberty, even in their own land, to offer sacrifice in *any place* which they might *choose*, but could only sacrifice *in that place* which *God had appointed;* as the scattered tribes do, in fact, acknowledge, in looking towards Jerusalem when worshipping. Thus, during their dispersion, the Jews have not priests, or sacrifices, or altar, through which they can draw near to God. And not having lands or flocks, and living in the midst of countries and peoples which the law would pronounce defiled, and receiving everything they have through polluted channels, they ought to regard the very food they eat and the very clothes they wear as remembrancers of their sinful and outcast condition, and as so many provocatives to repentance. But so far from this being the case, most of them pride themselves upon a supposed observance of the law, and especially would fancy themselves greatly defiled by breaking their Sabbath. This is verily like straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel.

For the *Jewish Sabbath* is especially and remarkably an appointment which could only be observed, according to the strict letter, *in the land of Israel*, and must be more or less departed from in every other country. For we all know that the Jews reckon time from evening to evening, according to the commandment (Levit. xxiii. 32), "from even unto even shall ye celebrate your Sabbath;" therefore it is not possible to keep *literally* even *the time* of the Sabbath, *save in Canaan*, and in that narrow line of countries under the *same meridian*. And the appointment was therefore evidently so connected *with the land*, that the Jews cannot observe it in their *dispersions;* and during the time that they are outcasts the *land* is said to enjoy *its Sabbaths* (Lev. xxvi. 34). If a Jew left Palestine, and travelled eastward fifteen degrees, he would be keeping his Sabbath an hour *earlier* than his countrymen who remained *at home;* while one who travelled westward would be in the same proportion *too late* in his reckoning. If these two continued their journey till they met in the opposite hemisphere, and became the antipodes of the inhabi-

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tants of Palestine, each endeavouring to keep the Sabbath during their journeys, the one would have *gained* and the other would have *lost* twelve hours, and they would *vary* in their reckoning by *a whole day;* and if they still continued their journey till they *met* in Jerusalem, having travelled *round the earth* in opposite directions, the one would have *gained* and the other *lost* twenty-four hours, and they would be *three days asunder* in their reckoning when they met. The eastern traveller would be keeping his Sabbath on the Friday—the western, his on the Sunday; while each imagined that he had been most scrupulously and meritoriously observing *the selfsame day* which was kept by his countrymen in Judea! And yet there are Christians even in England and America absurd enough to call themselves Sabbatarians, and professing to observe *literally* the Sabbath kept *by the Jews*, when it thus involves an impossibility.

But in the endeavour to carry into Christianity the literal observance of the Jewish Sabbath, the mistakes which have been made concerning the *nature* of the Sabbath, as to its original and permanent character, have been still more reprehensible than those which relate to circumstances or *time*. The Jewish Sabbath really had much of the bondage and restraint which pervaded all the law, which was added because of transgression, until Christ, the promised seed, should come; and to this proper restraint, the Jews, by their traditions, had added greater strictness. But this was not the *original*, nor is it the *permanent* character of the Sabbath; and least of all does gloom and austerity belong to the Lord's day—that day which commemorates victory over death, escape from thraldom, and the commencement of the new life and glorious liberty of the children of God. With us *holy-day* is become synonymous with a day of *pleasure* and *recreation*. And truly it ought to be so, and our Sabbaths should be such; yet not the riot which *the world* calls pleasure, nor the recreation which drives God from our thoughts, but such enjoyments as spring from knowledge of God, and love of him, and desire to know more, that we may love the more. Think of Adam's joy on his first Sabbath—the first day of his being, when he looked upon the perfected creation, and in every part of it beheld some wondrous monument of the wisdom and goodness of God, from whose hand it had just issued, and who had pronounced the whole to be very good. And think of it as a motive for still greater joy on our Sabbath—the first day of *new creation*, of a work of renovation still more stupendous and perfect than the first, and a far more wondrous monument of his attributes, in that grace and mercy are revealed, as well as wisdom and power, and, above all, an *eternal* monument, in that it

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revealed, in the Son of Man, the creature for ever inseparably united to the Creator.

This is truly a lofty theme, on which we could with pleasure expatiate did our limits allow. But our present object is only the connexion between the creation Sabbath and the Lord's day, to show that the origin of both is similar, and the character of both is the same; that these are days of holy joy before the Lord our God, and not days of austerity, such as the Jewish Sabbath had become through tradition of men; and in the course of our argument to show that, even *in its time*, the Lord's day is a restitution of the creation Sabbath, and that by the bringing in of the law, time *retrograded* one whole day.

The ten commandments are generally regarded, both by Jews and Christians, as embodying precepts of older date, and as being anterior to the giving of the law; therefore as not necessarily abolished when the Mosaic ordinances were abolished, but as primeval and universal, of perpetual obligation. Concerning the fourth, for the observance of the Sabbath, there is every reason to believe that such a precept had subsisted from the beginning, and had been very widely diffused among the heathen, from their traditional observance of the seventh day, before the time when they were converted to Christianity. And that the heathen did not borrow it from the Jews is manifest from the fact, that Sunday, dedicated to the ruler of the heavens, was the great day of the week among the heathen, Saturday being the Sabbath of the Jews. And this evidence, as far as it goes, affords a presumption in favour of the opinion that Sunday was that day of the week which commemorated the creation Sabbath, and that the creation Sabbath and the Lord's day do really coincide. To this opinion the great objection is, that the Jewish Sabbath was certainly on Saturday, and certainly of divine appointment, and appointed also with special reference to the creation Sabbath, and in commemoration of it. These objections are generally met by saying, that the observance of one day in seven is the great point, and that whether that day be Saturday or Sunday is a minor consideration. But we believe it to be a grave consideration, and that many of our readers will be relieved of a difficulty, and greatly rejoiced and strengthened, if we are enabled clearly to show that the original Sabbath and the Lord's day *are* on the *same* day of the week.

The point to look at in this enquiry—the point to which we should strictly confine our attention in the first place, is the *entire change* which took place in the *computation of time* at the giving of the law—a change in the time of *beginning* the *days*, and the *months*, and the *years*. At creation, and down to the

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giving of the law, these began at *sunrise*, at the *full moon*, and in *autumn*; at the giving of the law they were made to begin at preceding *sunset*, preceding *new moon*, and preceding *spring*. This throwing back of all the computations of time had for its immediate object the more complete separation of the Jews from the surrounding nations, by making their religious observances to be held at *different times*, as well as to be of a different character from those of the heathen; and the change had the further and higher object of preparing for the accomplishment of all the types and shadows of the law in the person of Christ Jesus, to whom they were all designed to bear witness.

There is no doubt that the universal tradition which makes the creation to have taken place in *autumn* is true, and the autumnal equinox was the original commencement of the year. For as man and the animals were all created in maturity, so were the trees laden with fruit, and the earth was covered with grain and herbage, to furnish them all with full supplies of food; and the autumn is the returning season of maturity for fruits and grain. So also of the month—its first commencement was at full moon, and not at new moon. For the moon was created to rule the night, as the sun to rule the day, and it is only at *full moon* that this is the case: at the new moon she is *invisible*, and for the next fortnight does not acquire her *true place* as ruler of the night. Therefore, from full moon to full moon were the months originally computed. And the day originally began at *sunrise*, and lasted till sunset: for God made the sun to rule the day, and called the light day; and when the evening of the first day came, from *that* evening to the *preceding* morning was the first day; and not as some absurdly imagine from a *preceding* evening to the morning of the first day, since there could not be *an evening*, could not be *a mingling* of light and darkness *before* there had been *a day*, and from evening to the next morning would be a night and not a day. Besides, we have direct proof from Scripture, that up to the time of the departure from Egypt *the Israelites themselves* reckoned the day to begin at sunrise and close at sunset, and had not then began to compute it from the preceding evening. For the passover, at its institution, was commanded to be eaten on the fourteenth day of the month, at even, which fourteenth was the last day of the sojourning in Egypt, and its evening was the memorable night of the deliverance of the children of Israel. On this first occasion, the day which *followed* the evening of the passover was the *fifteenth*, and it is so called in Numbers xxxiii. 3: "And they departed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on *the morrow after the passover*." But *after* the change

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in the commencement of the day, after the commandment was given, "from even unto even shall ye celebrate your Sabbath" (Lev. 23, 32), the passover was slain, on the evening *before* the fourteenth, instead of the evening *after* the fourteenth: and the weekly computation of time was thus *thrown back*, under the law, *a whole day*.

As Christ was the end of the law, and all its various ordinances, and these throughout the whole year pointed to Christ; so, in their application to him, the various places and various times at which these various ordinances were to take place under the law must be put out of our consideration. To discern Christ in all of them, we give him a sort of *ubiquity;* and to make them all centre in him, we give them a sort of *unity* as to time and place. All the sacrifices, for instance, in all places, and throughout the whole year, have their accomplishment in the one sacrifice once offered upon the cross; and in that act, which took place at the passover, or the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, was also fulfilled the day of atonement, which was appointed for the tenth day of the seventh month, as in Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem the feast of tabernacles was fulfilled in part, which was appointed to take place on the fifteenth of the seventh month, and which, by the civil reckoning of time, would have belonged to the following year. And although the Jewish ordinances had an immediate and a very important purpose to accomplish, in drawing a distinction between them and the heathen, by changing the times and altering the character of the Hebrew solemnities, yet there was an ultimate and a far more important purpose to be accomplished, that of making them all typical of Christ, and of that *one* crowning act which was accomplished by him when he cried out upon the cross, "It is finished:" a moment of time which may be called the passover of the world—the turning point between life and death—the redemption of the old creation, and the coming into existence of the new. At the Hebrew passover a day was necessarily merged, and as it were lost, in the necessity of the hasty flight from Egypt. At the Christian passover, the lost day was regained, in our Lord's lying one whole day in the tomb; and the *first day* of deliverance from Egypt and the *first day* of resurrection coincide and correspond also with the *original* or creation *Sabbath*.

The *sacrifice* of the passover was the procuring cause, and denoted the ransom paid; but the *feast* of deliverance was the emphatic thing in *both cases*. And, therefore, it is said, "this day shall be a memorial, and you shall keep it a feast to

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the Lord throughout your generations: you shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever" (Exod. xii. 14). "Christ our passover is sacrificed for us, therefore let us keep the feast" (1 Cor. v. 7). At the deliverance from Egypt no feast could be kept, the fourteenth day being the last day of the bondage of the children of Israel, and the fifteenth day being the day of their flight. And a *day* of memorial being commanded of an event which took place in the night *between* two days, between the fourteenth and the fifteenth, it is a choice of difficulties, humanly speaking, and could be decided only by the appointment of God. If man had been left to choose, he would probably have made the fifteenth to be the day of the feast, because the passover was slain in Egypt after sunset on the fourteenth, and before sunrise on the fifteenth; and the first day of liberty was a day, in human estimation, the day most appropriate for a feast. But God, in changing the commencement of the day, and enjoining them to reckon it as beginning from the *preceding* sunset, made the eve which *preceded the fourteenth* to be the time for slaying the passover, and therefore the fourteenth *day* to be the first day of the feast. And the point was determined almost immediately, and before the anniversary of the passover, by the double portion of manna which fell before the Sabbath—a determination of the Sabbath which evidently took the children of Israel by surprise, and which must also necessarily have determined the passover *holy-day;* as, if it did not *coincide* with the *Sabbath*, a a double portion of manna must have been supplied *oftener than once* in the week, or a *treble* portion if the two days came in immediate succession. And although the Jews, in their scattered state, are accustomed to observe the passover on the fourteenth day, on whatsoever day of the week it may fall, yet this was not the case while their polity continued; for in their better days, and while the law was in vigour, they practised such a system as we have adopted for Easter, and made the passover *always* to fall on a *Sabbath* day.

When the manna was promised to the children of Israel, they were told that a double quantity should fall on the sixth day, to prevent them from gathering any on the Sabbath (Exod. xvi. 5). Yet when this double quantity was gathered (ver. 22), they seem to have been taken by surprise; "and all the rulers came and told Moses, and he said unto them, This is that which the Lord hath said, To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord"..."See, for that the Lord hath given you the Sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days" (ver. 29). From these passages some have inferred that the children of Israel had not kept *any* Sabbath before this time;

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but as the very heathen seem to have held hebdomadal solemnities, and that on Sunday, or our Lord's day, it is more consistent with all the appearances, to suppose that the day was then *thrown back* to Saturday—a change which must have taken place at some time, by the change in the commencement of the day, and which, coming into operation whenever it might, would take them equally by surprise. And that there was a *specialty* in the Sabbaths then given, and that they were differenced from those which had been previously observed by mankind is evident, from the emphatic manner in which the difference is adverted to as distinguishing the Israelites from all other people. "Moreover, *also*, I gave them *my Sabbaths*, to be a sign between me and them" (Ezek. xx. 12). "Verily *my Sabbaths* ye shall keep; for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations, that ye may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you" (Exod. xxxi. 13).

A mere re-enactment of the creation Sabbath, of an institution in which *all mankind* had been included, would not be a sign *peculiar* to the people of Israel throughout *their generations*; but throwing back the observance of the Sabbath to the preceding day, by means of a change in the commencement of their days, which change extended to all their computations of time, throwing back their months and years as well as their days, *was* a sign peculiar to the Israelites, and *did* most strikingly separate between them and the rest of mankind. And it is this dissimilarity of reckoning, retained even by the Jews in their *civil* year, and combined with the general practice of reckoning the current year as an entire year, though it may only have lasted a few months, that has rendered it impossible to adjust sacred and profane chronology to a rigid exactness; there always will be a discrepancy of one or two years, according as one or other commencement is in use. Which uncertainty we are far from regarding as an evil; we rather regard it as one of the ways by which God hath kept the times and the seasons in his own power, and, in the impossibility of our relying implicitly upon *calculation*, has shut us up to *faith*. And it may be remarked by the way, that in keeping the passover there was a further uncertainty, from some computing the fourteenth by the *real* age, others by the *observed* age of the moon; so that many of the Jews kept the day on Thursday night, when our Lord ate it with the apostles; others kept it on Friday night, or the time when our Lord fulfilled the type of the Paschal Lamb, by dying for us upon the cross.

As all the provisions of the law, so especially and pre-eminently the Sabbath, had reference to Christ, and were prepara-

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tory of Christianity; so this change of time was like expanding the Sabbath to spread it over three days, so as to render it a possible thing for Christ *both* to keep the last passover in unity with the whole Jewish people at the *appointed* time, and *also* to be in his own person the *sacrifice* typified by the Paschal Lamb—to keep the *Jewish Sabbath* by resting that day in the tomb, and also to institute the *Christian Sabbath* by rising from the dead on *the third day*, according to the Scriptures; by showing that a work was accomplished for the world to come as well as for this world, by triumphing over sin, and death, and hell, spoiling principalities and powers, and making a show of them openly; and this his triumph we commemorate and also share in, for it was wrought *for us*—into it we enter by faith on the Lord's day, the memorial of a resurrection to immortality.

As it was evident that there could be *no Sabbath* at the coming up out of Egypt, the Sabbath being merged, as it were, in that ever memorable night, when the deliverance of the Israelites was secured by the slaying of the Paschal Lamb; so it is equally evident that there must have been *two Sabbaths*, a Jewish and a Christian, when the Lamb of God died, and rose again to take away the sins of the whole world: and the day which was as it were lost on the *first* occasion, was as it were regained on the *second*. And as the deliverance from Egypt concerned *only the people* of Israel, and was therefore commemorated by an institution *peculiar* to them, namely, the Saturday Sabbath; so the redemption by the blood of Jesus Christ is an event in which *all mankind* are interested: and therefore *our* holy-day, though special in its character and ends, coincides *in time* with the creation Sabbath, which was an institution for *all men*, and of which the Sunday festivals of the heathen, though a perversion, were notwithstanding a memorial.

In the first ages of Christianity, and especially while Jewish converts formed the majority of the Church, the Christians joined in public worship with the Jews in the temple and in the synagogues; they also went up to Jerusalem at the great feasts, and they observed both the Jewish Sabbath and the Lord's day—the former, as a day of restraint, and often of fasting; the latter, as a festival and a day of rejoicing. And while the temple stood, and a clear distinction could be drawn between those Jewish forms which were mere types of realities, and the Christian forms, which embodied realities, and were channels of spiritual blessing, no evil ensued from these double observances. But when a Judaizing spirit began to steal upon the Church, and the types were put upon a level with the realities; when men began to teach that the Mosaic and Christian institutions might

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be combined—that the law was binding on the Church—and that Christian ordinances were even heightened and improved by a combination with those which were given from Sinai—then it was that the authorities of the Church interposed; and in the same spirit as when St. Paul declared to the Galatians, that if they were circumcised Christ should profit them nothing, so was it declared in many councils of the Church, that Judaizing and Christianity could not co-exist, and if any one persisted in observing Sabbaths, feasts, or any other ceremonies after the way of the Jews, he should be excommunicated.

The primitive Church was very careful to mark their estimation of the Lord's day as superior to every other day in sanctity, and to contradistinguish it from the Jewish Sabbath, by the holiness being that of joy and triumph—a foretaste of the kingdom of heaven; while the Jewish Sabbath was marked by a sense of humiliation and self-denial, as belonging to those who still felt themselves under the bondage of the fall. Their estimation of the Lord's day had a continual reference to the event which determined it, to the Lord's resurrection—an event which they regarded as the first day of triumph for the Church. And from hence they were very naturally led to carry on the same principle with reference to the other days of the week, and to make Wednesday and Friday their usual fasting days, to humble ourselves for that *baseness*, which was manifested in our nature by the treachery of Judas to his Master, in receiving a bribe to betray him on the first of these days; and for that *enmity* which was shown in the false accusation and crucifixion of the Holy One of God on the second of these days. And, in like manner, they not only made Saturday a day of humiliation because it was the Jewish Sabbath, but also for the additional reason, that on that day our Lord had lain in the grave, and the hopes of his disciples, yea, and of the whole world, seemed to be buried together with him, and for a time annihilated.

If days are to be commemorated at all, we must be employed in such a manner as may tell out the special character of the day; and to disregard characteristic observances is tantamount to saying there should be no commemoration of the day. Pope Innocent, adverting to the general practice in the Western Churches, of fasting on Saturdays, justly observes: "If we commemorate the resurrection of Christ, not only at Easter, but every Lord's day, and fast upon Friday because it was the day of his passion, we ought not to pass by Saturday, which is the middle time between the days of grief and joy." The apostles must have spent those two days, of Friday and Satur-

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day, in great grief and heaviness, and probably fasting. Whence it is asserted, that there was a tradition in the Church "that the sacraments ought not to be administered on those two days, and that every Saturday ought to be kept as a fast." And the council of Illiberis declared that a Saturday festival was an error, and that men ought to fast on that day. Yet even in the West this practice was not so universal, or so stringent, as not to give way to the customs of particular Churches; for St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, constantly dined on Saturday and the Lord's day, fasting upon all other days, unless they were saints' days, the saints' days being always esteemed festival and sacramental days. Yet when Ambrose went to Rome, he fasted on Saturdays, as was the practice at Rome. And when Monica, the mother of St. Augustine, was troubled at this, and Augustine consulted St. Ambrose in consequence—"When I come to Rome (said Ambrose), I fast on the Saturday, as they do at Rome; when I am at Milan I do not fast. So likewise you, to whatsoever Church you come, observe the customs of that place, if you would neither give nor take offence."

And it should be remembered that the first Christians joined in public worship with their countrymen, the Jews, while the temple stood, and also in their own houses worshipped together as Christians, and administered the sacraments. But Saturday being the Jewish Sabbath, and their great day of public worship, the Christians on that day joined with them, and on Sunday, or the Lord's day, the Christians held their Sabbath, and partook of the Lord's Supper, as the highest act of worship, and the chief bond of union. "Now Peter and John went up together into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour" (Acts iii. 1). "And daily in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ" (Acts v. 42). "And they continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart" (Acts ii. 46). "Upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread" (Acts xx. 7). And Justin Martyr, and the rest of the fathers, make the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the special characteristic of the Lord's day.

God blessed the creation Sabbath, and sanctified it, setting it apart for his service, and requiring abstinence from any employment incompatible with that. The Christian Sabbath is in like manner hallowed, and set apart for the worship of God; and in proportion as we enter heartily into this the first object of its institution, we shall have neither leisure nor inclination to be engaged by other objects, and other cares incompatible

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with the attainment of its highest end; and in the same proportion shall we find the blessing of God accompanying the day. God, who has given us all things, demands at our hands the acknowledgment of the gifts: one day in seven is the acknowledgment required of all men; but to us time is a gift, to be used in preparing for eternity; and one day devoted to eternal objects, for six devoted to objects of time, seems but a small proportion, even if exclusively devoted to those objects—one seventh of time devoted to objects which shall become the exclusive occupations of eternity: and which objects even now, in proportion as we do devote ourselves to them, bring a present reward of blessing, and afford a foretaste of heaven.

Though all nature witnesses of God, it is man alone who truly apprehends that testimony, and is able to become the true exponent—as the image of God. For thus rejoicing in God, and thus bearing witness to Him, Adam, at the creation Sabbath, had nothing to lay hold of but the visible creation: perfect, it is true, and very good in all respects, but limited to what he saw—limited to the visible, the actual, and the present; he could not look onward to the future and the unknown, as was afterwards the case when visible things were used for types, and dignified as sacraments. Nature was made a higher witness for God than at the creation, and man qualified to expound it more largely to others, when God, in the choice of the children of Israel, and in the appointment of material things, to be used in his service under the law, constituted types. And by means of these man was led beyond the present and the visible, to expect and prepare for a coming work of God, greater than that of creation—a new creation: the superiority of which last is unutterably great, since, while at the old creation God and Nature stood apart and distinct, in the new creation God and the creature are united; the incarnation—God manifest in flesh—was the end of the law; the types prophesied of it, and it fulfils and explains them all. And in the bringing out of the Church—in constituting its members "heirs of God, joint-heirs with Christ Jesus," which sums up the surpassing dignity of man in the new creation—a full witness is prepared, through the visible, for the invisible; during time prepared, but to subsist throughout all eternity.

The first Adam, in whom the old creation was headed up, was mere man, distinct from godhead, and so might fall: the second Adam, in whom the new creation is headed up, is not mere man; in Him godhead and manhood are united, and a fall of the new creation is impossible—it subsists for eternity. And not the Head alone, but the whole creation, each part ac-

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cording to its place and measure, partakes of the same high character. The Church is the temple of the Holy Ghost; God is present with her, and therefore the gates of hell shall not prevail against her. And the sacraments are channels of the Holy Ghost; God is present in them when faithfully administered and received, giving new and eternal life through the element of water—nourishing us, unto the kingdom of heaven, through the elements of bread and wine. And in like manner, concerning time, another mundane element, the Lord's day is that portion of time when God is specially present with his people, because it is the appointed time, and therefore especially and peculiarly blessed. God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it; and we have shown that the seventh day and the Lord's day coincide. On this day the Lord rose—on this day he appeared repeatedly to the disciples—on this day the Holy Ghost was first given; and St. John, in Patmos, was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and received those Revelations which close the canon of Scripture.

Those who hold all days to be alike, should, in consistency, hold that any other liquid might be used in baptism, and any other food at the table of the Lord: it is the appointment of God which warrants us in expecting his presence with the water of the one sacrament, and with the bread and wine of the other; and the appointment of a day for his service warrants the expectation of his presence on that day, in a sense which we have no right to attach to the services of other days not so appointed.

We press this point especially at the present time, when there is a tendency towards formalism in religion, and when this formality is met by nothing better than the vilification or utter rejection of all forms. The tendency can only be properly met, the desire can only be satisfied, by showing the true place of forms, as designed to be channels for imparting and sustaining spiritual life; and that God who gives the life, has also ordained the form. And we would enforce this view of the Lord's day, in opposition to that mawkish sentimentality of some which affects to call every day a Sabbath to the Christian, and strips religion of all honesty and manliness: checking also the opposite and equally erroneous tendency in others, to exalt saints' days and national holy-days to the same level and importance with the Lord's day. While all continue to be regarded as only of human appointment, or, at most, as deriving their sanction from the practice of the Church, they are upon the same level; and there is no reason for making a difference in the services of the Lord's day, or expecting on that day a

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greater blessing. But if it be truly the Lord's day, and of God's appointment at the creation, revived in the new creation, God will be true to his own appointment, and will give a larger measure of blessing to those who wait upon him in faith on his own day.

God, who implanted affections and desires in the heart of man, and has imposed duties upon him, which, since the fall, are bound upon him by the strong law of necessity, and are made essential to his very being, is not honoured by the quenching of those affections, or the evasion of those duties. He would have us direct those affections aright, and heartily and honestly fulfil the duties of every day in its right time and place. To love the Lord our God with all our heart, and mind, and soul, and strength, is the first commandment; and the second is like unto it—to love our neighbour as ourselves. The Lord's day is the time when the first is chiefly fulfilled; and its hearty fulfilment on that day empowers us to fulfil the second, which comes into operation in the duties of life to be fulfilled during the rest of the week. The spirit of the Lord's day will, no doubt, appear in the transactions of the Christian at all times; but the amalgamation of things sacred and profane is just as injurious, when it is endeavoured to render *every day equally* holy, as when it is asserted that the Lord's day is *common*.

The proportion between sacred and secular duties, and how much time is due to one, how much to the other class, must vary in every instance, because it depends upon the situation in which the providence of God has placed us. An ecclesiastic will, of course, mingle less with the world than a layman, and will, of course, devote more of his time to God. But the *minimum* in all cases should be the seventh of our time; the Sabbath was appointed for all mankind, and its observance is imperative on all, without distinction. And as on our Sabbath we *commemorate* the Lord's resurrection, so a principal ingredient therein is the fulfilment of his last and crowning institution, is the partaking of the Lord's Supper—an institution enforced by the command, "*This do in remembrance of me.*" That the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is the true accompaniment of the Lord's day, cannot, we think, admit of a question; and that every individual of sufficient age in the Church would be the better for receiving it every Lord's day we entertain no doubt whatever, as the general rule; but whether it be the duty of each to receive it every Lord's day, must depend upon the condition of each.

"There is more required (says Jeremy Taylor) to the receiving Christ than eating the symbols. A man may eat to his own condemna-

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tion, and increase his sins, and swell his sad accounts, and be guilty of Christ's body and blood, if he does not take heed; therefore, first, men must be prepared, and be in the state of holiness, or else they may not receive it at all; and they that are so may receive it frequently, the oftener the better."

All the fathers exhorted to a frequent communion, making it a motive to continual preparation and habitual holiness. St. Chrysostom says:—

"There are some in deserts who receive but once a year, or it may be once in two years. What then. Whom shall we account best of—them that receive but once, or that receive but seldom, or that receive frequently? Neither one nor the other; but them that communicate with a sincere conscience, with a pure heart, and an unreprovable life." —*Hom.* 17, *in Ep. ad Heb.*

"This question, 'How often is it advisable that a good man should communicate?' hath troubled very many, but to little purpose; for it is all one as if it were asked, 'How often should a healthful man eat? or he that hath infirmities take physic?' If any man should say that a good man does well to pray three times a day, he said true; and yet it were better to pray five times, and better yet to pray seven times; but if he does, yet must he leave spaces for his other duties. His best measures for public and solemn prayer is the custom of the Church in which he lives; and for private, he can take no measures but his own needs, and his own leisure, and his own desires, and the examples of the best and devoutest persons in the same circumstances. And so it is in frequenting the holy communion. The laws of the Church must be his *least* measure; the custom of the Church will be his *usual* measure; but the spirit of devotion will be his *certain* measure.....The fathers do not dispute whether it be advisable that good people should communicate every month, or every fortnight; or whether the more devout or less employed may communicate every week, for of this they make no question; but whether every day's communion be fit to be advised, that they question."—*Jeremy Taylor's* "*Worthy Communicant,*" 322.

These excellent instructions of one of the great teachers of the English Church are worthy of especial attention now, when men are inclined to adopt as many as possible of the practices of other Churches, and especially the Roman, regardless of the principles and practices of the Church established in our own land. A principle lies at the root of the multiplication of forms and services in the Roman Church, which is directly opposed to one of the fundamental principles of the English Church; and these Roman forms and services can only be carried on by adopting that principle, namely, that *the clergy constitute the Church.* This evil principle is the bitter root from whence all the usurpations and all the corruptions of Rome arose, and against this the Church of England has always made a deter-

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mined stand, upon the principle, which, *mutatis mutandis*, may be expressed in the words of our Lord: "The Church was made for man, not man for the Church."

The Romanists would not probably openly proclaim the principle, and would by their casuistry explain away its evil consequences. And those who follow the practices of Rome generally do it blindly, without being aware of the evil principles which they involve, and the evil consequences which will ensue. And this error of trying to escape from the world before the time, of making the Church the kingdom of heaven, and none of the Church but those who are separated from the world, is an error the principle of which is found working evil in men of all denominations, in the Plymouth sect as much as in the Church of Rome.

The baptized are the Church; to the whole body the clergy minister, gathering all the members and preparing them for the kingdom of heaven. "For we preach not ourselves (saith St. Paul), but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake. For though I be free from all, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more." To accomplish this they must needs be in the world, as those to whom they minister are there; and the last prayer put up by our Lord demonstrates it: "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil." (John xvii.) The right discharge of the offices of life is as much the duty of a Christian towards the world, as the diligent waiting on the offices of religion is his duty towards God. Indeed, the two are inseparably connected; for right principles and strength to fulfil the duties of life can only be acquired through religion; and the diligent and faithful discharge of these duties is practical religion. "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works." "If any man provide not for his own, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." And the exhortations to faithful practice of the relative duties, between husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, rich and poor, kings and subjects—rendering, in short, honour wherever honour is due, make up the bulk of the apostolic epistles; while the opposite practices of forbidding to marry, abstaining from meats, separating themselves, becoming heady and high-minded, are spoken of as the evil characteristics of the last times.

God, who foresaw the evils, provided the true counterpoise in the Sabbath, or the Lord's day; and the right use of that day consists, not in shutting our eyes for twelve hours to the evils it was meant to counteract, but in acknowledging the evils, and

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applying God's remedy. The world is still under the curse; the kingdom of heaven is not yet come: on the Lord's day we gain strength to overcome the world, and may enjoy a foretaste of that heavenly kingdom to which we are pressing forward. And above all other means of strength, above every other foretaste of heaven, on that day we partake together, as one body, of the highest ordinance in the Church—we feed on the heavenly food of the body and blood of the Lord. Which special distinction of the day gave occasion to the early fathers of calling the Lord's day "*the day of bread*," as we find in Chrysostom. (Hom. v., De Resur.) It is into union with our risen Lord that we enter through this sacrament; deriving strength from Him, who hath all power in heaven and earth, as Head of the Church; and showing forth the efficacy of his death by overcoming sin in our mortal bodies, until he shall come to raise our vile bodies, and fashion them according to his own glorious body, and the head and members of the Church shall be in all respects conformable. "We shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is" (1 John iii. 2).

The Lord's day, as set apart from worldly occupations, is the only opportunity we have of anticipating at all that meeting which all Christians expect, "the general assembly and church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven." And the sacrament is that act of worship which brings those thus assembling into unity. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we being many are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread." It is broken for distribution, that thereby faith in each member may lay hold of a real sacramental unity; recognizing one common fall, and one common redemption; entering by faith into one common hope of the Church—the resurrection and glory to be revealed in the coming and kingdom of the Lord. The Roman practice of withholding the cup from the laity is tantamount to saying that they need not, or have no part in, the redemption by the blood of Christ. Their solitary mass, by the priest alone, is a still greater offence, as putting him in the place of Christ, and making him engaged in a vicarious and propitiatory work. And their raising the whole clergy to such a place, in reference to the laity, might by parity of reasoning apply to the relation of the Church to the world—might sustain the monstrous absurdity, that the Church can, by its faith and works, save others who are not in the Church—save the heathen—save the whole world, without any faith on

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their part, without their personal knowledge of Christ, without their actual participation of the means of grace within the bosom of the Church. "How shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God."

Puritanical austerity, and copying the Jews, and regarding the Sabbath as only a day of rest after toil, have tended to degrade the Lord's day in the estimation of some, and made it appear to be a day of gloom, and weariness, and ennui; while the opposite mistakes in others, of making the relaxation from secular engagements to be a relaxation of all restraint, and an abandonment to the fuller gratification of their natural tastes and propensities, which a day of leisure allows them to indulge in, is a still greater abuse of the day. Formalism, whether in the Puritanical or Papal garb, cannot satisfy the mind of man; we require something better than restraint, we seek an object strong enough to attract and render the restraint unnecessary; and if this be not presented the strong mind will vindicate its own nobility, will burst the restraint at any hazard, and seek its own objects, and pursue them with the more eagerness, whether they be good or evil.

The *spirit* of man has to be satisfied; *forms* cannot satisfy this—nothing short of God himself can satisfy godlike man. But man instinctively feels that he is a sinner, and instinctively dreads appearing in the immediate presence of the pure and holy God. Therefore, as long as he can make a compromise between his godlike cravings and his instinctive dread, and get any person, or any thing, to stand between him and God, telling him something *about God*, without bringing him *into contact with God*, he will go on in any round of formalism, however burdensome. To put an end to this—to break down the barrier between God and man, to satisfy our instinctive cravings and allay our instinctive fears, Christ came. He was man, but he was also God; he came to reveal God and satisfy our cravings—he came to die for man, and put an end to our fears. In coming to Christ we come to God, for he and the Father are one; and in coming to Christ we come to a brother, touched with a fellow feeling for all our infirmities, to one who was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin; and to one who hath already made atonement for all our sins.

And this is the test of the *Christianity* of all forms—do they *reveal* God, or do they *hide* him? Do they bring us into contact

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with God, or are they interposed between us and him? In short, is *Christ* recognized in the *form?* And so especially of the sacraments in the Church, and of the Christian Sabbath: is it Christ alone that we are thinking of—him alone we are honouring; following the footsteps and obeying the commandments of Him who is seated at the right hand of God, in the glory which he had with the Father before the foundation of the world, and who is God over all blessed for ever?

If true Christian principles be first implanted and diligently inculcated, together with the introduction of religious forms, and no forms be introduced but such as embody right principles, all will be well. But if forms be mimicked, or carelessly adopted, without considering the principles they involve, or whereto they obviously tend, our folly may perpetrate mischiefs which all the wisdom and power of the Church may be unable to remedy. The religion of nature is, in a certain sense, true; and in the philosophic contemplation of the works of God the Christian may be engaged even on the Lord's day; yet this must not interfere or mingle with Christian worship. The forms of the Roman service are, many of them, decent in themselves, and all of them imposing, and conducive to the end *they* had in view; but our objection to them is, that the glory of God, the exalting Christ Jesus, is not the end, but that they turn men aside from God to occupy their thoughts with man, or some creature form, any of which, substituted for God, becomes essentially an idol.

But if the people of England should become infected with foreign manners, or if the affectation and imitation of foreign customs should be carried so far as to forget the Lord on his own day, and, after going through a few forms, called religious, the rest of the day should be habitually devoted to mere amusement and recreation, as it is called, we foresee, from the character of the English people, that a scene of riot would ensue, of which nothing ever witnessed on the continent can afford sufficient warning. Religion itself would be subverted thereby; all the bonds of society would be loosed or snapped asunder; and England, which has long been the admiration of mankind for its social order, would become a gazing stock, a wonder, and a proverb for its immorality of every kind; which may God, in his infinite mercy, avert from us, and from our children, and our children's children, to the latest posterity.

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ART. III.—*The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture, elucidated by Question and Answer.* By MATTHEW HOLBECK BLOXAM. Fourth Edition. Oxford: Parker. 1841.

2. *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments.* Published by the Cambridge Camden Society. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1841.

3. *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities.* For the Use of the Cambridge Camden Society. Second Edition. Cambridge. 1840.

WITHIN the last few years a change has come over the spirits of our countrymen generally, respecting those interesting structures of a former age, which are to be found in all parts of England—the monuments of the piety of our forefathers, and the evidences of their acquaintance with the fine arts. We allude to our ecclesiastical edifices, whether cathedrals, the remains of monastic establishments now known under the name of abbeys, or parochial churches. Our cathedrals are the glory of the land; our abbey churches are scarcely inferior; and many of our parish churches are, in some respects, superior to all. What, for instance, can be more magnificent than St. Mary Redcliffe Church, in the city of Bristol; the Church of the Holy Trinity, in the city of Coventry; the Temple Church, in the city of London; and many other similar buildings, which still are the admiration of the age? Not many years since, few persons only regarded our churches in any other light than as places for public worship; and, provided the people could be accommodated, no hesitation was manifested in destroying any portion of the interior of these structures, which, in the opinion of a parish vestry, might prevent a few persons from obtaining seats in a crowded church. Happily large numbers of enlightened and active individuals now make it their business to watch over these ancient edifices, with the most scrupulous care; and the result already has been the rescue of many beautiful specimens of the skill of our forefathers from destruction.

Knowing that the public mind has recently been greatly influenced in favour of that desire to preserve our ancient edifices, which has of late years been manifested, we hail with the most unfeigned satisfaction every new work on architecture, or upon any of those collateral subjects which bear upon our older churches. On this account we rejoice to find, that Mr. Bloxam has put forth a new edition of his little work, one of the most delightful books of the day, and which cannot fail to cherish a

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taste for ancient architecture in all those—and we trust and believe that the number will be great—who may give it a perusal. Iti s the work of a man, who has done much in the cause of our ancient churches, and we shall be greatly mistaken if this little volume does not promote the taste for the study of ancient architecture to an extent hitherto unknown. Even young ladies will be delighted with the perusal; and, in our opinion, it will become the companion of many a fair one of refined taste and enlarged mind, in the rambles through the country, which are so common with those, who prefer remaining in England to a tour over the continent. With this little volume in their hand, for it has many embellishments, they may soon be able to decide on the character of a church, the date of its erection, and the order of its architecture. Or should the edifice, from circumstances not to be explained, have been so materially altered, as not to present such an appearance, as to enable the student in architecture to assign it its proper place in the catalogue of ecclesiastical edifices, there will, at all events, be some window, or some porch, or some ancient monument, the date and character of which, by means of this small volume, may be ascertained. So many are the elegant accomplishments and pursuits of the young of both sexes in the present day, that a taste has been induced for many things, to which the youth of a previous age were total strangers. Botany, mineralogy, geology, natural history in various branches, are now studied with so much zest by the young, and especially by the young of the softer sex, that we cannot but feel assured, that our recommendation of another elegant accomplishment will be received with equal favour, and that many young ladies, who love the Church of England, will regard with a reverential and sacred feeling those ancient religious structures, in which our fathers worshipped God. Narrow-minded persons may, indeed, object that these edifices were erected in the days of Popery, and that they were devoted to the worship of the Church of Rome. Many of our churches were built before Popery, strictly so called, obtained its full vigour in this country; but, at all events, there were always some persons who worshipped God in spirit and in truth; and such an argument, moreover, lies just as much against the use of our older churches for divine worship, as against the study which we have recommended. The objection, however, will not be made by any one of an enlarged mind, and it may, therefore, be dismissed without further remark.

The first work at the head of this article is the production of a gentleman, well known for his taste in all such matters. It is divided into ten chapters, in which the origin of Gothic archi-

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tecture, the various kinds of arches, the various styles, as the Anglo-Saxon, the Norman, or Anglo-Norman, the Semi-Norman, the Early English, the Decorated English, the Florid English, the Debased English, with the various changes which, from time to time, have been introduced; and the periods of the prevalence of each style, are detailed in a manner which cannot fail to attract and interest those, who come to the perusal of the volume. It is, however, to the subject discussed in the last chapter, namely, on the "Internal arrangement and decoration of Churches," that we shall more especially direct our attention. The other works are published by the Cambridge Camden Society; and they are calculated to be exceedingly useful in cherishing a taste for the study of Church architecture. The one, "A Few words to Churchwardens," is already, or is about to be published, by permission of the Camden Society, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, as a tract.

It appears to us, that no right-minded person can contemplate, without emotion, the architectural remains of the seventh and next three or four centuries, of which many exist in various districts; nor is it possible, in our opinion, to view the later structures, down to the period of the Reformation, but with similar feelings. We shall glean, for the information of our readers, some few particulars from Mr. Bloxam's interesting volume, intermingling them with others, which our own researches into the state of our ancient churches have enabled us to gather.

One of the evil effects, resulting from the suppression of the monastic establishments, was the ruin, or partial decay, of many of the finest specimens of ancient architecture which the zeal of our forefathers had raised. When the revenues by which they were supported were seized by the crown, the edifices were suffered to decay, except in some few instances, in which they were kept in a state of repair as parochial churches. In the case of the rest, they became the property of those to whom the estates on which they stood, were granted: so that very few of them were preserved, while the stones and the timber of many were used in the erection of barns and stables, or the stones in mending the roads. Such was the fate of many a monastic establishment! Some few remain in their ruins, and their present state proclaims something of their grandeur and magnificence in the days of their glory. Such are Glastonbury, Tintern, Malmsbury, and some others, which, it is hoped, will not be permitted to fall further into decay. Let them, at all events, be preserved for the admiration of future generations. There were men among the Reformers, who would have preserved the

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buildings of the monastic establishments, though their revenues were confiscated: but others rejoiced in their destruction; and the cupidity of the *grantees* was, in most cases, stronger than their reverence for antiquity, or their desire to preserve the memorials of the zeal, perhaps mistaken zeal, of former ages. To such causes combined, is the destruction of the monastic establishments owing.

Speaking of the period of the Reformation, Mr. Bloxam remarks—

"No country could vie with our own in the number of religious edifices, which had been erected in all the varieties of style that had prevailed for many preceding ages. Next to the magnificent cathedrals, the venerable monasteries and collegiate establishments, which had been founded and sumptuously endowed in every part of the kingdom, might most justly claim the pre-eminence; and many of the churches belonging to them were deservedly held in admiration for their grandeur and architectural elegance of design" (p. 14).

Nor did the cathedrals and parish churches escape the ravages of the indiscriminate zeal, by which some, not all, at the period of the Reformation, were actuated. It is, indeed, surprising, when we consider the circumstances of the times, that our cathedrals and our churches did not suffer more from the rage of some of the Reformers, promoted, as it was, by certain nobles and individuals of high station. Much injury was inflicted on the images, which adorned the churches, under the plea that they were monuments of superstition. The memory of Cox lies under the imputation even of destroying the *illuminations* in certain manuscripts at Cambridge, under the notion that they were superstitious, as being representations of the apostles, whereas they were only figures of the twelve Cæsars. A statue of the Virgin, or of an apostle, was viewed by the populace, who had the countenance of many of their superiors, as a superstitious ornament, and was accordingly destroyed; so that our surprise is, not that so few niches are occupied in our cathedral and parochial churches, but that so many of their occupants still remain. Our lot is cast in different times, and there is little fear now, that those ornaments which still exist in our churches should be destroyed.

Besides the ravages committed at the Reformation, others, no less indiscriminate and barbarous were perpetrated between the years 1640 and 1660, the period during which Puritanic violence swept the churches of many of those images and monuments, which the rage of some of the Reformers had spared. It is no unusual thing to find an inscription on a monument, to the effect, that it suffered great violence during the civil wars, and had been repaired,

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subsequent to the Restoration, by the piety of a descendant. The figure of an angel, or a cherub, had stirred up the furious zeal of some Parliamentarian soldier, who had broken and defaced the monument as an act of service to Almighty God. To us it is a source of extreme thankfulness, that many screens in churches were preserved during the civil wars and the commonwealth. Ignorance, however, was the cause of their preservation; for the screen was the lower part of the *rood-loft*, and had this circumstance been known to the Parliamentary soldiery, not one of these beautiful and venerated relics would have escaped the ravages of that period, so pregnant with destruction to our religious edifices. Of screens we shall speak more particularly presently; we merely mention the subject now to excite a feeling of gratitude, that the ignorance of the soldiers was overruled to the preservation of some of the most interesting relics of our ancestors. It is, therefore, remarkable, when all these circumstances are considered, that so many memorials of former generations still remain.

Before we proceed to the interior decorations and ornaments of our ancient churches, it may be useful to give a slight sketch of the various styles in which our ecclesiastical edifices are now found. The *Anglo-Saxon* style of architecture prevailed from the *sixth* to the middle of the *eleventh* century. The churches erected by the British Christians, prior to the arrival of the Saxons, have all disappeared, and the earliest remains which exist of ancient architecture are those of the Saxon period. Mr. Bloxam thinks, that the parish church of Brixworth, in the county of Northampton, is the most complete specimen of an Anglo-Saxon church which can be found in the kingdom. It was erected in the latter part of the seventh century, and from Mr. Bloxam's description must be in a very perfect state. We trust that no parish vestry, or churchwardens, will ever be permitted to deface, or destroy this venerable structure under the plea of improvement, or of accommodating the people with better seats. It seems that Roman bricks are worked up in the walls in various parts of this church. Other churches are specified by Mr. Bloxam, in which specimens of the Anglo-Saxon period, not indeed like those at Brixworth, may be found. Such are the churches of Earls Barton, Barnack, Stowe, and Brigstock, Northamptonshire; St. Benedict, Cambridge; St. Michael's, Oxford; North Burcombe, Wilts; St. Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber; Northleigh, Oxfordshire; and many others, which are specified in the volume. The most perfect ground-plan of an Anglo-Saxon church is supposed to be the church of Worth, in the county of Sussex. In this edifice the original walls still

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remain, windows of a later date having been inserted. The church is in the form of a cross, with nave, transepts, and a chancel. Mr. Bloxam accounts for the rarity of Anglo-Saxon remains in our churches (though he supposes that there are many which have escaped observation), by the fact that the Danes, in their different incursions during the ninth and tenth centuries, destroyed almost all the Anglo-Saxon churches.

The Anglo-Saxon style was succeeded by the Norman or Anglo-Norman, which prevailed from the middle of the *eleventh* to the close of the *twelfth* century. Many specimens of this style exist in the windows, porches, and towers of our ancient churches. For when the edifices were rebuilt at a later period, these portions of the ancient buildings were often preserved. Some of these specimens are very rich in their decorations. The aisles of some of the Norman churches are vaulted with stone, while in others the chancel alone is thus distinguished from the nave. The mouldings used in the ornamental parts of the building were usually very rich, as may be seen from various existing remains. The church of Ifley, Oxfordshire, and St. Peter's Church, Northampton, are splendid specimens of the Anglo-Norman style. During the latter part of the twelfth century, the Semi-Norman, or Transition style, began to be introduced in churches, and prevailed with the Norman until the thirteenth century, when the early pointed style was introduced. Of this style there are some beautiful remains in the abbey church at Malmesbury; but the richest specimen is to be found in the ruins of St. Joseph's Chapel, at Glastonbury. The early English, or pointed style, prevailed during the whole of the thirteenth century. Spires were first erected during this century, the tower only having been adopted, in ecclesiastical edifices, while the styles already specified prevailed. Some of our village spires are of this remote period, though of course many of them are, even in very old churches, the work of a more recent era. No one who is sensible to the beauties of the parish churches of England, can be insensible to the elegance of many of their spires. With the commencement of the fourteenth century another style, the decorated English, was introduced, and continued about a century. It is exceedingly rich in its mouldings, niches, and tracery, and many interesting specimens remain in almost every part of the country. The cloisters at Norwich are the most beautiful; and the churches of Broughton, Oxfordshire; Trumpington, Cambridge; and Wilmington, Bedfordshire, are very perfect specimens of the decorated style.

The decorated style was followed by the florid, or perpendicu-

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lar. It is distinguished from the former by a great profusion of ornaments, and panelling in perpendicular lines. Numerous porches of this style exist, remarkable for the richness of their ornaments and mouldings. The wars of the Roses are memorable in English history. The rose was the badge of the two rival families, York and Lancaster, being distinguished only by the colour, the red and the white. It is, therefore, one of the principal ornaments of the style which prevailed at the period, when the claimants to the crown were not seldom engaged in warlike strife. Numerous specimens of this style of architecture are to be met with in the churches of our cities, towns, and villages. Subsequent to the Reformation there was a great decline in the architecture of our churches, so that it is vain, to look in those erected since that period, for any of that richness or beauty so common in those of an earlier date. Mr. Bloxam has the following very just observations on the falling off in style in our churches subsequent to that event:—

"The devastation of the monasteries, religious houses, and chantries, which followed their suppression, discouraged the study of ecclesiastical architecture (which had been much followed in their seclusion by the members of the conventual foundations, who were now dispersed), and gave a fatal blow to that spirit of erecting and enriching churches, which this country had for many ages possessed" (p. 146).

Every man of taste and good feeling must regret the destruction of the monastic establishments—not their suppression, (for they could not, after the Reformation, have been sustained in their previous state, though they might still have been maintained as collegiate and ecclesiastical corporations), but the confiscation of their revenues, which ought to have been secured to the Church according to the intention of the donors. The cupidity on the part of the nobles, which prompted them to destroy the monasteries, lest their existence should tell a tale against them, would, if it had not been providentially checked, have led to the confiscation of the episcopal and cathedral revenues, and the demolition of the buildings, as was the case in Scotland. To the preservation of episcopacy we are indebted for the preservation of our cathedrals, and some few beautiful abbey churches.

We now proceed, however, to certain details respecting the interior arrangement and decorations of our ancient ecclesiastical edifices. The subject is one of great interest, and its discussion may tend to the preservation of those remains of a former age, which still exist, but which are often in great danger, from the

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ignorance of parish vestries and churchwardens. In this portion of our task we shall give certain details, which we have ourselves noted down at different times, in our researches into the interior of ancient churches.

"On entering a church, says Mr. Bloxam, through the porch on the north or south side, or at the west end, we sometimes perceive on the right hand side of the door, at a convenient height from the ground, often beneath a niche, and partly projecting from the wall, a stone basin; this was the *stoup*, a receptacle for holy water, called the 'aspersorium,' into which each individual dipped his finger, and crossed himself when passing the threshold of the sacred edifice. The stoup is sometimes found inside the church, close by the door" (p. 154).

Mr. Bloxam states that the stoup is not often of so ancient a date as the twelfth century. It is, indeed, questionable whether the practice of using holy water commenced before that period. However, these stoups are very common in our older churches. Mr. Bloxam has given an engraving of one from the church of Oakham, in the county of Rutland. A very splendid one may be seen at Cleeve, in the county of Somerset. There is one in the church of Monkton Farleigh, in the county of Wilts; and in not a few churches in various parts of the country these memorials of a former age are yet to be seen. In the old congregation house, attached to, but much older than, St. Mary's Church, Oxford, there is a stoup, which, as the building was undoubtedly erected before the use of holy water was introduced, must have been inserted at a later, though still at an early, period. We must of course condemn the practice of sprinkling holy water; but we have no sympathy with those who can view these relics with indifference, or who would remove them as monuments of superstition.

Some of the porches of the ancient churches are exceedingly beautiful. The arched door is often richly decorated with tracery, and sometimes with sculpture: and the stone bench or seat on each side shows that in ancient times the porch was no unimportant part of the church, since portions of the various occasional services, as those for marriage and the churching of women, were performed in this part of the edifice. Saxon and Norman porches of great beauty exist in considerable numbers; nor is it unusual to find a very splendid specimen of ancient architecture in a very inconsiderable village. The church of Monkton Farleigh, Wiltshire, has a remarkable porch on the north side, which is probably of the twelfth century, as it is in the Anglo-Norman style. At Kew Stoke, in the county of Somerset, is a very beautiful doorway of this style, though the church is of later date; and another at Compton Martin, in the

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same county, which is exceeded in beauty by few in any part of the kingdom. It was by no means an uncommon practice, in rebuilding a church, to preserve some of the more substantial parts, especially the doorway and windows. All persons who have visited Oxford, we mean in a spirit of research, must have been struck with the interior of the choir of St. Peter's in the East, which presents some of the most remarkable specimens of the Saxon and Norman styles; this church is, indeed, one of the most ancient in the kingdom. The crypt under the church is of earlier date than the Norman conquest, as also are many other portions of the structure. In short, there are but few edifices which present so many architectural beauties, or call forth more pleasing recollections. The Norman doorway under the porch is, perhaps, unrivalled; and there is also a *stoup*, similar to those which we have already mentioned.

On entering an ancient church, the font is one of the first objects which attracts the attention of the Christian antiquary. Our old parish churches may be said to be very rich in fonts of ancient date, some of them of remarkable beauty, and all of them interesting both to the Christian and to the antiquary. On those of the Norman style, sculptured figures are frequently found, but less so on those of a subsequent period. Many fonts remain in our village churches in their original position, with their pedestals, and, in some instances, with the stone ledge or seat round the base. We could specify several of this description. Whenever we enter an ancient church, one of the first things for which we search is the font, and not unfrequently we are gratified by finding it in the exact spot in which it was originally placed by our ancestors, who paid particular attention to such matters. Their forms are various, sexagonal, septagonal, and octagonal. There was formerly a very curious and a very ancient font in St. Peter's Church, Oxford, highly sculptured with niches and figures of the twelve apostles, a practice common in the Norman era. At the present moment a small fragment only exists, but sufficient to allow the ecclesiastical antiquary to calculate its size and shape. It is preserved in one of the windows. The font in St. Giles's church, in the same city, is also very remarkable and very ancient. Somersetshire is quite celebrated for Norman fonts of most beautiful construction: that of Congresbury is in its original position, with the ancient stone seat around it; and that at Locking is remarkable for its antiquity as well as for its beauty. At Portishead, not far distant from Bristol, at the mouth of the Avon, is a very ancient Norman font, with various ornaments characteristic of the period.

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We cannot but hope that the period has passed for neglecting the decorations of our ancient churches, and that it never will be said of any parish—*its font is thrown out of the church into the churchyard, or into some other even less appropriate place*, as was frequently the case a few years since. Should such desecration occur, the blame would attach more to the bishop, the archdeacon, and the rural dean, whose peculiar charge it is to see that the ornaments of our churches are kept in a proper state, than to the churchwardens and vestry, who cannot be expected to entertain any strong feeling in such matters; or even the clergyman, who, though he ought to take care of church ornaments, is not legally responsible for their preservation. Many ancient fonts have, within the last few years, been restored to their proper position in their respective churches.

We must here enter our protest against the practice of moving the font from its original and appropriate position near the entrance to the church. To adopt the language of one of our authors—

"The font was not put near the door by chance, for it was meant to show by this that baptism is the door by which a child is brought into the church. They first lose sight of that meaning, and then they make another and a worse mistake, by carrying the font into the chancel. For the chancel is that part of the church which is set apart for the holiest services; and yet they would bring a child into it for the purpose of being admitted to the very first privilege it can have as a Christian." —*A Few Words to Churchwardens*, p. 9.

We remark, in addition, that no authority can legally remove a font without permission from the bishop; and we are quite sure that no bishop will ever grant such permission. The font, too, should be filled with water, for the use of small basins is contrary to the Church's own order, as expressed in the Rubric.

Within the last few years, the taste for fitting up our churches with open benches, instead of pews, after the ancient method, has gained ground among the clergy, who are generally able, by discreet management, to induce the vestry to comply with whatever plan may be deemed desirable by their spiritual guides. Fortunately the ancient benches still remain in many churches, so that we need not be at any loss in deciding on their character or construction. Originally there were no seats in churches, except perhaps a few of stone against the exterior walls. It would seem that the practice of erecting open benches of oak commenced in the fifteenth century. Mr. Bloxam observes—

"At Finedon, in Northamptonshire, the body of the church and aisles are almost entirely filled with low open seats, with carved tracery at the end, disposed in four distinct rows, so that the whole of the con-

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gregation might sit facing the east. Similar seats occur at Culworth Church, in the same county, and these are likewise of the fifteenth century" (p. 163).

Some instances, however, occur of an earlier date than the fifteenth century. The church of South Brent, in the county of Somerset, remains in its ancient state; the seats are exceedingly massive, and, from the carvings at the ends, are evidently of the thirteenth century. The hostility of the parochial clergy to the preaching friars of the thirteenth century is well known; and some of the ancient sculptures in stone are caricatures of the latter, who rendered themselves very obnoxious, by their proceedings, in drawing away the people from their parish priests. Of this character, too, are the carvings on the oaken seats in Brent church, which evidently point to the thirteenth century, or at all events to a period anterior to the fifteenth. Similar seats, though probably not so ancient, are still preserved in Banwell Church, in the same county. In the church of Monkton Farleigh, Wilts, a small but very venerable structure, the body, with the exception of two or three pews on either side, adjoining the chancel, still retains the oaken benches, with raised and panelled ends, evidently of a date prior to the Reformation. The church of Corsham, in the same county, has various remains of similar seats, in a fine state of preservation; but the ends are, in every instance, pieced with boards, for the purpose of forming them into pews. Thus the old seats, and the carved and panelled ends, still remain, though the latter were retained merely as a portion of the pews, with the other parts of which they stand in singular contrast. Many similar instances are to be met with; and we are acquainted with several churches, besides those which we have already specified, in which the seats remain entire. It is to be hoped that these ancient seats will never be destroyed. If alterations or repairs are necessary, let these memorials of a former age remain, or be restored, and let the church in other respects be fitted up in a corresponding manner. To us it is a most pleasing reflection, that we can sit down on the very same benches on which our countrymen sat four or five centuries ago. This feeling is not superstitious, it is merely indicative of a reverence for those of a former generation.

Among the most splendid ornaments of churches, prior to the Reformation, was the roodloft, which was usually fixed above the screen, by which the chancel was separated from the body of the church. It was, therefore, a most conspicuous object on entering from the western end, or from the northern or southern porch. This was a matter of some importance, because the people, on coming within the church, bowed the head to the

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image on the roodloft. The relics of this practice may still be traced in many of our country villages, whose rustic inhabitants, on entering into the church, turn towards the chancel, and bow the head, just in the same manner as they would bow to a superior whom they might meet, or into whose presence they might be brought. We have noticed this practice in several country churches in our agricultural districts, for from the towns it has long since been banished. We give the following extract from Mr. Bloxam:—

"We now approach the division between the nave or body of the church and the chancel, or choir. This was formed by a beautiful and highly decorated screen, sometimes of stone, but generally of wood, panel, and open-work tracery, painted and gilt. Above this was a cross-beam, which formed a main support to the roodloft, a gallery in which the crucifix, or rood, and the accompanying images of the blessed Virgin and St. John were placed, so as to be seen by the parishioners in the body of the church" (p. 165).

Mr. Bloxam alludes to the roodloft in Long Sutton Church, Somersetshire, which is very splendid, and elaborately carved and painted, extending across the church, and approached by means of a turret on the south side. He also mentions other churches, in which considerable remains are still to be found. Whenever we enter an old parish church we immediately look towards the chancel, to ascertain whether any ancient memorials remain; and we have discovered, in many instances, larger or smaller portions both of the screens and the roodlofts. In some churches the gallery, or loft, was of considerable size. In the centre of the gallery there was a large crucifix called the rood, with the figures of Mary and John, one on each side. Sometimes, however, there was no gallery, but merely a crucifix on the cross beam, with the two figures as in the former case. A most splendid roodloft still exists, in complete preservation, the rood and the other figures having of course been removed at the Reformation, in the church of Ranwell, Somersetshire. A portion of the gallery still continues in Corsham Church, Wilts, and the colours, for in this case it was painted, are still fresh, notwithstanding the lapse of time; and in the church of Monkton Farleigh, the spot on which the rood was fixed may easily be traced, though in this case it does not appear that there was any gallery. The church of Fritwell, Oxon, contains portions of a roodloft, which must have been of great beauty.

It appears that the roodloft was introduced into churches not earlier than the fifteenth century; so that the rood, or crucifix, before that period, was fixed on the beam which extended across the arch of the chancel. Mr. Bloxam states that the rood was

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not introduced until the eleventh century. In the present day there is little danger, that these relics will be used for superstitious purposes, consequently we cannot but hope that the good taste of the present generation will preserve those which still remain.

The carved screen, as has been already remarked, was generally a portion of the roodloft. Our churches present many rich and beautiful specimens of these screens, though numbers have disappeared within the present century, before the spirit of modern improvements. A most splendid one still remains in Banwell Church, the precise date of which is fixed, by the churchwardens' accounts, still existing, in which are various charges for its carving and erection; from which it appears that it was finished early in the fifteenth century. Some few remain of earlier date. Mr. Bloxam mentions one at Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, of the thirteenth century. Still they were not common until the fifteenth, before which time a curtain, or veil, was drawn across the arch between the nave and the chancel. We earnestly implore our readers, especially our clerical readers, to use their exertions and their influence in preserving these interesting and beautiful relics from that destruction which has overtaken so many. Besides the ordinary screen separating the nave and the chancel, there was in some churches what was termed a *reredos*, or screen, at the back of the high altar. This *reredos* still remains in the abbey church at St. Alban's; and a portion is still to be seen in the cathedral at Bristol. It occupied the place of the modern altar-piece.

In every church the pulpit is a conspicuous object; but in former ages many churches were altogether without such, according to the views of the present generation, a necessary appendage. Still pulpits existed, though not generally, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Those which remain are not earlier than the fifteenth century, with some few exceptions. This is the date of the elegant stone pulpit in Magdalen College, Oxford, erected by the celebrated founder of that noble establishment.

In the early period of the Church the clergy usually stood on the steps of the altar to address the people. But we have pulpits existing of an early date; and from King Edward's injunctions, A.D. 1547, the first year of his reign, the pulpit is mentioned as the place in which the Epistle and Gospel were to be read, before the liturgy was prepared. They were not common, however; and in the same injunctions it is enjoined, that the parishioners provide *a comely and honest pulpit for the preaching of God's word.*

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Somersetshire is remarkable for pulpits of stone of exceeding richness and great beauty, some of them of ancient date, and others as late as the reign of James I. So common are they in this county, that they excite no surprise in those who reside in the West of England; but persons from other districts, in which no such pulpits exist, are particularly struck, and especially with their number. The stone pulpit at St. Peter's Church, Oxford, must be well known to many of our readers. There was also a pulpit of stone in St. Mary's Church, which was removed during the Vice-Chancellorship of John Owen, by whom another of wood was erected. Some slight remains of both these pulpits are preserved in St. Mary's Church. In the church of Monkton Farleigh is a very ancient wooden pulpit, painted and beautifully carved, and in a high state of preservation. It is of the same character with the ancient screen and the oaken seats, which are evidently of the fifteenth century. The living is in the patronage of the Bishop of Salisbury; and there is this interesting circumstance connected with this pulpit, namely, that Jewel, when bishop of that see, must have often preached from it. He was in the habit of preaching in various parts of his diocese, and Farleigh was a place which he often visited, being the residence of one of his friends. It was at Farleigh that he died, having preached, on the Sunday previous, at Laycock, a few miles distant. We mention this circumstance, because, in our opinion, it adds additional interest to the various ancient memorials still preserved in this small but venerable structure. The pulpit, indeed, well deserves the attention of the Christian antiquary, as well as the portions of the screen and the ancient seats.

Reading desks are of more recent introduction than pulpits; indeed, they did not exist previous to the Reformation. There were, however, moveable desks, called eagle desks, because they were sustained by a brazen eagle, even as early as the fifteenth, or even as the fourteenth century. They were used in the times of Popery for the Epistle and the Gospel. These, however, are not to be confounded with the reading desk properly so called, which was introduced at a later period. By the rubric, in the first liturgy of King Edward, the priest is ordered to commence the service in the quire. The vicar or rector had a seat in the choir, and in that seat the service was read during the reign of Edward. This position was found to be very inconvenient, and, therefore, in the reign of Elizabeth, the ordinaries, according to the power with which they were invested, appointed that proper reading desks should be set up. By the eighty-second canon it is provided, that *a convenient seat shall be made at the charge of the parish for the minister to read service in.*

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No one who views our ecclesiastical edifices with the eye of an antiquary, can have failed to notice those very elegant seats, or recesses, which occur in so many of our churches. We quote again from Mr. Bloxam :—

"Near the high altar we frequently find, in the south wall of the chancel, a series of stone seats, sometimes without, but generally beneath plain or enriched arched canopies, often supported by slender piers, which served to divide the seats. In most instances these seats are three in number, but they vary from one to five, and are the *sedilia*, or seats, formerly appropriated during high mass to the use of the officiating priest, and his attendant ministers, the deacon and sub-deacon, who retired thither during the chanting of the *Gloria Patri in Excelsis*, and some other parts of the service" (p. 183).

Mr. Bloxam states that these *sedilia* are not usually met with of so early a date as the twelfth century. At the same time they do occur of that period; and from the thirteenth century, until the Reformation, a church was seldom built without them. In the Church of Colerne, Wilts, there are five of these seats, with rich canopies, and of an early period. Indeed we have never seen a finer specimen of the ancient *sedilia*. There is also a very fine specimen in the choir of Merton College Chapel, Oxford, and another in St. Mary's Church. They are found also in other parts of the church, as well as in the chancel. It would seem, that they were generally constructed wherever an altar was erected. At Portbury, near Bristol, there are three of these ancient seats in the chancel, and three more in the south aisle; and besides these *sedilia* there are in some churches ancient oaken seats or stalls. In the little Church of Weston in Gordano, Somersetshire, are four stalls of this description, with two of smaller dimensions on each side of the entrance through the screen. To specify other instances is unnecessary, as they are so numerous, that the ecclesiastical antiquary may meet with them in almost every part of the country.

The *piscina* is, perhaps, still more frequent than the *sedilia*. It is often situated in the chancel, and on examination it will be found, as in the ancient fonts, that there is an aperture by which the water, which was poured into it, escaped through a drain into the soil below. The priest was accustomed to wash his hands before the consecration of the elements, and at other times during the service, and the water was poured away into the *piscina*. Under an arch in Compton Bishop Church, Somersetshire, is a very beautiful double *piscina*, with a small recess in the wall above, the ancient door of which still remains. It is not unusual to meet with a recess of this description. Generally it is in the north wall, near the communion table; but

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at Compton Martin it appears above the *piscina.* This recess was called the *locker,* because the vessels used at the altar were kept in it when they were not in use. Sometimes the old doors remain. There is one in a very perfect state in Box Church, Wiltshire. The ancient key still remains to that at Compton Bishop.*

It was not unusual to pave the chancel, near the high altar, with those small square tiles, which are so frequently found in making vaults in our ancient churches. Sometimes they were used in other parts of the church, though not so frequently. In the abbey church, Bath, at the depth of about ten feet, these tiles are frequently found in digging a grave or a vault. They must have been used in the old church, the present edifice having been erected at the commencement of the sixteenth century. In some few churches fragments of these tiles may still be seen, though the number is annually diminished by the thefts which are committed, and which the sacredness of the place does not prevent. In the choir of St. Peter's Church, and Merton College Chapel, Oxford, there are some good specimens of these ancient tiles still forming a part of the pavement. Not long since, we were present at a very interesting examination of the site of a chapel of a monastery, suppressed A.D. 1535, and probably levelled with the ground soon after. There were many ancient relics, some of them of a most remarkable kind, which we hope to particularize on some other occasion; but amongst them were large numbers of the tiles in question, which had evidently formed the floor of the chancel of the church. Several of these tiles we have examined, some ornamented with flowers, others with stars, but most of them with the figures of animals, among which the griffin is conspicuous. Their dimensions are from seven to eight inches square.

In some instances of repairs, within the last few years, the

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* The following extract from "A Few Words to Churchwardens," is important: "You will commonly see on your right hand, as you stand facing the altar, a recess in the wall, with a hole leading to a water-drain: this was used to pour away the water in which the clergyman rinsed the sacred vessels, which he always did after the holy communion. By the side of this, it is not unlikely that there may be three seats in the wall, one higher than another: it was here that the priests and deacons used to sit. All these things you will sometimes find in like manner near the east end of the south aisle. The reason I speak of them is, because in many churches they have been boarded over, either to hide the damp, as I said before, or from a fancy that it made the church warmer. But this is altogether a mistake: and the things so hidden are, at any rate, great ornaments, and so is the rood-screen, which is often taken away out of a notion that it hinders the clergyman from being heard from the altar" (p. 8).

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ancient paintings on the walls of churches have been brought to light, after having been covered over during several centuries by coats of whitewash. As all superstitious monuments were ordered to be destroyed at the Reformation, the paintings on the church walls were brought under that designation; and the readiest way to comply with the royal injunctions was to apply the brush. By this means many of the paintings were preserved: nor is it unlikely, that many more will from time to time be discovered. In some cases they have been restored; and instances are given by Mr. Bloxam. In the year 1824, some ancient paintings on plaister were discovered, of the date 1360, in the church of Islip, Oxfordshire. We recollect an instance in a country church, in which, from the long period that had elapsed since the last coat of whitewash had been applied, two figures, larger than life, became visible on the sides of the arch, by which the chancel was separated from the body of the church. They were in a high state of preservation, and the colours had lost none of their original freshness; but they have probably disappeared ere this, before the spirit of modern improvement. In the church of Heningford Abbots, near St. Ives, Hunts, there are, or at least were, some dozen years ago, remains of the ancient paintings, which appeared through the whitewash. The roof of the church was of wood, and open, and on the cross-beams, which had also been whitewashed, were distinctly visible, in the old black letter, the expression "*Ora Pro Nobis.*" We sincerely hope that the brush has not again been applied, and that these relics will be preserved. In the chapel of the nunnery at Godstow, which was used as a barn when we last visited the spot nearly twenty years since, there were several remains on the walls of the ancient paintings, which we trust are still preserved. We have not seen Godstow during the period just mentioned, but we would suggest, that steps should be taken to preserve the old chapel; and we would request our clerical readers to interpose, in their respective parishes, to rescue from destruction any of those interesting memorials, which are still not uncommon in our older churches, and especially in those in the country.

Much havoc is sometimes committed in our old churches, by vestries and churchwardens, under the name of improvements; and we are sure, that we are indebted for those remains of ancient seats and screens which still exist, not to the good taste of the parishioners, but to their parsimony. For this we are thankful, though we regret that any parish should be reluctant to spend a portion of their property on the Lord's house. We once remarked, while admiring some beautiful ancient seats and a very richly carved pulpit, to a gentleman of taste and for-

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tune who resided in the parish—*If these seats and this pulpit are ever in danger by the vestry's wish to pew the church, you must take care of them.* He replied, *I should like to hear you talk to our farmers of new pews. There is no danger—they will not, at all events, in our day, think of anything of the sort.* To such a feeling do we owe the existence of many ancient ornaments in our churches.

Few persons can have failed to notice the open and beautiful roofs in some ancient parochial edifices. The roof, generally of oak, is frequently seen open to the top, and in many cases highly ornamented. The roof of Westminster Hall, of the fourteenth century, and that of the Hall of Christ Church, Oxford, of the early part of the sixteenth, must, especially the former, be well known to most of our readers; but probably not a few are ignorant of the fact, that some of our parish churches present instances equally interesting with those which we have now specified. Mr. Bloxam mentions the roof of Higham Ferrars Church, Northamptonshire, as a specimen of the decorated style. Few of this date, however, remain; for the roofs of this period, being high and acute, were more exposed to the effects of the weather than the rest of the building, and have, consequently, in most instances, though not in all, been replaced by others, on a different construction, being much lower and flatter. Many exist of the fifteenth, and in some of our churches the height and shape of the original roof may be traced by the weather marks on the tower. The lofty roof of one of the chapels attached to the church of St. Mary, Oxford, may still be traced by the mark on the side of the tower; and on the tower of Christ Church Cathedral, which is of very ancient date, the marks of the old roof both of the nave and the transepts, are so distinct, that no one can take, even a passing view, without observing them. There is a wooden roof of the early part of the sixteenth century in the church of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford; but the most beautiful which has ever fallen under our notice is that of the parish church of March, in the Isle of Ely. It is richly ornamented, somewhat in the manner of Westminster Hall, is in a high state of preservation, and cannot be of later date than the fifteenth century. It will amply repay a journey from Cambridge to March to inspect its beauties. Within the last few years some of the ancient roofs have been covered over with a ceiling of plaister; and, unless the clergy bestir themselves, it is impossible to say how much mischief may be effected in this respect by the spirit of modern improvement, which is now so rampant.

Attached to our cathedrals, the conventual churches, and also

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to many parochial churches, are certain chapels or oratories, in which, prior to the Reformation, altars were erected for the purpose of masses for their founders. These chapels were separated originally from the church by a screen, either of wood or stone, frequently of most exquisite workmanship. In many parish churches these chapels are still most attractive objects, in consequence of the remains of their former magnificence. In the church of Colerne, Wilts, the remains of a most magnificent stone screen, by which a small chapel was separated from the body of the church, are still visible, though much of it is concealed by a gallery, and all of it is partly covered with plaister and whitewash. At Corsham, in the same county, a chapel of considerable size is entered from the north aisle of the church by an iron door, over which is a most richly sculptured canopy. In the chapel, besides two ancient altar tombs, is a niche in which formerly stood the image of the saint, to whom the building was dedicated; there is also a stone bracket, on which, in the times of Romanism, was placed a light to be kept continually burning. Similar brackets are to be met with in many ancient chapels. Such chapels, which have now the appearance of side aisles, especially where the screens by which they were separated from the church are removed, were erected by lords of manors and persons of wealth and influence, and endowed with lands sufficient for the maintenance of a priest or priests, who were to say mass for the souls of the founder and his family. In a vault under the chapel was generally the place of sepulture of the founder. Several such chapels exist in St. Mary Redcliffe Church, Bristol. There is a very beautiful one in the church of Box. They are, indeed, too numerous to be specified; but wherever they occur they are most interesting objects, and as far as possible should be kept up in their original state.

Of all the chapels, however, annexed to our ancient churches, the Lady Chapel, so designated in honour of the Virgin Mary, to whom it was dedicated, was generally the most beautiful. Some of these structures, which are usually at the east end of the church, either parallel with the chancel, or attached to it after the fashion of Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, are of great beauty; the roofs, in many instances, being highly wrought, and vestiges of shrines and niches, with their rich canopies, still remaining as marks of them agnificence of their founders. In the Lady Chapel at St. Mary Redcliffe Church, Bristol, which is erected at the east end of the chancel, the steps leading to the ancient altar still remain, so that its elevation and exact position may be distinctly ascertained. The chapel is used as

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a Sunday-school room, but it is in a good state of preservation. It is one of the numerous interesting objects in that magnificent church.

Of the altars which existed prior to the Reformation, few remains exist, as they were removed in obedience to the royal injunctions; but a few years since there was discovered at Christ Church, Oxford, on the removal of a quantity of rubbish from the walls of a chapel annexed to the cathedral, a portion of a very ancient altar, richly sculptured, which appears to have been covered over for the purpose of concealment, probably during the period of the civil wars, when the most remarkable specimens of ancient art were destroyed, under the plea of zeal for religion and opposition to Popery. Some few remains occur in other places, but we are not aware that any ancient stone altar, in a perfect state, exists in any part of the kingdom.

With respect to painted windows of ancient date, it may be observed, that the subject is too large for the present article. At another time we may enter upon it separately, for it is not only extensive, but highly interesting. With respect to ancient crosses, of which so many exist, though most of them are somewhat mutilated, we only remark, that we have many interesting details to enumerate, which may probably be submitted to the notice of our readers on another occasion.

The ancient chests are to be found, which, in many churches, are objects of no slight interest to the ecclesiastical antiquary. Some of them are formed out of the solid trunk of an oak, having a cover of amazing thickness. The most remarkable, which has ever fallen under our observation, is in the vestry, adjoining the parish church of Mangotsfield, in the county of Gloucester. It is very massive, and cannot be of later date than the fifteenth century. Many such, we have no doubt, exist, though unnoticed, in the churches of our rural districts. In other cases they are carved in the front, and the date may be ascertained by the style of the work. Others are of more recent date, and of the reigns of Elizabeth and James many specimens exist. In the church of Corsham is an enormous one, with three locks, on the iron work of which is the date 1560. There is still a chest of very ancient date in St. Mary Magdalene Church, Oxford, in which the ornaments were preserved previous to the Reformation.

The communion rails are also an object of interest to the ecclesiastical antiquary. Rails, however, are not enjoined by the Church. During the latter part of the reign of James I. and the former part of that of Charles I. an attempt was made,

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especially by Laud, to fix the communion table at the east end of the chancel, close to the wall, and to enclose it with rails. After the Reformation the Lord's Supper was administered at a table, which was placed in the body of the church, or in the chancel, as the minister might deem most convenient. This was enjoined by the eighty-second canon, as well as by various royal injunctions, and was the practice until the time of Laud. After his elevation to the episcopal bench he laboured unceasingly to fix the table near the eastern wall, and in many churches rails were erected. By the canons of 1640, which were subsequently repealed, both these points were decided according to the archbishop's wish; nor can it, in our opinion, be said that the practice was unlawful or unbecoming. However, it was distasteful to the Puritans, and during the wars the rails were destroyed, and the table removed into the body of the church. Subsequent to the Restoration the matter was still left as before: the table was to stand in the church or chancel, at the option of the clergy and the ordinary. In short, no position was specified, and such is the state of the case at the present moment. But the good sense of the clergy has accomplished what Laud could never effect, namely, the most complete uniformity in every church; for no one would think of placing the table in any other part of the church, or of omitting to enclose it with rails.

From this statement it will be seen that the practice of putting up rails originated after the Restoration, though in some cases they had been erected under Archbishop Laud. Thus in St. Giles's Church, Oxford, the patronage of which is in Laud's College, St. John's, the rails still remain, and are of the date of 1630. As the question was left indifferent, we must not suppose that they were immediately set up in all churches. It was not until the first race of clergy, after the Restoration, had died off, that the practice became universal; while, in some parishes, either from inadvertence or scruples on the part of the clergy, they were not set up until a recent period. Thus in the church of Shrivenham there were no rails, nor had there ever been any, when the present incumbent, the Venerable Archdeacon Berens, took possession of his living about thirty years ago.

Some very old communion tables exist in churches, as old indeed as the Reformation. We could specify many churches, were it necessary, in which very ancient tables, some carved and others plain, are still to be found.

It appears that the royal arms were frequently fixed over the chancel, and often on the spot formerly occupied by the rood, subsequent to the Reformation; but the custom was by no

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means general until the Restoration, and those which existed at the commencement of the wars were generally taken down. During the Commonwealth the arms of the State were sometimes fixed up in parish churches. Royal arms, of the date of the Restoration, are not unfrequently to be met with in village churches. In the church of Monkton Farleigh they bear the date of 1662, and in that of Widcombe, Somersetshire, the date of 1660. It is, therefore, clear, from this circumstance, that they were put up in some churches immediately on the return of the king, while in others they were not fixed up until after the Act of Uniformity. We hope that these ancient arms will be preserved, in preference to setting up new ones.

Formerly there was a small bell, which was usually placed in a little turret at the eastern end of the nave, and which was called the *Sanctus*. It was rung during mass, when the priest pronounced the *Ter-Sanctus*, and at the elevation of the host. The bell still remains in some few churches, the rope hanging down between the chancel and the nave; and the turret exists in a great number, though deprived of its bell. Mr. Bloxam mentions three instances in Warwickshire where the bell is preserved—Long Compton, Whichford, and Brailes; and we are able to add two more to the list—Portbury, and Weston-in-Gordano, Somerset, in both of which the bell remains, and is called by the common people the *Saint's bell*, evidently from the ancient designation *Sanctu's*. In some cases these bells are rung when the minister enters the church, as a signal to the people that the service is about to commence, and in many parishes it is still the custom to ring the smallest bell in the tower on the same occasion. At Weston the bell is not only called the Saint's bell, but sometimes St. Paul's, to whom the church is dedicated.

Galleries were formerly unknown in churches, with the exception of the *rood-loft*, which in some places was of considerable size. They disfigure many of our ancient churches, but they are necessary evils. A few small galleries exist of the seventeenth century, though they were generally erected at the end of one of the aisles, and in most cases for the accommodation of one particular family. The most ancient and the largest of the old galleries with which we are acquainted is in the parish church of Corsham. It extends all along the south aisle, and was erected by a lady in 1632, who owned the property of the present Lord Methuen, to whom the gallery still belongs. In order to afford light to the gallery, it was necessary to insert windows, on the south side of the church, over which is inscribed the date of their erection. The practice of inscrib-

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ing the date on any alterations was very common during this century, and many such instances as that at Corsham occur.*

In some churches, especially in villages, the stand for the hour-glass is preserved. We mention this, not as a decoration, but as an illustration of the habits of our ancestors. It was the practice to preach by the glass—a Puritan practice with respect to its introduction, but still common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mr. Bloxam mentions several churches in which these stands remain. We remember some years ago paying a visit to the church of Weston Favel, once the scene of the labours of the Rev. James Hervey, and we found the glass-stand, consisting of circular hoops, fastened to the wall by the side of the pulpit.

It is lamentable to notice the havoc made in some churches for the purpose of making pews. No one has any right to injure or deface the building for such a purpose, and the guilty parties are liable to punishment. It is the duty of the churchwardens to prevent such unseemly acts. The following extract from the "Few Words to Churchwardens" is important:—

"The chancel arch itself is too often knocked about to make room for pews. You ought to remember that the beauty of a church, when you look up, if from the west, is entirely spoiled, wherever this arch has been allowed to be hurt" (p. 8).

We have in our eyes a beautiful little church, with a most elegant chancel arch, one side of which was recently cut away to make an additional seat in a pew.

The communion plate is an interesting object in a church, and in some places it is of considerable antiquity, though but little was preserved during the troubles between the years 1640 and 1660. In the parish of Widcombe, Somerset, however, there is a cup of the date of 1575.

It has been our aim, in this paper, to encourage that laudable feeling in favour of the preservation of our ancient churches, which has recently been revived in this country; and we indulge the hope, that our remarks may meet the eye of some of the clergy, and induce them to pay attention to a subject, which, in our opinion, is not only a very interesting, but also a very important one. There are two societies, the *Cambridge Camden Society* and the *Oxford Architectural Society*, whose object is to preserve our ancient churches, and also to examine and illus-

* A most singular inscription exists over the porch of the parish church of Priston, Somerset. It was placed there by one of the former ministers of the parish, and is as follows:—"*Priston! Priston! Repent and believe the Gospel! John Watts*, 1595."

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trate their architecture and ornaments. Any communication from clergymen or parishioners respecting a church will be received by these societies, and any information will be given. We trust that the day for destroying and defacing churches has gone by, and that both clergy and people are resolved, that all the existing memorials of our forefathers shall be scrupulously and religiously preserved to future generations.

ART. IV.—*Sermons, Dissertations, Translations, Poems, &c. &c.* Three vols. 8vo. Baldwin.

2. *The Pleiad; or, Evidences of Christianity.* 8vo. 1818.
3. *The Works of the Rev. Thomas Zouch, D.D., F.R.S.* With a Memoir of his Life. Two vols. 8vo. 1820.
4. *Translation of the Lyrics of Horace.* 1821.
5. *Langhorne's Plutarch.* With Notes and Illustrations, &c. Six vols. 8vo. Fifth edition. 1828.
6. *The Roman Catholic Claims.* 8vo. 1829.
7. *The British Plutarch.* Six vols. 8vo. 1830.
8. *Waltoni Prolegomina, Recensuit.* F. Wrangham. Two vols. 8vo.
9. *New Version of the Psalms.* Simpkin.
10. *Arundines Cami.* Collegit atque Edidit Henricus Drury. 8vo. Cantabrigiæ. 1841.

IT has been frequently remarked, that those who are ever moving and speaking in clubs, and in the chief places of concourse, must always appear greater men in the eyes of the world, than those who live in closets and keep lonely vigils. The histories of the more forward and ostentatious portion of the human race, who have pushed their fortunes into public life with any measure of success, are sure to be recorded. Those even who have busied themselves in narrower circles and in less prominent positions will also have their reward; whilst the select few, whose retiring modesty and gentler nature has made them anxious to escape from the notice and rough contact of the world, are suffered to pass through a life of secret usefulness and devotedness to God almost without remark. Year by year they may have been hiveing glory which shall not end with this world; but they find no "sacred poet," and therefore no record of their faith and love remains.

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Nearly allied to this is the lot of those whose minds, first, by what is native there, and secondly, by what has been acquired, have diversified their day with conversing rather with books than individuals—with communing with their own spirits rather than with those of living men, who have consequently shrunk, through the repining influence which a classical and inspiring literature has imperceptibly shed upon their hearts, from taking an active part in the public concerns of the world. For that contact with busy life, which is so acceptable to other men, is oftentimes nothing short of a sore trial to the refined habits of the man of cultivated mind, who cannot bring himself to exhibit the coarser lines of individual character, or to descend to those mountebank tricks (since we have not a softer or more perfumed word with which to express our meaning) which are so necessary to captivate the multitude. This latter style of character may not be the most useful to mankind, but it is unquestionably the most amiable and endearing. It was the existence of this interesting trait in the character of Charles James Fox that shed so mild and softening a lustre over it. "He was an awkward and unpractised demagogue (as the accomplished Lord Dudley said of him), who in the art of cajoling a mob was infinitely surpassed by persons whom, in point of talents, it would be quite ludicrous to compare with him. For (he continues) by his habits and feelings he was the creature of polished life, as it existed under the ancient monarchies of Europe." Who, again, can think upon the character of the accomplished nobleman we have just mentioned, and remember how, with the highest, perhaps unequalled, intellectual qualifications, he absolutely recoiled from public life, while he delighted to spend whole evenings in pouring forth the exhaustless stores of his rare mind into the ear of the aged but intellectual Mrs. Dugald Stewart. Mr. Canning undoubtedly judged well when he advised him to contribute to the *Quarterly*, and to "take refuge in the *Reviews;*" for the privacy of the article without a name—"the piquant side-dish," as some one has characterized his articles, was exactly the thing to suit him.

Our readers will easily suppose that we have attempted, in these foregoing remarks, dimly to shadow forth the character of one whose name stands at the head of this article, and whom God has lately taken to himself. For the reasons already stated, we regret that we have not sufficient materials at hand from which we might furnish a full and particular, instead of a brief and passing, sketch of the brilliant but peaceful career of this amiable and accomplished man, from whose valuable writings we have learned so much, and whose exquisite poems, some of

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them at least, we have been accustomed to whisper almost from our earliest years.

The late Venerable Archdeacon Wrangham was the son of a somewhat wealthy yeoman, a native of the East Riding of Yorkshire, who, as we are informed, bestowed upon his well-favoured and highly-gifted son the best education which his native province could supply*—a blessing which the son often gratefully acknowledged, and never in more touching terms than in that little sketch of the life of a young lady to which we shall presently have occasion to refer; in which he speaks of the "low and languid morning so often unexpectedly following a day of cheerfulness and a night of repose, the delusive glow of the cheek, the debility and emaciation, and, above all, the importunate and unrelenting cough—as exhibited to me in the last days of a father, to whose judicious tenderness and self-denying liberality, under God, I owe all my blessings—will never be erased from my remembrance."

Short as is the sketch from which this passage is taken, it leaves nothing to be desired but what is indeed a serious omission—a distinct exhibition of the sole ground of a sinner's hope, which we doubt not for a moment was the strength of her heart whom he has so beautifully described; we only regret that our author did not more clearly exhibit it in the memoir, for most surely he would thereby have richly gilded the prospect, which, as it now stands, is wanting in that which can alone enliven with a cheering ray, and pierce through the otherwise dark cloud.

His amiable and filial feelings are also happily expressed in the following sonnet, bearing the early date of 1794:—

"Much on my early youth I love to dwell,
When by my father's side, a stripling boy,
I paced with steps unequal; fain to tell
Of some new-practised game, some new-bought toy.
How oft with bliss, which later days deny,
My prattling tongue its story would repeat!
Bounding beneath his tender smile, how high
With blameless pride my filial heart would beat!
O for those hours of ecstacy again,
Which thus on life's sweet prime their lustre shed!

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* His first tutor was the Rev. Stephen Thirlwall; his second, the Rev. John Robinson, who afterwards became Master of the Free Grammar School at York; his last, the Rev. Joseph Milner, of Hull, the well known author of the "Church History," which was afterwards continued by Mr. Scott, and of three volumes of Sermons, which will instruct and edify the hearts of many when his history shall have been superseded by a work of principles more clearly defined, deeper research, and of greater accuracy with respect to matters of fact.

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The radiant season I invite in vain,
The second beam to gild this orphan head:
It comes not twice. Nor boots it to repine;
I wish his ashes soon may mingle mine."

We have no notices of his school-boy days; but in the year 1786 we find that he was entered a pensioner at Magdalene College, Cambridge, when he was not yet eighteen years of age. He afterwards removed to Trinity Hall, and subsequently to Trinity College,* where he began and completed a course of such uncommon brilliancy, that it will be deemed interesting to mention some few of his successful efforts while he continued a member of that richly endowed, as well as calm retreat of sheltered ease. It must be so very near to a certainty, that the same person who was so successful in competing with the full strength of the University, must also have carried all before him, almost without effort, in the narrower range of competition in his own college, that we do not regret our inability to mention what was the exact number of the prizes or exhibitions which he carried off. In the year 1787 we find him gaining the prize for the best Greek epigrams. He took his degree in 1790, when he obtained the distinguished honours of third wrangler, and second Smith's prizeman. In the classical examination he gained the first medal; which honour is considerably enhanced by the recollection, that it was after the same examination that Mr. Tweddall, whose "Remains" are so well known, and whose reputation as a classical scholar will be long remembered, obtained the *second.* In 1794 Mr. Wrangham gained the Seatonian prize, for the poem of the greatest merit on the "Restoration of the Jews." In the following year we find him again entering the lists, but failing of success, in the subject of the "Destruction of Babylon," which was adjudged in favour of Mr. Trollope. In the year 1800 he was successful for the same prize, the subject for which was the "Holy Land." Whether the like success would have attended him three years after, when he again contended for the palm of victory, it is impossible to say, for, contrary to previous custom, the time for receiving the poems from candidates was abridged nearly three months, without Mr. Wrangham's being aware of it (for he was not at this time resident at college) until it was

* It is not so generally known as it deserves to be, that, a few months before his death, he presented to the learned society of Trinity College, Cambridge, nearly ten thousand pamphlets, bound in one thousand volumes, embracing an infinite variety of subjects. The collection itself was the result of many years' labour and research, and will, doubtless, be highly prized by the society who have been so fortunate as to be able to claim it as their own.

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too late. He was naturally a little vexed at this disappointment, as the following extract from the preface to the poem, "The Raising of Jairus' Daughter," clearly indicates: "While three months only were indulged to the writer, four have been reserved for the judges. Does this new arrangement exhibit with greater correctness the ratio between the difficulty of composing and of comparing? Or are the relative toils of criticism and of authorship still indicated by the old sentence—

'Natura omnes fecit judices, paucos artifices?'"

He published the poem, as we have already intimated—and a short memoir, interspersed with a few poetical productions of the precocious Caroline, daughter of his friend Dr. Symmons, was originally appended to it, and shed a lustre over its latter pages. Viewed as a composition, this short sketch is truly elegant and beautiful. It is one of those happier exertions of the author's pen wherein he gets beyond the relation of simple facts, and becomes the painter of sentiment. We feel certain that, if it had been written some ten or fifteen years later, the Cross would not have been so dimly seen, as is now the case, in this, in many respects, most interesting narrative. For, though only fourteen years of age, we find him saying of the subject of the memoir, that "to her extraordinary charms and talents she united virtues almost as extraordinary; particularly those of exquisite but well regulated sensibility, of active humanity, of diffidence which shrunk from applause, and of piety, which, like the cyprus, ever verdant, seemed to flourish with augmented vigour upon the borders of the grave."

Mr. Wrangham was unsuccessful in competing for the prize which was offered in the year 1804, by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, for the best English poem on "The Restoration of Learning in the East." We are free to express our surprise at his failure, for it was a subject which was, indeed, nicely adapted to his powers; but it was gained by Mr. Charles Grant, now Lord Glenelg—an elegant and accomplished scholar no one will dispute, but whose *speeches*, nevertheless, are by no means marked by that chastened severity of diction which distinguishes the productions of Wrangham, and those of his friend Lord Dudley even to a still greater degree. Mr. Wrangham's poem, though failing of success, as it regarded the prize, was published by the author at the request of the judges; and, what is very remarkable, it was by this delightful, but in one sense unsuccessful poem, that Mr. Wrangham's poetic fame was probably most widely spread. We cannot forbear turning once again to the beautiful and well-known lines in it, where, after

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many high and splendid praises lavished upon that great statesman, to whom India owes so much, the late Marquis Wellesley, he bursts forth with a delightful apostrophe to his beloved Cambridge:—

"Wellesley, his Eton's boast, his Oxford's pride,
Loved by each muse, to every grace allied;
Though yet unsheath'd his blazing falchion waves,
And yet fresh millions he subdues and saves;
His eye's soft beam still throws on learning's groves,
And fosters while he guards the arts he loves.
E'en now on Hagli's banks the pile he rears,
Forms with his mind, and with his presence cheers;
In gorgeous state the glittering turrets rise,
And brighter dawn illumes the eastern skies.
There Brown, Buchanan (name to learning dear),
Train the fair promise of the opening year.
From Granta's mart convey th' exhaustless store,
Her school's ingenuous strife, her classic lore;
All that her Newton, all her Bentley taught,
Her Barrow's eloquence, her Bacon's thought,
The precious cargo bear to India's strand,
And a new Granta decks the happy land.

"Granta! the name wakes memory's softest tear:
O to my heart beyond all rival dear!
Dream of my night, and vision of my day,
Accept the homage of this grateful lay.
That I have friends, my throbbing bosom's pride,
That love for me his fillet threw aside,
That round my hearth his tenderest pledges shine,
That home and peace and competence are mine—
To thee, next heaven, I owe; and should the strain
Which now I pour one favouring plaudit gain,
Thou gavest the lyre from which the music springs—
Thou gavest the art to sweep its sounding strings."

"The Sufferings of the Primitive Martyrs" was the subject for the Seaton poem, in 1811, and this Mr. Wrangham did not allow another to carry off. He gained his last victory (hic victor cæstus artemque repono) for the Seaton prize in the succeeding year; the subject was "Joseph made known to his Brethren." His poem on "the Death of Saul and Jonathan" was published in the course of the following year, and inscribed to the Hon. J. W. Ward, afterwards Lord Dudley, a young nobleman of singularly powerful mind and extensive acquirements, and whom nothing but the progress of organic injury of the brain prevented from being the first, as he was undoubtedly the most accom-

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plished individual of his day; and his day was also the day of Canning and of Brougham.

Why Mr. Wrangham did not proceed to a fellowship in Trinity College, a society upon which he had brought such distinguished honour, and of which he was so great an ornament, we are unable to state, with any degree of certainty. That Trinity College should have missed of his invaluable services as a tutor, if those services could indeed be obtained at any price, may seem an additional subject of surprise; for what College in either of our Universities, and especially that of which he was a member, pre-eminent as it is for its encouragement of classical learning, would not have deemed itself too fortunate, which had a chance of success, in securing such a lecturer as Mr. Wrangham? Trinity College was not the society, we may be assured, which could overlook the importance, we had almost said the paramount importance, of *taste* of the highest order, in one whose office is to be the forming of the tastes of others. Soundness and accuracy of scholarship are by no means a sufficient qualification, either for the head of a public school, or for a tutor of a college. In both cases minds are to be cast, by their instrumentality, in a certain mould, which is to give a colour and complexion to the intellectual character for life. And truly, as it would have regarded Mr. Wrangham, that young man would have enjoyed an advantage which few colleges can offer, and which is rarely placed within the reach even of a few, whose mind and judgment should have been in any degree formed by the refining touch of one possessed of scholarship so sound and various, and of taste so exquisite. Mr. Wrangham did not long continue to reside in Cambridge; indeed, it seems that he left it, soon after he had taken his degree, for the occupation of tutor in the family of the Duke of Manchester. Subsequent to this engagement, he became curate of Cobham, in Surrey. About the year 1805 he obtained the incumbency of Hanmanby, and also that of Mustow, in the county of York. The first-mentioned living, on which he resided, he continued to retain till his death. He was appointed Archdeacon of Cleveland by the Archbishop of York, and afterwards Archdeacon of the East Riding. He had a stall in the cathedrals of Chester and of York, and was presented by the Chapter of the first-mentioned cathedral to the rectory of Dodleston, in the county palatine of Chester, in the church of which he caused a monument to be erected to the memory of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, whose remains had lain there for more than two centuries, without so much as a stone to mark the place where they had been interred. The Rev. Isaac Wilberforce succeeded him, some time since, in the

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archdeaconry of the East Riding, which increasing years and infirmities had induced him to resign. The office of examining chaplain to the Archbishop he declined at the same time, and from the same cause. He was first married to Agnes, the daughter of Colonel Creyke, of Marton, Yorkshire, who left him an only daughter, lately the wife of the Rev. Isaac Wilberforce, second son of that justly revered Christian and philanthropist, of whom it has been not more happily than truly said, that he used his influence with the great statesmen of his day, not to make his name great amid the titles of the earth, but to succour the poor and the oppressed, and to plead for them who had no helper. It would occupy a greater space than we are able to afford, to pass in review all the various prose pieces, either in literature or divinity, of which Mr. Wrangham was the author, or even the books which he edited. To pursue such an occupation would indeed be interesting, for what else would it be but to note the progress of a mind, such as is not often to be found, gradually escaping from that heathenish tone of sentiment, which it must be confessed was but the natural consequence of the system of education which was invariably pursued in our English schools until the lamented Dr. Arnold (a man of generous reading, if ever there was one) arose, to show that the principles of the Bible were those upon which alone a Christian education can be based. And there is, perhaps, no greater fallacy than that which is insinuated in the notion, that such a course of instruction will lead the youthful mind to despise the classics, and make them unwilling to be initiated in those delightful mysteries.

It was about the year 1808 that Mr. Wrangham undertook the laborious occupation of editing Langhorne's "Translation of Plutarch's Lives." He corrected many errors which had crept into what he considered to be, on the whole, an excellent translation; supplied many paragraphs which had been omitted upon insufficient reasons; added copious notes, which were much needed, as far as relates to the references to authorities; prefixed summaries to each of the lives, and introduced the four deficient parallels. This very acceptable service was duly appreciated by English readers, for, although it extended the work to six octavo volumes, it has gone through as many as four or five editions. There were many, too, who were delighted to find that Mr. Wrangham was not such a martyr to style as to be insensible to the value of those intensely interesting lives, just because they were written in Greek, which is wanting in the purity that is so captivating in the writings of Demosthenes, Plato, and Xenophon. And yet to expect that Mr. Wrangham could edit Plutarch without a remark upon the deficiencies of

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his style, would be indeed expecting too much at the hands of so elegant a scholar: he disposes of the subject with the natural and harmless consolation, that "he was not a native of Athens; and when he visited that place, he had breathed Theban air too long to attain that delicacy of taste, that exquisite sensibility, and that peculiar simplicity which charm us in the indigenous productions of Attica." Mr. Wrangham, we are sorry to say, did not send this edition of Plutarch into the world without appending, or rather prefixing, to the work, which, with restoring hand, he had brought to the utmost verge of attainable perfection, a most unambiguous indication of his Whig principles (and he had always been of that faith); for, in the dedication to Viscount Milton, we find him saying, "You have followed Aristides in his exile from Athens, and Cato in his retreat to Utica; but why do I draw exclusively from antiquity examples of national ingratitude? You have wept over the uncommemorated martyrdom of a De Witt, and have witnessed the calamitous abandonment, even by the people whom he loved and whom he served, of a Fox."

About eight years after the publication of the work to which we have thus briefly alluded, Mr. Wrangham edited the "British Plutarch"—a long gallery of portraits, and of a more modern date than that through which Plutarch himself may be said to have conducted him only a short time before. This work contained biographical notices of the great personages who had shone as divines, statesmen, philosophers, poets, &c., from the accession of Henry VIII. to the beginning of the present century. The alterations which the editor made in the lives were so considerable as to entitle it to be looked upon as a new work. Besides many new lives, and considerable additions to others, he successfully endeavoured to increase the interest and utility of the work, by extracts from the writings of all the divines and literary characters whose lives were pourtrayed in the volumes.

Soon after the appearance of this last-mentioned undertaking, which was also extended to six volumes, the three volumes o. his "Miscellaneous Writings" appeared: one of them being occupied with his beautiful poems, and his translations from Horace and Virgil, Sir Thomas More, Buchanan, Milton, and Jortin; to which was added his new translation of the "Defensio Secunda" of Milton. The poems were chiefly the productions of his earlier days, and are greatly wanting in the religious sentiments which afterwards breathed through his compositions, especially his sermons on Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul" (a favourite book of Bishop Jebb), and those also which were founded upon Baxter's "Saint's Ever-

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lasting Rest." It was the translation of the Greek "Romaic Ode," contained in the third volume, we believe, which called forth the tardy but hearty praise of the unhappy Byron. And surely these few lines which follow are at once beautiful and touching efforts of the translator's powers:—

"O shun his charm'd insidious snare,
Light birds, who free through ether rove;
'Tis his the heart to thrill, to tear—
That vagabond, that traitor Love!

"A happy bird in life's young hour,
I once nor care nor sorrow knew:
I wish'd for more—when Love, stern power!
His flaming mesh around me threw.

"Ah! little will they heed my tale,
To show nor love nor loss is known;
Alas! no friends the pang bewail,
Sprung from that loved eye's angry frown."

A sonnet, bearing the date of 1795, indicates the same powers of versification:—

"Groves, that of late I loved so well, adieu!
Dear to my soul, accept its parting sigh:
Yet oft shall memory your lost shades review,
Still shall you flourish to her faithful eye.
There was a time, when through your bowers to rove,
And with untutor'd fingers touch the lyre,
My breast unvisited of other love,
Than such as Phœbus and his train inspire,
Delighted me. Ah! time of bliss, return,
With healing on thy wings. In vain I cry:
Destined in hopeless misery to mourn,
In vain I roam beneath another sky;
And 'mid new scenes the fugitive explore;
For joy shall solace this sad heart no more."

The "Occasional Sermons," contained in the second volume of his works, "Rome is Fallen," "St. Peter," "The Advantages of Diffused Knowledge," "Human Laws best supported by the Gospel," "The Gospel best promoted by National Schools," "On the Translation of the Scriptures into the Oriental Languages," "Earnest Contention for the True Faith," "Civil Establishment," "Religious Establishment," were preached either at visitations or before the University of Cambridge, and are chiefly of a learned and elaborate character, abounding with interesting *notes*, often vieing with the text both in extent and in erudition. The following passage, which we

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select simply for its brevity, from the close of his "Dissertation on Civilizing India," may be taken as a fair specimen of his more learned manner:—

"For us, suffice it to have sketched the civil and religious wretchedness of Hindostan, to have traced an outline for her improvement, and to have hailed her dawning glories. In the dispensations of Providence, extremes often introduce each other. In the common refracting lens, the image, after receding (in consequence of the varied position of the object) through every various distance to infinity, suddenly reappears inverted on the other side of the glass. The bloody conflicts of the two triumvirates, and the vicious refinement of the empire under Augustus, ushered in the Gospel of purity and peace. If the fierce reformers of Ghizni and of Tartary, roused at first by the crying pollutions of Indian idolatry, gradually exchanged their fury of conversion for the phrensy of conquest, and destroyed 'pagodas' rather from the love of their wealth than from an abhorrence of their idols—if this mighty empire, founded by a Tamerlane, extended by a Baber and an Akbar, and carried to its greatest altitude by an Aurengzebe, with the ordinary fate of vast usurpations, at length fell beneath its own weight, and made way for the merchant, and through them for the missionaries of Europe, we may almost exclaim with Lucan—

——'Scelera ipsa nefasque
Hâc mercede placent.'

We see, in fact, an Almighty power controlling the moral elements, as the obsequious servants of His will—from physical evil educing social and civil good, and converting even the sufferings of His creatures into the means of their final salvation."

The greatest service which this accurate and accomplished scholar ever rendered in the higher walks of critical study, was undoubtedly his beautiful edition of Bishop Walton's special Prolegomina to his Polyglott Bible. The variety, the accuracy, and the extent of learned information which the original work contained had earned for it an enduring reputation before the time of its accomplished editor. But his labours were greatly needed, for the first edition had been a hundred and seventy years before the public, during which time many points had been discussed, much additional light had been thrown upon the subject of which it treated, and Professor Dathe's octavo edition was no longer to be had. Mr. Wrangham amended the punctuation of the text, and corrected the errors which had disfigured the former edition. The observations contained in Dathe's preface he inserted as notes, and together with them many remarks of his own, all explaining, or confirming, or correcting the text of Walton. Many of the critical canons of Wetstein, Houbigant, and other editors of the Scriptures, which were so scarce and dear, he now took occasion to insert. Among the subjects

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which he treated at greater length at the end of the chapter are the square Samaritan characters, the antiquity of the vowel points, the principal manuscripts of the New Testament (particularly the Codex Alexandrinus), various readings, the Septuagint version, ancient and modern Latin versions of the Scriptures, the Samaritans and the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Chaldee paraphrases and their uses, editions of the Syriac versions, the agreement between the Hebrew and Arabic dialects, and the Persic versions. To all these may be also added fac-similes of eight of the MSS. which were supposed to be the most remarkable, alphabets of the principal modern languages, together with specimens of the Chinese characters. The University of Cambridge most munificently lent its aid to the publication of this great work, by sending it forth from her celebrated press in a type which was at once worthy of the work and of the valuable labours of one of the most honoured of her sons. But it would be useless, as well as presumptuous, to speak of a work which will always find a place in the library of every scholar, and which may, indeed, be said to have been perfected when it came from the hands of its last editor. This, at least, we believe was the opinion of Bishop Van Mildert and Bishop Blomfield, and it was also that of Dr. Parr.

We will mention, in the last place, that the works of the Rev. Thomas Zouch, D.D., Rector of Scrayingham and Prebendary of Durham, were collected into two volumes by Archdeacon Wrangham about the year 1820, enriched with interesting and learned annotation, such as his well-stored and elegant mind could so easily furnish forth. Upon these volumes he acknowledges that he spent more time than he intended; but his readers, at any rate, will not regret that he was induced to provide so much for their entertainment. Under the title "Attica Eboracênsis," or Yorkshire Biography, he ventured (the materials of Mr. Zouch being few and scanty) to make some additions; "and many a splendid and venerable name (he elegantly intimates) might have been further added, if it had been deemed proper, proving still more decisively that—

—— "souls are nurtured by our northern sky."

In inserting the title "Arundines Cami" at the head of this article, we of course do not thereby intend to intimate, to such as may be unacquainted with its graceful pages, that the exquisite pieces which are contained in it were *mainly* the productions of Wrangham. Still he was a large contributor, and the pieces which adorn the volume, not even excepting his translations from Horace, are amongst the happiest exertions of his pen. Had they

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been written later in life, the subject would doubtless have been different; but in beauty of versification, and in the power of transposing the entire spirit of an author into another language, nothing escaping in the process, which is the test of scholarship, these compositions could hardly be surpassed. Let us take, for instance, his Latin translation of the following English lines:—

"WHY SO PALE?	"CUR PALLES?
Why so pale and wan, fond lover? Prythee why so pale? Will, when looking well can't move her, Looking ill prevail? Prythee why so pale?	Cur tener palles amator? Fare, cur palles? Quod rubenti denegatur Tune pallens id ferres? Fare, cur palles?
Why so dull and mute, fond lover? Prythee why so mute? Will, when speaking well can't win her, Saying nothing do'it? Prythee why so mute?	Cur puer taces amator? Fare cur taces? Eloquenti quod negatur Idne tu tacens feres? Fare, cur taces?
Quit, quit, for shame! this will not move— This cannot take her; If of herself she will not love, Nothing can make her— ..... take her."	Abstine, abstine, proh pudorem! Istud haud movet; Sponte ni sentiat amorem Nil eam flectet— Orcus occupet!"

The iambics, with which, he says, in one of his earlier efforts, the all-accomplished commentator on Asiatic poetry professed, like another distinguished lawyer—himself likewise an able commentator and an elegant scholar—to close his intercourse with the muse, although we find it not among the "Arundines, may perhaps not inappropriately be inserted here. Whether the Archdeacon, during his later years, ever allowed himself in the poetic vein, excepting in a few poetical versions of the Psalms, is more than we know.

"Vale, Camœna, blanda cultrix ingeni,
Virtutis altrix, Mater Eloquentiæ,
Linquenda alumno est laurus et chelys tuo.
At, o dearum dulcium dulcissima,
Sen Suada mavis sive Pitho dicier,
A te receptus in tuâ vivam fide:
Mihi sit, oro, non inutilis toga,
Nec indiserta lingua, nec turpis manus."

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IMITATED BY F. WRANGHAM.

"Muse! thou who bidd'st young Genius sweep the shell,
And givest thy daughter Eloquence her spell,
Guardian and nurse of Virtue, fare thee well!
No more those smiles thy pupil must inspire:
Sad he resigns the laurel and the lyre.
But, O of goddesses thou loveliest one,
Persuasion—by that name wouldst thou be known,
Once thine profess'd in all sincerity,
Ne'er be I shameless renegade from thee!
Still o'er my pleadings shed thine influence bland—
Still guard my tongue from guile, from guilt my hand!"

We will here put a final period to our selections from these poetical fragments. We can easily imagine that the mere scholar and man of taste could desire no pleasanter companion on a summer's day, than the "Arundines" would prove to him, whether he were resolved to pass it upon the mountain-side or in the peaceful vale. For our own part, we are free to confess that we should derive far more pleasure from a volume of *sacred* poetry, even if it were executed with power much feebler, and with less of poetic talent. How much does poetry lose, which is not pervaded by the life-giving truths of the Gospel! Let any one who can doubt this turn from such volumes as those to which we have referred, in which there are to be found many poems rich in successive images—sacrifices, so to speak, of blissful thoughts to the Penates; let him turn from these, say we, to such exquisite lines as breathe through almost every page of the "Christian Year," and such an one will at once apprehend our meaning. Even Robert Burns seems to have had some dim notices of the truth at which we have here briefly hinted, for he was right, even on the low ground of mere sensibility, when he resolved that he would deeply imbue the minds of his children with religion; for, by so doing, should his son prove a man of feeling and of taste, he was persuaded that he should be adding largely to his sources of happiness. What Christian man is there, or woman either, who does not more than sympathize with the partially developed sentiment of the Scottish bard? What Christian is there that does not feel the stirring, yet soothing influence of sacred poetry, which is really such? And who is there that, feeling this, is not disposed to rank it very highly in the short list of earthly resources which tend to enliven and to cheer the soul, and which leave with us a "joy for memory?"

To speak of the late Archdeacon as he deserves to be spoken

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of, as a *scholar*, in the full sense of the word, would require as much as could be rendered at the hands of any of his surviving contemporaries, and the exertion of a mightier and more discriminating judgment than many will easily be found to possess. And yet, when we have said it is universally allowed that his learning, while it was of the most refined, was also of the most solid character, and various withal beyond that of most men of his time—when we have added that, in point of elegance, none can be said to have surpassed, very few to have equalled him—for he caught a grace wherever it was to be had, from the purest sources, and noted beauties with a very nice discernment—we apprehend that little more remains to be remarked, that is to say, in general terms, which could tend to advance his fame, unless we should add that his attainments in the Latin and Greek languages not only excited the admiration of Dr. Parr, but extorted from him the expression of no slight and languid commendation. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that the classical scholar and the man of letters should lament his loss as one which will not be presently supplied; so extensive and so various being the extent of his erudition. To adopt the beautiful words of a bright ornament of the English Church, when speaking of another who was scarcely less eminent, also gone to his reward—

"He belonged to a school of attic elegance, which is declining amongst us—a school of men who studied the classics, not as a means by which to obtain distinction—not merely to acquire, in the knowledge of another language, a key to fresh mental acquirements, but for their own sweetness. These were men whose whole spirit breathed of classical refinement. The bustle of our busy age, its hard and unpoetical features, seeking in everything immediate utility, exalting science above literature, and the lower and more productive provinces of science above that which is more abstruse and intellectual, are altogether unfavourable to the production of such characters. That so few of them remain is one of the worst signs of our literary taste."

As an English scholar, the late Archdeacon was to be placed, without any doubt, in the highest class. What Lord Dudley so truly observed of Mr. Fox's oratory, may, with greater truth, be applied to the composition of him of whom we speak, viz., "that it was of that chaste argumentative sort, that it could only be addressed with success to an educated and intelligent audience;" so great was the loftiness and simplicity of his mind and the extreme delicacy of his taste.

There is another Archdeacon, not to mention the present Archdeacon of Surrey, whose powers have barely attained to their meridian—Archdeacon Hare—but whose name has been

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more than once associated by men of eminence with that of Mr. Wrangham, as being also one of the greatest masters of the English tongue of which this island can boast. There are many amongst our readers, we doubt not, who are familiar with his beautiful sermons and charges, as well as with those of his brother Augustus, of kindred excellence, though wanting in power of thought, and yet only when compared with the writings of his elder brother. We would not, however, advise our readers to adopt his mode of spelling, however consonant it may be said to be to the genius of our language; for we feel assured that the attempt to introduce it, as it has hitherto failed, so it will also fail in the end, and that even the distinguished name of Julius Hare will prove insufficient to recommend it. We do not say this because we are prejudiced in the least against the writings of this distinguished man—the very reverse would be nearer to the truth; we are able, we trust, in some degree, to taste and appreciate their excellence; and "once and again" have we hung with delight over that preface to the last but one of his valuable charges, where he dwells with such evident affection and touching simplicity upon the private, as well as the episcopal, character of the late lamented and excellent Bishop of Chichester.*

When we turn to look at the late Archdeacon Wrangham, in the character of a divine, we would remark, that those who are familiar with his writings cannot have failed to note the gradual progress of his mind from barren orthodoxy, to a scriptural view of the way of salvation. His discourses, it has been justly said, were distinguished by scriptural soundness and mild benevolence, while the gentleness and modest timidity of his nature, in some measure, disqualified him for breaking up the fallow ground of uncultivated fields, as well as for setting forward so prominently and strikingly as is now, we are happy to be witnesses, very generally done, those particular truths of the everlasting Gospel in which he was a firm believer through life, and to which he clung as his ground of confidence in the calm decay of his later years. We feel sure that his later sermons, did we possess them, would be found to confirm what we have said; and if we may not look for some account of his life, just because it was so quiet and retiring (the very reason which would make us prize it the more), may we not indulge the hope, that as his later unpublished charges and sermons would be enough to make more than one volume of considerable size, the time will not be long before they will be given to the world?

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* Dr. Otter.

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Our readers will, in a great measure, be able to gather, from the foregoing remarks, how deeply he must have been valued and regarded in the quiet circle in which he delighted, and in which it was his lot to move. There were few subjects on which he did not touch, and there was no subject which he touched that he did not adorn. "Nihil tetiget quod non ornavit," should, in truth, have been his motto. Who is there that has ever been permitted to gaze upon the portrait now hanging before us, and to note, as such an one must have noted, the peculiarly delicate form of those temples, the subdued brightness of the eyes beneath, the gentle compression of the well-formed lips, and the mild benevolence that crowned the whole—without at once recognizing in the faithful representative the earthly image of one, whose mind, powerful by nature, and wrought by judicious culture to the finest edge, must have been qualified to excel, in his particular line, almost without a rival? His span was prolonged beyond that of the common lot of man: *his* sun cannot seem to have "gone down while it was yet day," who was permitted to number so many years.* Life, at such a period, may seem to drop, "like the ripe and mellow fruit of autumn, from the bending tree; and we reconcile ourselves the more easily to the event, because it has taken place in its most natural season." How selfish and earthly are the hearts that would, with a foolish fondness, desire to retain those loved ones in this vale of tears, whom we as firmly trust dismiss their spirits only to merge them into the brightness of celestial vision. Just so it was, we believe, with him who has been so recently removed; and we cannot, perhaps, bring this somewhat lengthened notice of his life and writings more appropriately to a close, than by citing the concluding lines of his own beautiful poem on the "Raising of the Daughter of Jairus":—

"Their mortal clay, resign'd in heavenly forms,
Shall rise, resplendent as the summer's sun,
Even in his mid-day lustre: and with bliss,
O'er paying years of bitterest agony,
Hear the glad accents: 'Faithful servants, come,
Receive your promised meed. Your toils were great,
And great is their reward. The God ye served,
Steadfast when passion sapp'd and scorn assailed—
He, he is yours; for you is twined the breath
Of Eden's greenest amaranth, and for you
Flung wide the eternal portals. Enter in,
Your task complete, your race of duty run,
And share the joys and glories of your Lord.'"

* "He died at his residence at Chester on the 27th of December, 1842, in the 74th year of his age. His funeral was attended by the amiable and excellent Bishop of Chester, whom he had intimately known for so many years."

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ART. V.—*An Essay on the Philosophical Evidence of Christianity; or the Credibility obtained to a Scriptural Revelation, from its Coincidence with the Facts of Nature.* By the Rev. R. D. HAMPDEN, M.A. London: Murray. 1827.

2. *The Use and Abuse of Party Feeling in matters of Religion, considered in Eight Sermons.* Being the Bampton Lecture for 1822. By R. WHEATLY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Third Edition. London: Longman. 1839.

3. *Sermons.* By T. ARNOLD, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School. Five Vols. 1832-42. Rivingtons, and Fellowes.

TO study the most probable means of recommending truth, both human and divine, to the minds of men, is a task worthy of the highest wisdom, and a duty imperatively binding on all who assume the office of instructing others. It is clear that the beauty of truth excites no love in the breasts of many. This is, no doubt, in a great measure, because, while pointing to some vice in themselves which must be renounced, or to some interest which must be foregone, she necessarily appears to wear an aspect of sternness and severity. But is it not also undeniable, that she is made, by some of her advocates, to assume a forbidding expression, which is not her own? It is generally confessed that the obstacles to the reception of truth, arising from the inattention, the prejudices, and the passions of men, are manifold, and difficult to surmount. But, after all, those prejudices and passions are not sufficiently regarded, with the practical purpose of overcoming their resistance or eluding their force. It is not duly remembered that their action may be either aggravated by abrupt and injudicious assaults, or nullified by avoiding all direct collision. Men who are convinced, and justly so, that they are in the right, are apt to be too easily satisfied that they have done their duty if they have stated the truth faithfully and plainly. If it is rejected, they are content to set this to the account of their opponent's perverseness, without considering whether they themselves are not chargeable with some error or defect, which has interfered with the natural effect of their statements. Zeal and honesty in a disputant are not alone sufficient to justify a reasonable hope of success. By themselves these virtues will prompt him to the eager and direct pursuit of his end, without adequate reflection on the means by which it is most likely to be attained. It is necessary that the active force of these principles should be regulated by wisdom, which will regard, not only the importance of the end to be gained, but also the peculiar character of those persons who are to be influenced; and will exact from the teacher of truth,

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not merely a knowledge of his subject, but an acquaintance with human nature, a discreet adaptation of his style and tone of address to the particular character of the parties with whom he may be dealing, as well as a calm and kindly spirit. The advocate of truth will then only fulfil his vocation when he has taken pains to examine how his subject may be presented in the most convincing point of view, and in the most attractive aspect. As his professed object is not the mere statement of truth in that abstract form in which it would approve itself to the calm and unperturbed intellect, but the persuasion of impassioned beings, whose judgments are liable to be warped by manifold influences, he is bound to consider how, without losing anything of its essence, it may be thrown into the form most likely to find its way into the minds of others without encountering resistance.

Setting aside the wisdom of such a course of procedure, it is one to which we are naturally led by that desire to conciliate, which is one of the principles of our constitution. We naturally seek to stand well with our neighbours, and shrink from doing anything whereby we may forfeit their good-will. It follows that this is a principle which is not to be lightly set aside or transgressed, except when it is clearly inconsistent with higher duty.* Men are, no doubt, but too prone, in certain circumstances, to consult their own repose, by refraining, in their social intercourse, from any assertion, however needful for the defence of truth, which may offend others; and it may therefore be inferred, with justice, that they are often more likely to err on the side of excess, than defect of conciliation. Admitting that this is the case, it is no less obvious, that the abuse to which a principle is liable will not justify the neglect of its legitimate application; and least of all can it be imagined that a disposition, thus benevolent in its character, may, without detriment to the interests of truth, be deprived of its full and reasonable scope. The use of this principle, too, it should be remarked, is not only permitted, but enjoined, by that precept of the apostle, in which it is exactly defined and restricted—"Let every one of us please his neighbour for his good to edification." (Romans xv. 2.)

The necessity for cultivating a spirit of conciliation is yet more apparent if we consider that there are certain antagonist principles, equally general in their action, which often overpower it altogether. Such are vanity, selfishness, animosity, and others

* "No original or essentially inherent principle of our nature is, in itself, either mischievous or useless." (Archbishop Whately's Bampton Lecture, on the Use and Abuse of Party Feeling in Religion; Lecture i., at the beginning: a work in which the duty of conciliation is strongly urged).

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of the same class. If, in certain circumstances, the desire to please is too powerful, there can be no question that in different circumstances, and perhaps still more frequently, the selfish and angry passions are allowed to exercise an immoderate sway. So long as we feel kindly disposed towards our neighbour, we may, no doubt, be too backward in warning him against anything erroneous in his opinions, or vicious in his practice; but it is no less true, on the other hand, that when, from any of the thousand causes which tend to excite dislike or jealousies between persons of different parties or sentiments, the kindly disposition is lost—the desire to please is then apt to be succeeded by a culpable indifference to his feelings, if not by a real, though lurking desire to make him smart under the lash of sarcasm or rebuke.

There is yet another principle, of a higher and more honourable character, by which the desire to please, if not watchfully cherished, is apt to be overpowered. This principle is zeal, the natural tendency of which (as above adverted to) is to impel men to the attainment of their ends without much reflection on the means by which they are to be sought. It thus often happens that truth is urged with an ardour and eagerness which defeat their own object. Teachers of earnest zeal are often found to regard almost solely the importance of their subject, without properly considering the effects which its direct and immediate announcement may have on the minds of others. They do not sufficiently enter into the feelings, or advert to the various stages of the intellectual or moral progress of their hearers, or reflect that the latter do not regard the subject in the same light as themselves, and that their minds may need to be prepared by gradual steps for the admission of those matured conclusions at which the teacher himself may only have arrived by slow degrees. Their advocacy is, therefore, marked by an impetuosity which must seem extravagant to many who might have been won by moderation and calmness. However much this result of undisciplined zeal is to be lamented, it is not to be wondered at that it should act in the manner described. With an honest and strong conviction of the importance of the truths which they seek to inculcate, and with an earnest desire to see them received by others, it is natural that good men should be impatient of any delay in expounding and enforcing them in the most straightforward manner. What we see clearly and feel strongly ourselves, we are apt to imagine *must* be seen and felt at once by others in the same manner. And this is most of all the case in religion, the doctrines of which are so momentous, and its motives so constraining, that those who themselves are sensible of their force, find it difficult to conceive that their own

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emotions should not be fully responded to by others. To this it must be added, that the minister of religion, conscious that he is armed with an authority not his own, feels himself bound to assume a commanding and decisive tone. It should not, therefore, be considered surprising that religious teachers, particularly such as are naturally of an ardent temperament, should fall into the habit of using the same strong language, on all occasions, to all classes of persons, as if nothing short of this could be adequate to the tremendous necessities of the subject, or correspond to the strength of the expressions in which evil and error are denounced in the Bible. Teachers of this class, though they would doubtless allow, on consideration, that the Scriptures frequently enjoin and exemplify a different course, yet seem to act upon a latent persuasion that any considerable regard to the prejudices, or tenderness for the perverseness of mankind, is, as it were, an abdication of the prerogative of the delegates of God; and that all caution in exploring the least obstructed approaches to the human heart is but a resort to that "wisdom of this world" which St. Paul denounces as an instrument of persuasion rejected by the Gospel.

As it thus appears that the principle of conciliation is not only neglected by many to the detriment of truth, but objected to by others as an unworthy system of concession, at variance with the spirit of holy writ, it may be necessary, before describing its reasonableness, its limits, and its instruments, to show that it is quite consonant to the precepts of the Bible, and more exemplified in the tenor of Scripture teaching than many persons may have been accustomed to imagine.

The strength of language with which this principle is enforced by St. Paul, in 1 Corinth. ix. 19-22, is, perhaps, seldom duly weighed. His words may be cited at length with advantage :—

"For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law, as without law (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ), that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some. And this I do for the Gospel's sake, that I might be partaker thereof with you."

In the passage preceding these remarkable expressions St. Paul had been explaining to the converts at Corinth that, from a desire to avoid the suspicion of mercenary motives, he had

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foregone that just claim which he might have urged to remuneration for his services as a minister of the Gospel; and he here adds to this, that, with the same view of removing all obstructions to the reception of Christianity, he had submitted to study and conciliate the prejudices, and sought to sympathize, as far as he allowably could, with the various feelings, tastes, and principles of the different classes of persons with whom the pursuit of his apostolical vocation had brought him into contact. When dealing with Jews ("under the law" and "weak") he embraced every opportunity, as his words import, to express his sense of the privilege and dignity of those to whom had been "committed the oracles of God" (Rom. iii. 2); "to whom pertained the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises;" and, as instances of the practical result of these principles, his politic conduct (if it be allowable so to designate it), as related in Acts xxi. 20-26, in observing certain ceremonies of a law which he believed to be obsolete, as well as his precepts in Romans xiv., deserve to be prominently noticed. When dealing with heathens, on the other hand, he could make himself "without law," avoiding, for a time, all such references to his nation's ancestral glories as might have awakened the jealousy and offended the pride of the Greeks; announcing the freedom of the Gentiles from all restraints but those of the gentle "law of liberty;" and gratifying their feelings by occasional allusions to their national literature. He was thus fain to introduce all those favourite topics and old associations which could interest and influence those with whom he was immediately concerned, and to omit all needless allusions to such matters as could only irritate and offend. Such principles and such procedure have no doubt been recorded for the imitation of Christians in all future periods; for the essential characters of mankind, being the same now as ever, though showing themselves under different forms, must obviously require a similar treatment. It will scarcely be urged in reply to this, that such condescension to the weakness of men could only be properly practised in the early ages of Christianity, when men had to be reclaimed from the Jewish or Pagan prepossessions arising from their early education, but that no such indulgence is to be conceded now-a-days to persons who have been trained up in the principles of the Gospel from their childhood. For, if prejudices against the truth do exist, it can matter little from whose cause they have sprung, or what shape they assume; the duty of seeking to recover mankind from their errors must still be the same; and the necessity of employing

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the most likely methods of persuasion remains unaltered. It might, perhaps, be said, with justice, that the use of conciliation is even more needful to modern teachers than it could have been to the apostle; for he, it could have been supposed, might have stood on the footing of that authority with which divine inspiration, enforced by the power of miracles, so visibly invested him, and might, on that ground alone, have required the submission and obedience of those whom he addressed. Yet we see that he did not act thus; but, as must be evident to every one who studies his epistles with attention, was in the continual practice of adding to those exhortations, which were founded solely on apostolical authority, the use of argument and of conciliation, of appeals both to the reason and to the feelings. If *he* thought it no derogation from the dignity of his office, and of his message, to act thus, we may fairly conclude that those who cannot claim the same authority should be even more assiduous in employing those natural and reasonable means of persuasion with which the Author of nature and reason has furnished them.

It is impossible to desire any testimony of Scripture more conclusive or satisfactory, with regard to the end in view, than that which has just been dwelt upon. The following texts, however, may be alluded to as equally convincing, viz., 1 Cor. x. 32, 33, and Rom. xv. 2. Other passages may be cited, which, though not precepts, are examples of conciliation, as Rom. i. 11, 12; x. 2; xv. 8, 14, 15; 1 Cor. x. 15; Heb. vi. 9, 10. The speeches of St. Paul at Athens (Acts xvii.); to the Jews (Acts xxii.); before Felix (Acts xxiv. 10-21); before Agrippa (Acts xxvi.); are all distinguished by some particular traits of conciliation or specific adaptation to the circumstances of the several parties. The address to the Athenians breathes kindness, and is based upon principles of natural reason.* The Jews are readily and charitably admitted to be "zealous towards God;" while the governor Felix, and King Agrippa, are assured that the apostle "cheerfully answers for himself" in their presence.

It thus appears that the use of conciliation is not only sanctioned, but enforced, both by apostolical precept and example. It may conduce, however, still further to the practical adoption of this principle, if it be shown, from a survey of human nature, more fully than has yet been done, how indispensable it is to success in argument; and if it be evinced, from an illustration of the instruments which it employs, that it involves no unworthy compliances, or compromise of truth.

* See the remarks of Bishop Blomfield in his "Lectures on the Acts," and Mr. Townsend's note *in loco*.

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The necessity for conciliation arises from human weakness; since it could not be required in the case of a perfect being, who should judge of truth as it is in itself, unmoved by any disturbing influences. The case of mankind, however, is widely different; and as it has been already remarked that the object of all the advocates of truth must be persuasion, and not the mere construction of conclusive syllogisms, it follows that such topics and reasonings should be employed as shall not only be suitable to convince the understanding, but also to sway and affect the feelings and imagination of men. The degree in which men's belief depends upon the state of their dispositions is generally understood; and if it be undeniably very hard to obtain the assent of the intellect alone, even to speculative propositions to which the passions are opposed, it must be still more difficult, in similar cases of a practical character, to overcome the resistance of the will, and to persuade mankind cordially to acquiesce in, and act upon, the reluctant convictions of their understanding. It is, therefore, obviously very important that truth should be presented in that aspect which may be the most attractive, or, at all events, the least repulsive to the imagination and feelings of others. To do this successfully, both a conciliatory spirit and a knowledge of human nature are requisite. Any alteration in the sentiments, or improvement in the characters of men is hard to bring about, both from their natural and inevitable attachment to their habitual tastes, pursuits, and opinions, and also from the difficulty of ascertaining, at first sight, amid the infinite diversities of human character, what the peculiarities of any particular individual are. Pains must therefore be taken rightly to understand these; and when they fully are appreciated, to interfere with them as little as the pursuit of the primary object in view will admit. It should be carefully considered, before the task of attempting a reformation is begun, how far any particular character is defective, or any system of pursuits radically wrong, lest we should be waging an ineffectual, or, at least, an unprofitable war against natural and innocent tastes and pursuits, and thus endangering the success of our efforts to correct those real defects or vices, which exist in combination with them, and to bring the individual under the influence of higher principles. It is by such cautious and discriminating statements as shall give a man credit for all the right principles and all the propriety of conduct which exist together with his errors and vices, or defects, that we may most reasonably expect to induce him to abandon those perversions of truth, and those excesses in the indulgence of natural principles, in which his folly and sin consist. Thus, in explaining to worldly men the necessity for piety, we are not

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to use such exaggerated language as to lead them to suppose that we mean to denounce that regulated attachment and attention to the affairs of the world, and of mankind, which our nature, our position, and our duty, alike allow and ordinarily require; but we should explain our meaning to be, that there must be a predominating regard to God and to religion. And as care is to be taken not to interfere with what is not manifestly wrong, so even vice and error themselves must be attacked with different weapons, according to the character of the individuals in whom they are found. Experience, and a knowledge of human nature, must suggest that different sorts of arguments will be required for the persuasion of different classes of persons. It is admitted on all hands that men are by nature constituted very variously, both in a moral and intellectual point of view: and these essential variations are doubtless augmented in a high degree by education, and by the manners and maxims of different ranks and professions in society. It thus happens that the dispositions, the tastes, the degrees of knowledge, the trains of thought, and associations of different classes, and of different individuals in the same sphere, are infinitely diversified. Some are coarse and illiterate; others are more refined. Some are of a sordid and calculating temper; others are actuated by noble and generous sentiments. It is clear that all these classes of men cannot be successfully addressed in the same manner. The tone and style, and the instruments of persuasion which would be necessary for some, would be repulsive to others; and, on the other hand, that polished and dignified language which should be addressed to the higher order of minds, would not be appreciated by those of an inferior stamp. Even the same arguments would not carry equal weight with these different classes. The same motives affect different men in very different degrees. Some are more accessible to fear—others to shame—others to kindness.

In fact, this principle is extensively used in our personal dealings with each other, though it is apt to be overlooked, and, it must be confessed, is more difficult to practise when the sphere of action widens, and we have to deal with a large body of persons. Every one engaged in the pursuit of any personal object, who is not blinded by passion to the best means of attaining it, adopts, as if by a natural instinct, that language, demeanour, and line of argument, which, from his knowledge of the temper and disposition of the individual with whom he is concerned, he feels will be most likely to sway his mind. In dealing with a large body of men, however, we do not acquire the same instinctive perception of their general temper and tastes (to

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which, of course, we can only approximate by a sort of average), or receive that sympathetic impression of the feelings of others which personal contact with a single individual in private brings; and thus we fail to transfer to subjects of a wider interest that tact in persuasion which is employed with so happy an effect in our personal concerns.

It must, however, be apparent, on the least reflection, that the same principles are equally applicable to both cases; and that the same natural instruments, which sway the minds of individuals, may be brought to bear with nearly equal success upon the minds of men collectively. For, however high the differences among men may be rated, mankind may, nevertheless, be distributed into classes, each comprising a vast body of persons resembling each other very closely in most respects. The characters of each of these classes may be studied and generalized, with sufficient accuracy to indicate the manner in which they should be respectively dealt with: and if, in addressing the whole together, care be taken to intimate what parts of the discourse are meant to apply to each class, there will be little danger that the others will take offence at anything which they are assured has no reference to themselves.

In every discourse, which is addressed to many persons together, there must, no doubt, be much which is intended to apply to all equally; and here, certainly, there can be no specific adaptation to particular classes. But it is in respect of such matters as are common to all mankind that there is the least need of such adaptation; and, in treating them, all risk of offending the more fastidious may be avoided by the adoption of that chaste simplicity of thought and diction which is attractive and intelligible to all classes.

The reasonableness of the conciliation, which has been thus far urged, may be still better understood, and its unobjectionable character more fully appreciated, from an illustration of the instruments which it employs.

1. It is scarcely necessary to remark how essential it is to employ a mild and kind tone and manner of address; for it is too obvious to be insisted on, how readily and attentively men will listen to those whose good-will and kindly disposition are indicated by their friendly and winning manner; and, on the other hand, how unwelcome and repulsive is a harsh and severe style of address, even though we should be sufficiently well-informed and candid to appreciate and make allowance for the motives from which it has proceeded. It is not meant to recommend or defend that effeminate softness which would compromise truth by shrinking from all unpleasing declarations; but that

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mixture of manly plainness with reluctance to offend, which is dictated not more by a kindly disposition than by a sound judgment.

2. Care should be taken not to shock prejudices needlessly, by bringing forward or insisting upon any points, which, though connected with the subject under discussion, are not essential to the object immediately proposed. It is plain that there may be many points of this description, which, though important in themselves, may yet be unseasonably brought into view in a manner prejudicial to the success of the argument. Thus it is essential, to a full exposition of the Christian doctrine, to explain the liberty which Christians enjoy from the ceremonial restrictions of the Jewish law. Yet we may feel assured, from the instructions given in Rom. xiv., that St. Paul, in labouring to convert the Jews to the faith of Christ, could never have insisted, as a preliminary step, on their conceding this or any other similar point not absolutely necessary to substantial soundness of belief. Thus, too, in attempting to convince a Mohammedan or a Hindu of the truth of Christianity, it would be very unwise to dwell upon the fact, that our religion allows the free use of those kinds of animal food which their creeds respectively prohibit. It is comparatively of so little consequence what any person's sentiments on such points may be, that every one feels it would be the height of folly to peril the success of our arguments by unseasonably urging the reasonableness of perfect liberty in matters indifferent. Somewhat in the same way, if we were trying to persuade a person accustomed to the gaieties of fashionable life, and with little sense of religion, of the importance and happy effects of piety, it would be imprudent to insist much (or, perhaps, to touch at all) upon the sinfulness of balls and public amusements (supposing we adopt the opinion that these are not merely in their excess injurious, but in their character inconsistent with the Christian profession); for it is plain that we must thus incur the risk of arousing all those prejudices against true religion, as puritanical and so forth, which such a person may have felt or heard others express, and which may prevent him from receiving that impression of its excellence and beauty which we might otherwise have succeeded in conveying. False conceptions, and prejudices of the kind adverted to, may, if they are called into activity by an unseasonable exhibition of strictness, effectually oppose the progress of truth, which has been but partially and imperfectly received; but if the mind has once been impressed by a due sense of religion, all such practices as are really at variance with it will soon be abandoned. Until any individual's mind has become affected by a sense of his

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duty to God, and of the true end of human existence, it can be of little use to call upon him to renounce any particular pursuits, not obviously sinful, which he has not yet learned to measure by their true standard.

3. Akin to the caution which has just been urged is a regard to the order in which we dispose our arguments: on this, much may depend. Men, if they are first convinced of one point, may be induced (from honest conviction, or to save their credit) to admit another, which is its necessary consequence, but which they would have been disposed to reject, from its being less palatable, if it had been argued first. Things, too, may appear in different lights, according to the order in which they are presented. It is the part of wisdom, therefore, to propose that first which is least likely to meet with opposition. Every one who is familiar with the workings of human nature must have perceived, that if those primary and undeniable principles, to which the judgment of all consents, be clearly expounded before the further truth which rests upon them is brought into view, there is a far greater probability that the latter, though unwelcome and distasteful, will be admitted, than if it had been abruptly announced the first. Thus, in endeavouring to convince men of the love and obedience they owe to God, and of their ingratitude in withholding these, it would be best to try first to make them feel His bountiful goodness, before pointing out the obligation thence arising, and the culpability which they have incurred. For it is natural to the human heart to resist any such charge, and to deceive itself by putting out of sight or forgetting the grounds which prove it to be true; and it is, therefore, necessary that those grounds should be often brought into view. On the other hand, a regard to the same principle will sometimes make it advisable to reverse the natural order of the topics. Thus it is plain that it is the weakness and corruption of human nature which render the aid of God's grace necessary to us; and the former topic would, therefore, naturally be first expounded. But as this is a topic distasteful to human pride, it might be well to dwell first on the condescension and goodness of God, in offering to guide and strengthen us by His celestial aid, and on the happiness and delight which the reception of His purifying and ennobling grace should afford to every rational being. And this might be succeeded by a statement of the necessity of this grace, in consequence of the infirmity and corruption of our natural state.

4. A style should always be adopted suited to the taste of the party addressed. Persons of refinement are not uncommonly fastidious, and apt to be easily disgusted with anything coarse,

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or not strictly in accordance with correct taste. Men of cool temperament and calm judgment are naturally prone to be offended with anything which they think is extravagant or overstated. On the other hand, they whose affections are ardent, and whose imagination is lively, will be apt to denounce calmness as coldness, and the accurate weighing of words as insensibility to the momentous character of truth. It is obvious that regard should be had to such differences of natural character, and as much conceded to them, in point of style and tone of address, as may be allowable and reasonable. In treating religious subjects, it is important to avoid every species of mannerism, such as that which is marked by the constant employment of the same Scripture-phrases, or forms of expression built upon them, and invariably adhered to. It is not meant that the words of Scripture are not to be often employed. On the contrary, there is nothing so well calculated to convince, to animate, to console, as the words of Scripture judiciously introduced and properly varied. But if the language of any composition be marked, not by such a well-timed use of the richly diversified expressions and illustrations of Scripture, but by the constant recurrence of the same limited round of trite phrases, there is a danger, not only that the subject may be less clearly understood and strongly felt,* than if a wider range of imagery and explanation, equally derived from, and consonant to Scripture, were adopted; but also that many persons will contract a dislike, or at least an indifference, for a subject which is treated in a manner so little attractive, and so little adequate to its dignity and beauty.

5. It is proper to express as great a sympathy with and approbation of any one's tastes, studies, and pursuits as we allowably can.† It is obvious that this procedure is well adapted to gratify the feelings, and to dispose the mind to attend with candour to any reasonings which may be used by the person who adopts it. To know that any one in any respect sympathizes with us, and has anything in common with us, leads us to desire a still further coincidence of sentiment. Thus classical and other elegant tastes may be made, by pious men, the first bond of union with those with whom they have little else in common, and a step towards the communication of yet higher tastes and principles. The classical scholar, as yet indifferent to religion,

* See Archbishop Whately's "Bampton Lecture" for 1822. First edition, pp. 200-1.

† A somewhat similar sentiment is expressed in the following lines of Schiller:

——— "Wer sich
Den Menschen nützlich machen will, muss doch
Zuerst sich ihnen gleich zu stellen suchen."
Schiller, Don Carlos, Act iv., Scene 3.

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who finds in his pious friend or acquaintance a love for the masterpieces of ancient genius, and an admiration for the character of antiquity akin to his own, may be led on to perceive that the mind which can appreciate these things, can be actuated by no weak or vulgar enthusiasm in its attachment to religion, but may even have caught a glimpse of higher principles and nobler visions than were ever dreamt of by the wisest of the ancients. Hence it appears how wise it is for true Christians to cultivate a taste for whatever is useful, praiseworthy, and noble—to take an interest in all the innocent pursuits of the day—and to deviate as little as may be consistent with the due maintenance and the unpretending exhibition of their principles from the usual habits and language of society. They will thus have more points of attraction and sympathy with others, more means of influence, and fewer points of repulsion.*

6. We should be careful to adapt our arguments to the characters and circumstances of the persons with whom we are dealing, and to make use of such topics as are likely to interest their minds, and call forth their affections on our side. This subject has been already dwelt upon in part, but the principle admits of being still farther illustrated. Not only should such topics and arguments be selected as are only negatively suitable, viz., such as are the least likely to offend, and the most likely to be listened to with candour; but we should take advantage of the knowledge we may possess of any one's dispositions and turn of mind, to appeal, if possible, to his ruling passion, and call forth its activity in a salutary direction. Thus, let the man whose happiness lies in the domestic affections, in the pure exercise of conjugal and paternal love, be reminded by those who would allure him to the service of religion, that it is God who has both endowed the objects of his regard with those amiable qualities which attract his love and fondness, and implanted in himself those natural affections which render him capable of feeling that attraction; and that he could neither love, nor possess any object of affection, but for the benignity of that blessed Being who has both framed his nature and disposed his lot. Again, let it be impressed on those who are devoted to intellectual pursuits, to literature, or to the subtle and laborious inquisitions of science, that they owe to God those excellent faculties, that imagination, that invention and judgment, which capacitate them for those pursuits and researches: and let it be shown how these gifts illustrate the perfections of the

* See the twentieth Sermon in Dr. Arnold's first vol., on the text 1 Cor. x. 33., particularly pp. 258-62.

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Giver. Let it be urged, that the same God who is the Author of our reason and of those outward objects which afford scope for its exercise—who has made us what we are, and introduced us into his own glorious world, claims our regard and obedience also as the Governor of the universe, and the Disposer of our present and future destiny, according to those just principles which he has himself revealed. In short, let all who delight in any of the works of God, or derive happiness from any of his better gifts, be instructed to bear in mind how all these their favourite objects of admiration or pursuit illustrate, in their several ways, the perfection of God, or evince his goodness; and thus every one may be led to perceive, in those things which most occupy his own thoughts, something to connect him with his Maker, and draw him to his duty.

It should be the aim of a wise instructor to show every one, as far as it may be possible, that his own tastes will find scope, either in religion itself, or in the occupations which it recognizes, and in the duties which it brings; that it is not required that the whole character and nature of every man should be altered, but only that his tastes and affections should be regulated, and directed mainly to higher objects.* Thus, those who are too eager in the pursuit of worldly dignity or reputation may be told that the spirit of Christianity, though lowly and self-denying, yet acknowledges those imperishable principles of our nature which have always swayed and impelled the noblest minds —the desire of glory, and the longing after immortality;† though it has purified them from pride and selfishness, and exalted them by a reference to a higher tribunal. The aspirant

* See some admirable observations on the varieties of human character, and the manner in which these may allowably colour and affect the conduct of each individual, in Archbishop Whately's "Bampton Lecture," pp. 121-131; in the course of which it is remarked—"Our religion was designed to renew indeed, and ameliorate, but not to subvert our nature; to amend mankind in general, but not to contradict the essential principles of the human character; to exalt and purify each individual, but not to destroy his individuality. Whatever is faulty, indeed, must be corrected by our religion, or it will not have done its proper work; but many differences of taste and temper will still remain, which will give a certain tinge even to the religion itself of each man," &c.

† Romans ii. 7: "To them who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life." 1 Peter i. 7: "That the trial of your faith.....might be found unto praise, and honour, and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ." How much might be made of such passages in rousing the nobler order of spirits! See Bishop Butler's 13th Sermon:—"Religion does not demand new affections, but only claims the direction of those you already have, those affections you daily feel; though unhappily confined to objects, not altogether unsuitable, but altogether unequal to them." ....."Let the man of ambition go on still to consider disgrace as the greatest evil; honour as his chief good. But disgrace in whose estimation? Honour in whose judgment? This is the only question."

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after sublunary distinctions should be entreated to reflect how high (if even earthly glory has the power so to charm) must be the exultation which springs from a sense that angels, and principalities, and powers, and God himself—the Lord of all, delight to do us honour. And all who are distinguished by any laudable accomplishment may be assured, that if consecrated to God's service, it may still be unblameably or usefully cultivated.

7. It is no less prudent than just to give men credit for all the truth they have already attained, and to admit cheerfully whatever is correct in their principles, arguments, or objections. This is admirably urged by Pascal, in his "Pensées Morales Détachées," No. xxix., where he observes:—

"Quand on veut reprendre avec utilité, et montrer à un autre qu'il se trompe, il faut observer par quel côté il envisage la chose (car elle est vraie ordinairement de ce côté-la), et lui avouer cette vérité. Il se contente de cela, parce qu'il voit qu'il ne se trompait pas, et qu'il manquait seulement à voir tous les côtés. Or, on n'a pas de honte de ne pas tout voir; mais on ne veut pas s'être trompé."

The admission that a man is partially right—that (as Pascal puts it) he has seen the matter correctly on the side on which he viewed it, obviates that offence which he would be apt to take, if told that he was altogether wrong, and disposes him to listen more favourably to a statement of the truth fully viewed on all sides. Thus, if any one, when urged to attend to the service of God and religion, should rejoin, that we must have a regard to the concerns of the world in which we are placed, and with which we are connected by our necessities, senses, affections, and our whole natural constitution, this is not only not to be denied, or admitted with apparent reluctance, and hastily dismissed from consideration; but it should be cheerfully granted that it is our duty to give a sedulous attention to the business of the world, and to cherish our natural affections by directing them to their proper objects. And then we should add, that this regard to the world must, nevertheless, be limited by the consideration of our nature as a whole, and restricted by a reference to those higher principles, which are equally a part of our constitution, which, from their character and inherent dignity, claim a predominance over all others, and impel us, when they are allowed their full and proper scope, to look beyond the present visible scene, and to aspire after the favour of our unseen Creator. Instead of undervaluing any principles thus brought into view by another, we should rather applaud the wisdom of keeping them always in sight, and of not suffering any considerations, however important, to engross the whole of our attention, and exclude that necessary regard to others, less momentous,

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which a sound judgment requires;* pointing out, at the same time, where we think the other has erred, viz., in over-estimating the value of his own principle, and underrating ours. In this way it must always be serviceable, both to others and to ourselves, to analyze accurately the erroneous tenets which we undertake to combat, and to ascertain on what principle they are founded—what are the legitimate results of that principle—and how it has been misapplied, or carried to excess, in the case with which we are dealing. Thus, the principle on which idolatry is defended, viz., that the abstract conception of the Deity is insufficient to awaken and sustain the devotion of creatures constituted as we are, who require some definite and embodied representation of the object of their worship, is, to a certain extent, undoubtedly true; and its truth is proved both by the explicit manner in which the character of God, and his dealings towards us, are in the Scriptures shadowed forth in language and imagery which we can comprehend and appreciate, and still more by the incarnation of the Son of God, not only to redeem us from sin, but to set before us, for our imitation, a pattern of holiness, and for our contemplation and worship an image of the divine perfection. On the other hand, the abuse of this principle is to suppose that the Deity should be worshipped under the form of any lifeless image, which not only fails to fulfil the end of exciting adequate devotion, and conveys unworthy ideas of the divine nature, but generally leads to an idolatrous reverence for the image itself.

8. It is a powerful argument to induce any one to pursue a particular course of conduct, that it is similar or analogous to somewhat which he has hitherto been in the habit of doing, and involves in it the same principle. This is excellently stated by Dr. Hampden as one of the practical uses of the application to religion of the principle of analogy:—

"To detract from the novel and unusual aspect of an action is (he remarks) no inconsiderable inducement to its performance. There are cases, indeed, where the novelty itself of a pursuit strongly stimulates to action; but these are cases where the work may be adequately performed by sudden and desultory effort—where the force of impact is required, rather than that of regular and continued pressure. Widely different from these is the case of our religious duties. These are persevering exertions, to which it belongs to be strengthened by exercise, and matured by habit. These require to be so ingrained in the character of the agent, that they may seem to be a part of his very nature, and not to have been forcibly superinduced. This, then, is an object

* St. Matthew xxiii. 23: "These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." Such is the precept of our All-wise Saviour.

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towards which this evidence of religion* excellently conspires. It removes from the mind the disrelish which might arise against commencing the pursuit of Christianity, as a matter altogether new and unknown to our practice. It shows the religion to be by no means a setting forth of strange and unheard-of things, but only a continuance of what we have already begun—an extension of a system of conduct which is already in operation. Thus it imperceptibly allures us to the practical adoption of Christianity, even amidst our misgivings and hesitations. We find that, whilst we thought we were pausing on the threshold of the faith—weighing the value of objections, and disputing every inch of our way—all scrupulous caution has been superfluous; since we are, *in fact*, already obedient to the principles which our religion calls upon us to embrace and pursue; that we have been its disciples in a manner, whilst we were unconscious of it; and whilst we debated it in words, already confessed it in our lives. From such a discovery the transition is comparatively easy to the hearty reception of the religion in all its spiritual energy. It is not beginning anew. It is but to *repeat*, in order to our *eternal* happiness, what we have been doing through our whole previous life, in order to our *temporal* interests. It is but to carry forward the wisdom of the children of this generation to the condition of the children of light." *Essay on the Philosophical Evidence of Christianity, or the Credibility obtained to a Scriptural Revelation, from its coincidence with the Facts of Nature; by the Rev. R. D. Hampden*, pp. 182-4.

Finally, conciliation should extend to our conduct and example, as well as to style, topics, and arguments. In this view alone, if there were no other motive to urge him, the advocate of religion should study to depict it as beautifully in his conduct, as by his words. While, therefore, he endeavours, on all occasions, to maintain his principles, and, avoiding ostentation, to exhibit them in their proper effects, he should be careful, at the same time, to act with judgment, and to abstain from anything severe in his demeanour, or needlessly rigid in his practice. This seems to be a concession to the prejudices of the weak as absolutely necessary (though often but little thought of) as that enjoined by St. Paul in the fourteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans; since all who have an imperfect idea of their duty, and are prejudiced against any mode of life which they consider puritanical or needlessly austere, are (though far more unpardonable than the scrupulous observers of obsolete rites) still our brethren, and capable both of being won by prudence and kindness, and of being yet further alienated by injudicious treatment. It is quite possible, on the other hand, that many serious but weak-minded Christians may be offended at that liberty which men of sounder judgment allow themselves; and

* Viz., the evidence from analogy.

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it is quite true that regard should be had to their prejudices also, and no unnecessary offence given. But in cases of this sort, where our duty in regard to one class of persons may appear to clash with what we owe to others, it would seem that we are bound to choose that course which may be most beneficial, or least hurtful, to the greatest number of persons. And as in the present instance worldly men are more likely to be benefited by the example of a wise use of Christian liberty than such weak Christians, as have been before alluded to, are to be injured by it, it must be our duty to exhibit it in our intercourse with the former, taking care, at the same time, not to obtrude it on the notice of the latter. In this view (without here entering on the question whether dissent from the Church be right or wrong), it seems to be an argument of considerable weight against it, that it throws a stumbling-block in the way of those who are not pious, by leading them to suppose, from the example of the devout separatist with whom they may be acquainted, that true religion necessarily requires greater sacrifices, and a further departure from the outward customs of society, than may be really essential. It is true that the Dissenter may tell his friend that he does not conceive it to be material to his religious character that he should follow his own example of nonconformity. But the other will be apt to fear that the natural tendency of religion is to produce the same effect on himself, and to carry him forward to the same lengths to which it has carried his friend, and he will therefore be the more averse to embrace it. For men's ideas and judgments of things are generally (and must of necessity be sometimes) formed from what they see immediately around them, and in their own circles, and do not result from an extensive experience. If, on the other hand, the same person had seen true religion presented to him in action, without that additional peculiarity and strictness which Dissent has a tendency to throw around it, then religion might have appeared in a light more pleasing to his feelings and imagination, and as a thing which it were possible for him to embrace and practice.

The principles which have been urged in the foregoing pages are even more important in their application to efforts made to instruct the people of foreign and remote countries, than to those which have in view the benefit of our own countrymen. And it is in cases of this sort that the necessity for some specific adaptation of language, and of topics, to the peculiar circumstances of the party addressed, is most obvious at first sight. But at the same time it appears, that in proportion as others differ from us in their opinions, feelings, and manners, it must be more difficult to understand thoroughly their peculiar genius,

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and to shape our instructions and conduct accordingly. Many of the cautions above urged, being based on a consideration of human nature generally, will be seen to be applicable to the circumstances of all mankind alike; but there are others, having a more specific reference to the state of foreign nations, which will require a separate consideration. It is intended, in these further remarks, to allude, in this point of view, to some peculiarities in the condition of the Hindus and Mohammedans of India, for the purpose of showing what are the most likely means of conciliating their good-will, and of procuring a favourable hearing for the arguments and statements of the teachers of Christianity.

The general features of this difference must be well known even to those who have not had access to any other source of information than the Bible, in which we meet with so much that is difficult to understand and explain, solely from the oriental style and imagery in which it is conveyed. From this source alone some judgment may be formed of the degree of study of men and books which must be required in order to attain a familiarity with the habits of thought, and manner of language, peculiar to the Eastern nations; and this judgment will be confirmed by an acquaintance with the people themselves. The difficulty and importance of acquiring this insight into the genius of the oriental people is apt to be underrated by those who have little aptitude for research and little disposition for calm reflection, and whose ardent zeal is ever stimulating them to instant action; but it will be appreciated by all those who study the men, the literature, and the institutions of the East with adequate patience and diligence.*

The Rev. John Penrose, in the "Bampton Lecture" for 1808, has the following remarks on the general character of those who undertake the missionary office, which may be advantageously prefixed to our own suggestions on the treatment of Heathens and Mohammedans.

"The capital difficulty, however, seems to be of a more important and formidable kind. There is nothing which demands not only so much delicacy and address, but also so just and liberal a knowledge of human nature, as interference in matters of religion. It is manifest, however, from past history, and I know not that the experience of present times tends in any degree to invalidate the observation, that those

* It is remarked by a German writer on India, P. Von Bohlen, in his work on "Ancient India," vol. i., p. 78, in words which he quotes from another author, that the missionaries "consider the European civilization as the only type of humanity" (die Europäische Bildung für den einzigen Typus der Menschheit halten). Some of the remarks of this author are, however, scarcely characterized by candour.

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persons who devote themselves to the missionary office, though often men of the most heroic disinterestedness, and sometimes of an acute and active genius, yet are rarely possessed of an enlarged and comprehensive intellect. In the immediate object which they are desirous of attaining—an object, indeed, of the highest worth and greatness—they appear somewhat too exclusively to concentrate all the faculties of their minds; and, from want of an extended contemplation of human nature, to mistake the means by which that very object may be best attained. Eager to multiply conversions, they seem naturally to fall into those imprudences which attend an unenlightened spirit of proselytism. In some cases, as we have seen, they accommodate Christianity to the idolatries of those to whom they preach. In others, they forget that the same causes which make religion necessary to mankind, attach men to the religion in which they have been bred, and that every rude attack serves only to bind them to it more closely. These errors seem not to imply any particular imputation of blame to individual missionaries, but naturally to result from the constitutional imperfection of mankind. Throughout India, and other unconverted countries, they probably will extend to all teachers of Christianity, whether of native or European extraction. We rarely can find accuracy of judgment united with that warmth of character which is necessary to induce men to undertake the difficult and dangerous office of promulgating Christianity to idolators, however useful they may esteem that office to be—however sublime. Those varied studies which discipline and correct the mind, lessen the intensity of its application to any one pursuit. To improve reason has a tendency to diminish zeal. I speak only of what usually is the tendency of such improvement, without examining whether it is capable of being, or ought to be, counteracted."—*Bampton Lecture for* 1808, *by the Rev, John Penrose*, sermon vii., pp. 211-13.

We have to regard then, first, the oriental character, generally, as contrasted with the European, and the various intellectual and moral peculiarities which it implies, together with the modifications which this survey would suggest in the manner of instruction.

Next, it is incumbent on the herald of Christianity to take a comprehensive view of the general state, character, and position of the particular people to whom he is sent, and of the light in which they must necessarily regard him, in his attempts to introduce among them a new religion. The first impulse of zeal would, no doubt, lead him to overlook all other points of view, and regard them solely as the deluded followers of false and corrupting systems, exposed to a fearful risk, from which he must seek to rescue them by an announcement of the Gospel. But further reflection, and, still more, practical contact with the people, should remind him that they are actuated by hopes and fears, by human passions and national prejudices, which he must

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study and consult, if he would hope to exercise a beneficial influence over their minds. He must try to enter into their feelings, bearing in mind his own position in reference to them, the many points in which his own national habits and appearance differ from theirs, and the suspicion or coldness with which they must therefore most probably look upon him. Still further, he must recollect that he has come among them professedly as an aggressor upon their venerated religion—that he has come to ask them to abandon their own, and to adopt a new and strange faith, to take a step which must expose those who venture on it to extreme obloquy and ill-will—must occasion the disruption of many natural and social ties, and entail much temporal loss and suffering. All these things should be carefully considered, and every means adopted by which the effects of such obstacles may be lessened. A kind and judicious treatment will not fail to secure the good-will and respect of those to whom the missionary is familiarly known; while a general benevolence, a care not to bring into prominent view those of his own national peculiarities which are the most likely to give offence—such a regard to the prejudices of those with whom he is brought into contact as may be innocently practised—such mildness and tenderness of language in exposing their superstitions as may be consistent with the truth—and such a statement of the truth itself as they may be "able to bear;" these and such other imitations of the apostolical practice of being "made all things to all men," as experience may suggest, will probably be successful in gaining for him "a good report of them that are without."

Then, in regard to the more learned part of the Hindus and Mohammedans, there are yet other means of conciliation which may be employed, with the hope of a beneficial result. Independently of that knowledge of the religion and opinions of the Eastern nations, which is so essential on other grounds, it is advisable that the advocate of Christianity should possess as large an acquaintance as possible with their general literature, their classical languages, their tastes, and objects of national interest and pride. It should never be forgotten how many reasons the superior classes of the Hindus and Mussulmans have for regarding us with suspicion and dislike. The teachers of Christianity may, however, be apt to overlook this. They themselves, from the commanding position of their nation and from the immeasurable superiority which they feel to attach to their own religion, have no motive for regarding with jealousy the people with whom they have to deal. They come, in fact, as benefactors and patrons, and in circumstances which

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have every tendency to maintain that good-will and charity which have actuated them in devoting themselves to their evangelistic work. They may, therefore, be prone to forget that the position and feelings of the people whose benefit they have in view, are in many respects opposite to their own; that they are a conquered race, subjected to the dominion of a nation widely differing from them in colour, creed, manners, and sympathies; taught even, in some measure, to consider themselves inferior to their foreign benefactors, by the very efforts which the latter profess to make for their improvement; and assailed in the objects of their greatest veneration and pride. Some of them, too, may think that the missionaries are seeking to supplant them in their office of teachers. If these considerations are duly weighed, they will teach us how important it is, not only to avoid everything in our acts or language which may tend to humiliate or affront, but also to do all we can to conciliate and gratify them, by attaching, as far as we may find it possible to do so, a value to that which they esteem the most; by sympathizing, in short, as much as we can with their tastes and pursuits; and thus testifying an impartial admiration for whatever is excellent, from whatever quarter it proceeds. That there is much in their learning which we can honestly admire and praise is well known to all by whom it has been studied. The languages in which the literature of the Hindus and Mohammedans respectively is embodied—the Sanscrit, the Arabic, and the Persian—are celebrated (the two former at least) for their copiousness and the perfection of their grammar; and while one of them, the Sanscrit, is remarkable for its affinity to some of the most famous of the ancient and modern tongues, the Greek, the Latin, and the German, even greater interest attaches to the Arabic from its intimate connexion with the Hebrew. Then, again, these languages are rich both in poetry and in works on the various branches of philosophy and mathematics, which, though they may fail to throw any further light on these subjects to the European student, are yet remarkable as illustrating the history of the human mind, and interesting from the thought and genius which they display. Some familiarity with these languages, and with the names and writings of their most famous authors, may reasonably be expected of those whose sphere of action is to lie in the countries which gave them birth, or among men who hold them in high veneration, and have largely imbibed their sentiments. It is true that the tenets of the Hindus and Mohammedans may be understood without a knowledge of Sanscrit or Arabic, and that the former is a dead language, and the latter is not spoken in Hindustan; but it is still true

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that they are the original sources of information—that without them our knowledge of terms, and consequent aptitude for discussion with learned men, is likely to be defective—and that an acquaintance with them, on the other hand, is sure to raise the Christian disputant in the esteem of all classes of his opponents. Wide differences there must always remain between the European and the Oriental, in their manner of life and habits of thinking. Nor is it to be desired that any attempt should be made to amalgamate the two, by breaking down what is peculiar to either, since this would evidently be running counter to the natural genius of one or other of the races. But while this rule is maintained, it is no less evident that much of friendly feeling, if not perfect sympathy, may be generated between the parties, by each taking every opportunity of appreciating liberally the other's merits, of showing an interest in the other's pursuits, and seeking in every way the other's welfare and advancement.

Further, an accurate acquaintance with the religions of the East is necessary, in order to show that those who are engaged in their refutation are really masters of the systems which they undertake to controvert, and are actuated by no other motive than a love of truth and a regard for the welfare of mankind. For if the advocate of Christianity exhibits but a partial and imperfect acquaintance with the *Qoran* or the *Shasters*, it will be a natural, and scarcely unjustifiable inference if their votaries should conclude that his zeal springs from a blind aversion to creeds with which he has not made himself acquainted, merely because they differ from his own, and not because he has any solid grounds for rejecting them. If the missionaries, though acquainted with the general merits of the religion which they oppose, are but imperfectly informed in regard to the details, it can scarcely fail to happen, that in the course of a long argument with an acute defender of his own religion (in which the discussion will sometimes turn on a variety of minute points), this defect will become evident.* Christians naturally ground

* See Mr. Le Bas's "Considerations on Miracles," in which the necessity of a careful and very peculiar preparation for missionary labours is adverted to, and a reference made to Professor Lee's translations of some Controversial Discussions between the Rev. H. Martyn and some Mussulman Doctors. In regard to Mohammedanism, the principal sources of information (besides Professor Lee's work above mentioned) are Sale's "Qoran," and other treatises, which it is not necessary to enumerate. In the *Quarterly Review*, No. 136, at page 410, note, an essay, by Möhler, a German writer, on the relation of Islam to the Gospel ("Ueber das Verhältniss des Islams zum Evangelium") is mentioned, which would be useful to those who are engaged in controverting the former and establishing the latter. "This essay (the reviewer

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their own conviction of the falsity of those religious systems on the general fact of their being opposed to, or inconsistent with Christianity, and on some few of their worst features; but it should be remembered that such arguments, however satisfactory, and justly so, to ourselves, are yet very crude and imperfect, when viewed as the instruments of convincing others. The adherents of those systems, it should be recollected, will be naturally disposed to overlook their worst parts, to palliate their exceptionable features, and to regard each his own religion as a whole, and to dwell particularly on those portions of it which are most excellent; and it is, therefore, highly important that the unfavourable judgment pronounced by their opponents should appear to proceed on a comprehensive acquaintance with all the parts, and an impartial estimate of the whole of those religions. And, in fact, the Hindus and Mohammedans have a right to expect that their assailants shall be perfect masters of that which they take upon themselves to combat. If we do not possess this knowledge, how can we hope to obtain that credit for fair dealing and candour which is so essential to our success?

This accurate knowledge of the religious opinions of the Hindus and Mussulmans is also needful, in order that in our arguments with them we may not incur the risk of uselessly offending their prejudices, or rousing their angry passions by any needless or invidious reference to dangerous topics. An illustration of this we have already given in regard to certain species of food permitted by Christianity, but the lawfulness of which (regarded as they are with abhorrence by Hindus and Mohammedans) it would be imprudent to urge.

An accurate knowledge of these religious systems is further necessary, in order to enable us to discover, and give their adherents credit for, all that is really true and unexceptionable in their principles. By doing so, we shall have gone some way towards gaining their good-will, and have obtained credit with them for honesty and candour, as well as have found some common ground from which we may be able to make further advances towards the establishment of the ultimate truth which

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remarks) was composed with an express view towards the progress of Christianity in the East, and the question how it might be offered in the most commanding and persuasive manner to Mohammedans. It is written with so much learning, and judgment, and moderation, that it might be well worthy of translation in some of our religious journals."

In regard to Hinduism, the best sources of information are Mr. Colebrooke's Essays, and the "Vishnu Purana," recently translated by Professor Wilson; the "Histories of India," by Mr. Mill (with Professor Wilson's notes), and by the Hon. M. Elphinstone.

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we wish to enforce. By accurately analyzing their tenets, and showing where they are true and where they are erroneous, we may be able to point out the origin and cause of the error by which our opponents have been led astray;* and will thus be far more likely to bring them over to the side of truth, than if we had regarded their error solely in itself, and had employed ourselves in attacking and denouncing it. This point we have already illustrated by a reference to the principles on which the defence of idolatry is founded. Another case may be found in that doctrine which must form so frequent a topic of discussion between Christians and Mohammedans—the unity of God and the Trinity: a topic which should always give occasion to the Christian to applaud the zeal of the Mussulmans in defending that most momentous truth—the unity and unapproachable majesty of the Godhead, and in abhorring all approaches to idolatrous worship, at the same time that he asserts the equally essential truths of the divinity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

In discussions with people circumstanced like the Hindus and Mohammedans we should not expect too much at once, but be satisfied if their conviction proceeds by slow degrees. It should ever be our study to place ourselves, as far as possible, in their position, to endeavour to divine the exact state of their sentiments and feelings, and to enter into their difficulties—for difficulties even the most honest lover of truth among them may sometimes have, when called upon to renounce his own faith and embrace Christianity. It is not alone those obstacles arising from the apprehension which he must necessarily feel, of encountering the obloquy and hatred of his co-religionists (though these are doubtless sufficiently formidable), which are here alluded to. We mean rather the difficulty of persuading himself that his own religion is really false, and Christianity really true. Convinced of the truth and divinity of Christianity—of the veracity of its primitive witnesses—of the genuineness and faithful transmission of its records—conscious of our own honesty in believing and proclaiming our religion, we are inclined to think that these our impressions must naturally transfer themselves to the mind of the idolator, or the Islamite. But we forget that he will be apt to look upon us as foreigners, differing from himself in manners and appearance, without sympathy, at least, if

* "To point out the absurdities and the mischiefs to which any error naturally leads, is the more likely way to deter men from falling into it: but to trace the mistake up to its origin—to explain the difficulties, and clear up the misconceptions, which first gave rise to it, will generally be the more efficacious method of reclaiming those already infected."—*Whately's Bampton Lecture*, first edition, page 170.

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not with dislike; that he must judge of all mankind by that standard with which he is most familiar; that, having found among his countrymen so much treachery and deceit, he will naturally be slow to credit our professions of superior rectitude; and that he will look upon our religion with the same suspicions as on ourselves. With his experience of the falsehood and fraud by which he has been environed from his infancy, how difficult must it be for such a person (ignorant, too, as he is, of European history) to put faith in the assertions which Christians make in regard to those facts and events on which they ground the credibility of their creed! Surrounded by other false systems, whose pretensions he rejects, how can he bring himself to believe that a religion originating in a far distant region, whose records are contained in foreign languages, the character of which he is therefore precluded from examining personally, can have any just claim on his attention? Then, again, the adherent of a long-established Pagan religion, claiming unfathomable antiquity, of a mysterious and ante-historical origin, possessed of ancient records, supported by miraculous legends, and accompanied by venerable institutions, will have some difficulty in discriminating* between the unsubstantial character of these claims, and the genuine supernaturalism and historical evidence of Christianity. He will be unwilling to admit, and at first, perhaps, but little able to appreciate, the difference between the natural rise, the unopposed progress, and the legendary transmission of a human religion, and the miraculous origin, the obstructed but irresistible advance, and the strictly-traced evidence which mark the divine dispensation. Nor will his difficulty be much less in appreciating the internal characters of truth and purity in the Christian religion. Familiar with impurity, how can he be expected to see, in all its force, the necessity for perfect holiness? Finding in his own system much of pure, and

* He may even admit the Christian miracles without conceiving that they involve the overthrow of his own religion. "That Moses wrought miracles, was beyond all question the common belief of the ancient heathen nations. The servants of Benhadad are reported to have said, that the gods of the Israelites 'are gods of the hills, and therefore they are stronger than we.' But these heathen nations certainly never imagined that the admission of the fact that Moses worked miracles, or that this other admission, that the God of the Israelites could give victory when the battle was in the hills, could carry with it, as a consequence, that the religion of Moses must destroy the evidence of their own religions. They too had their own miracles, or at least their traditions," &c.—*Penrose on Miracles*, p. 245. "Even in Rome itself very many persons might believe that the Christian miracles indicated absolutely a divine power or authority. Yet we cannot infer that they must have seen reason, in consequence, to become converts to the Christian religion. Christianity and Heathenism, they would think, might still co-exist."—*Ibid*, p. 246.

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even of lofty and romantic morality,* and a theology sublime, though mystical and unsound, he may be prone to conclude, that if the character of a religion is an index of its origin, these merits which his own possesses may be fairly held to outweigh its errors and impurities, and to evince its divinity. Such self-delusion, by false reasoning, will not be looked upon as incredible by those who have only their general knowledge of human nature to teach them how men are blinded by partiality to their own systems and sects; and much less by those who understand from experience how much human reason is liable to become perverted and debased by the long-continued and hereditary action of false religion and false philosophy. Taking these and other circumstances into consideration, it would seem that a reasonable conviction of the truth may only be expected to arise, in the reflecting heathen's mind, by slow degrees; and that moral arguments, derived from the long-observed and consistent characters of virtue, piety, benevolence, and uprightness in the professors of Christianity, will often be the first foundations of his belief. Without underrating the strength of the evidences of Christianity, it should be ever remembered that they are calculated to strike different individuals with different degrees of force, according as, from a variety of circumstances, they feel more or less powerfully the claim which these evidences have on their own attention, and are, more or less, capable of appreciating their cogency; and it is consolatory to reflect that the responsibility of those persons, to whom the true religion is proposed, in regard to the reception which they give to it, must always be proportioned to the clearness with which its evidences can be exhibited to their minds.†

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* Such as those tenets of Hinduism which proclaim the superior excellence of an ascetic life, and exhort widows to sacrifice themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands. There is a grandeur in self-denial and self-devotion which we may suppose to be irresistibly attractive to some of the nobler spirits among the Eastern nations, as is, in fact, proved by the prevalence of asceticism, both among Hindus and Mohammedans. The Stoics had discovered this sympathy with their tenets among the Indians, as appears from the following passage of Lucan, and many others in the later classical writers:—

"Quique suas struxere pyras, vivique calentes
Conscendere rogos. Pro! quanta est gloria genti
Injecisse manum fatis, vitaque repletos
Quod superest, donasse Deis!"

Lucani Pharsalia, iii., 239.

† *Penrose on Miracles*, pp. 321-3. The same author discusses, pp. 305-11, the various degrees of strength with which the claims of Christianity pressed themselves upon the notice of the Jews and of the Greeks in ancient times, and now demand the attention of various persons in modern times. "There is not any one, who, when he reads St. Paul's eloquent complaint, that 'Christ cru-

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ART. VI.—*A Bill to make provision for the Spiritual Care of Populous Parishes.* London. 1843.

2. *Speech of Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P., in the House of Commons, on Friday, May* 5, 1843, *in a Committee of the whole House, "to consider the question of Endowments of Ministers in Populous Districts."* London. 1843.

3. *Statistics of Dissent in England and Wales, from Dissenting Authorities, proving the Inefficiency of the Voluntary Principle to meet the Spiritual Wants of the Nation.* London: Painter.

IN an article on "*Church Extension, in relation to the present National Crisis,*" which appeared in No. XX. of this *Review* that question was viewed in connexion with the then recently formed Conservative Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, and with the line of conduct he would probably pursue. The objections made by Dissenters to all measures which had for their object the spread of Church principles, and the increase of Church influence, were examined and refuted; and it was shown that the Church of England is not a denomination or sect—that it is unpatriotic and irreligious to object to grants of public money for Church Extension—that the free contributions of the wealthier classes, who are Churchmen, are not adequate to the providing sufficient church-room for the population—and, finally, that the most unanswerable facts could be adduced to prove that Church Extension was not only necessary, but indispensable. We then enquired, "*How* is this system of Church Extension to be brought about, and carried into full effect?" To that enquiry we replied, that "it must be done by Parliament;" and we intimated to Sir Robert Peel and the Conservative statesmen of

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cified was to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness,' does not here feel that this error of the Greeks must have been far more pardonable than that of the Jews. And for this plain reason, that the real claim of Christianity could not ordinarily be exhibited to the Greeks, as possessing a degree of strength and importance equal to that which it must have assumed in the eye of the Jew" (pp. 308-9). The case of the Mohammedans and Hindus is thus stated:—"Where lies the reason that we expect justly from the Mohammedan that he should weigh carefully the claim made on him by Christianity? Is it not that the Mohammedan himself recognizes the mission of Christ, and cannot be ignorant that for many centuries Christianity has been the most powerful rival of his own religion? So also as to the Hindu. At least one claim on him for Christianity is, that he sees it to be the professed religion of that power which is now predominant throughout the Eastern world. In short, all circumstances, whether fortuitous or otherwise, which actually attract, or ought to attract attention, either to the religion itself or to its particular evidences, are what constitute that claim to consideration which we perceive to subsist in the Christian miracles" (p. 311).

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this empire, our conviction, that this matter could no longer be kept in abeyance; and that those who were not with, were, in such times as those in which we live, most unquestionably against us. We said—

"The first and foremost of all measures should be Church Extension. A Protestant Conservative Government must not ask for delay, for time to consider, and for at least one sessional pause before it plants its *drapeau* and proclaims its intentions.....Our support to *public men* must henceforth more than ever depend upon their *measures*. A cowardly friend is as injurious, nay, more so, than an avowed enemy. A cowardly friend to the Church, in such times as these, would throw back Church Extension a quarter of a century; and we, and millions of Conservatives like ourselves, put forward this measure, therefore, as the test of the sincerity of every Conservative Cabinet. It is not, who shall be the leader of the House of Commons? or even, who shall be the President of the Council? that interests us, and the great mass of Protestant Conservatives in this empire; but, are our institutions henceforth to be conducted on Protestant and Christian principles? The answer to this question may be found in the measures which the Government will propose for CHURCH EXTENSION."

Since those observations were published, in October 1841, many months of uncertainty and anxiety have passed away, and our faith in the good intentions of the Government of Sir Robert Peel was, during that period, very often severely tried. We knew, indeed, how many subjects of vast moment were pressing on his Government, and how many interests he was bound to protect; how many exigencies to meet; how many demands to satisfy; how many foes to appease; and how many difficulties to overcome. There were the wars of India and China to conduct, as well as to terminate; a ruined exchequer to fill; new taxes to levy; old taxes to abolish; a tariff to re-construct and carry into operation; a sliding scale for the corn markets to alter, and a new system of averages to establish; an unpopular income and property tax to raise; the Chartists to put down; their leaders to discover and punish; a Chartist Parliament at Birmingham to meet; an Anti-Corn Law League, with its thousands of ramifications, to oppose and defeat; the whole subject of the Corn Laws, both as regarded the mother country and the colonies, to discuss, and in such a manner as to protect vested interests and rights, and yet not to injure the principle of reciprocity in trade and commerce; most difficult questions to adjust with America; a spirit of hate and perversity to grapple with and subdue in our relations with France; commercial treaties with Russia, France, and other states to forward; very thorny negotiations to conduct with Portugal; French influence to watch and diminish in Spain;

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the Syrian and Eastern, and also the Servian questions to examine and arrange; and many incidental matters, arising out of the Indian and Chinese wars, to grapple with, or provide for. We saw that, in later days, the Government had to meet the formidable, and indeed awful disclosures, as to the moral and physical condition of the labouring classes, brought into very palpable and striking observation, through the rebellion of those classes in the north of England and Scotland, when the examinations and trials of the offenders took place. We saw the Government naturally embarrassed with the question of "What is to be *done* for those hundreds of thousands of children brought up in thick darkness, and in ignorance the most profound?" We saw it anxious to propitiate the Dissenters, whilst desirous to give the preponderance to the Church and to her authorized clergy. We saw it assailed on all sides, and, above all, by the Wesleyans, who forsook their accustomed ground of neutrality, and entered the field of controversy with a most bitter, as well as a most resolute spirit. The Irish Poor Laws, resisted by all classes, broke down before their eyes. The English Poor Laws became more and more unpopular. Church-rates were increasingly opposed. The agricultural interests were daily less satisfied: and the manufacturing interests set into the most active and energetic movement all their weapons and organs against the Church and the State. Urged by the Whigs to consent to some measure of ecclesiastical reform, the Government consented to the plan of Sir John Nicholl, which it has since been compelled so to alter, as tomake it a new measure. Bound, in some degree, by the recommendations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, it has had to defend the projected union of the see of St. Asaph and Bangor, though that union is opposed to Conservative principles. The assassination of Mr. Drummond, and all the revelations made by that event of the spread of anarchical and even murderous principles, it has had to learn, to meet, and to deplore. In Wales it has had to contemplate a growing spirit of revolt, and to hear from the Welsh mountains and valleys the echoes of cries of dissatisfaction and rebellion. But, worse than all this, it has witnessed a schism in the Church of Scotland, which will be so injurious to the Conservative cause in that portion of her Majesty's dominions, that doubts are entertained by wise and prudent men, whether, in the event of a general election, even one Conservative member will be re-returned. We have felt, however, on this subject, with the Government, and against the Kirk. We have felt that the Government had to contend for a mighty principle, when it refused to recognize any party or section, however large, talented, or influential, until it should

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begin by respecting the laws and obeying the tribunals. In fact, we felt that the whole foundations of human society were endangered by this frightful schism, and that should the Government yield in this matter, it would be irrecoverably lost. The Canadian Corn Bill, the English and Irish Poor Law Amendment measures, and the fiercest opposition ever yet heard of, got up in all quarters of the land by the Dissenters, against the educational clauses of the Factory Bill, were, and still continue to be measures and events which would alone be sufficient to occupy all the minds and thoughts of men of even more than ordinary attainments and courage. But, to crown all the rest, to add immensely to all prior difficulties and causes of embarrassment, a rebellious movement has been got up in *Ireland*, on a very large and appalling scale, and a half-starved population is excited by priests and demagogues to demand, at the very top of their voices, "THE REPEAL OF THE UNION." Whilst the English Dissenters pressed the Scotch secessionists to rebel and whilst the Irish Papists urged the Welsh mountaineers to rise, foreign emissaries were, and are still busily engaged in provoking the Irish to revolution. Never, perhaps, except at one period of our history as a nation, viz., that of the rebellion at the Nore, was any Government ever assailed with so many difficulties, by so many parties, and in such varied forms, as has been the Government of Sir Robert Peel since its first accession to power. It has met those difficulties one by one—some to our satisfaction, and others far otherwise; but it has met them all, and still it appears resolved to fight, inch by inch, every step of its way, with its multitudinous and implacable enemies.

Now we have taken this rapid review of the difficulties which the Government has had to encounter since its accession to office, really for the purpose of satisfying our readers, as well as ourselves, that, although a somewhat long period has elapsed since we called on it to demonstrate the sincerity of its Protestant Conservatism by an act in favour of *Church Extension*, really many excuses may most fairly be presented by it, and that it must not be hastily or inconsiderately condemned for the delay which has thus occurred. Not that we are by any means disposed to be satisfied with the measure now before us, or to accept it in any other light than as an instalment, and that but a small one, on a large unpaid debt; or to admit that it is to be accepted instead of those Parliamentary grants, which we still insist ought to have been, and ought now to be made; but simply we have thought it an act of justice on our parts to look fully in the face the difficulties which the Government of Sir Robert Peel has had to contend with, and thus to appreciate the

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causes of the delay which has occurred in the furtherance by that Government, of the vastly important measure of CHURCH EXTENSION. In plain terms, we must not be unjust to Sir Robert Peel, or to those who act with him; and whilst we resolutely defend the Church and her interests, her rights and her claims, we must not forget that the State has its rights and interests too, and that in such periods of moral rebellion and anarchy, as those in which we live, the best intentioned men cannot always carry out, as promptly as they really desire, the measures which still their hearts and their judgments approve. Without, then, retracting one single word contained in our article on *Church Extension*, to which we have already alluded, and insisting as much as ever (nay, more so, if possible) on the duty of the State, by Parliamentary grants, to further that measure, we propose to look at the Government plan now before Parliament, to state fully and fairly the principles on which it is founded, and to examine the motives for its adoption, and the arguments brought forward against it.

The fact of the *poverty* of the Church of England is one which, on account of the perversity and falseness of her Romish and Protestant Dissenting opponents, has often to be re-stated, and not only re-stated, but insisted on. The error is so industriously and continuously circulated by her enemies, "that she is a wealthy Church," and even "*the* wealthiest Church in Christendom," that the falsehood would at last be believed, did not her friends continually demonstrate, by facts and figures, that she is in reality a very poor Church. For is it not a fact, that when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners made their report in 1836 (and since that year there has been no *material* change), there were not less than 3,600 parishes in England and Wales in which the income of each incumbent was *less* than 150*l.* per annum? And is it not also a fact, that in many country districts, where there are parishes, each with populations of 10,000 souls, there are still the most imperfect means of supplying religious instruction to the people, according to the rites of the Church of England? And even should it be replied, "Aye, but then other sects and religionists look after the souls of the people," we should answer, "No, they do no such thing—the *voluntary principle* has not done this; it sets hard to work where the Church is to be attacked, and where Episcopacy is to be assailed; but it is not true that Dissent has provided, even if it had the right to do so, and could do so, for the spiritual destitution of the districts where the Church is not effective. In London, and particularly in the dioceses of Lichfield, Coventry, York, and Chester, the population has so far outrun the means of religious instruction, that the word of God is never heard by

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thousands of the inhabitants of those districts." We know that Dissenters, with the desire of extinguishing, if possible, the zeal of some admirable men for Church Extension, have often stated "that it is useless to build churches, when the people will not frequent them." Now the speciousness of this objection is evident to all those who examine into the matter; but it is not so to those who are ever willing to listen to any argument against the Church. But the real facts of the case are these. First, that in Manchester, Birmingham, and London, taking these three populous places as examples of others, the attendance of large congregations at the new and the district churches, and also the increase of that attendance, and of the number of communicants, clearly show that the churches were wanting, and that when the want was supplied, the people were there to avail themselves of the remedy provided. Secondly, that no cases can be brought forward, either in England or Wales, by the enemies of Church Extension, where a new church has remained unattended, or where the decrease of attendants at the old parish church has been so great as to account for the formation of a congregation at the new district church. We refer to this point, because it has been one of the subtle objections raised by the enemies of the Church of England. Thirdly, that Dissent has decreased—and by Dissent we also include Wesleyan Methodism too—in those districts where new churches have been erected; thus clearly showing that very many individuals who attended Dissenting and Wesleyan places of worship before attention was paid to the great measure of Church Extension, did so, not because they preferred Dissent or Methodism to Episcopacy, but because the church was too far removed from them, whilst Dissenting worship was brought home to their very doors.

The want of assigned, positive, limited districts, over which one or two clergymen could watch, as those who had to give an account to the Searcher of all hearts, was also an evil which the Commissioners deplored; and this evil can only be met by Church Extension and Clerical Endowment. One of the causes, nay, perhaps the most powerful one, which has contributed to the increase of Dissent, is this—that the authorized teachers of the people have, from the enormous size of their parishes, been unable to become acquainted with those over whom they were appointed *spiritual overseers.* Not so with Dissenters and Wesleyans. Their principle is that of division and sub-division of territory and labour.

"The *children* gather wood, and the *fathers* kindle the fire, and the *women* knead *their* dough to make cakes for the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto other gods" (Jer. vii. 18).

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Thus it is with the opponents of the National Church in these realms. They have their local preachers (laymen), and their travelling preachers, and their home missionaries, and their "ordained" ministers, and their itinerant students at Dissenting seminaries; and one takes this district, and another that division; and although whole deserts are neglected for want of a sufficient number of agents, yet the districts which *are* selected are so explored, that not a person escapes their "religious canvassings." But as regards the Church, alas! it has been far otherwise! And Sir Robert Peel has truly said:—

"It was stated in the reports of the Commissioners that the extent of church accommodation was but an imperfect test of the evils that arise from this defect in point of pastoral instruction, because in many places where church accommodation is more extensive, still there is no assigned district for the minister of the church; and therefore individual and personal responsibility does not rest on him in the performance of his duty, which does attach to him when he has a certain, defined, circumscribed district for the exercise of his spiritual functions."

In other words, by persisting in not supplying the country with a sufficient number of churches and of pastors, not only do we, as a Nation and as a State, refuse to place the means of grace within the reach of the people, but also we prevent the clergy from having it in their power to take the Gospel to those who are without God, and therefore without hope in the world. The shepherds, who should know their sheep, do *not* know them. Their voices are seldom, if ever, heard, and at least they are not familiar voices. The shepherds are to the sheep as foreigners, or as foes—they knowthem not: and the people feel, in their isolation and sorrow, that "no man careth for their souls!" This is no exaggerated picture of the evils necessarily resulting from want of attention to Church Extension.

In the diocese of Chester, we are informed, there are thirty-eight parishes or districts, each with a population exceeding 10,000, and indeed containing an aggregate of 816,000 souls, with but church-room for 97,000, or one out of eight of the population. In the diocese of York there are twenty parishes or districts, each with a population exceeding 10,000, and with an aggregate of 402,000 souls, whilst the church accommodation is only for about 48,000 inhabitants. In the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry there are sixteen parishes or districts, each having also a population exceeding 10,000, the aggregate being 235,000, but with only church accommodation for 29,000.

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To this state of things it was impossible that any Government could wholly shut its eyes, especially when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners stated that—

"The evils which flow from this deficiency in the means of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence greatly outweigh all other inconveniences resulting from any defects or anomalies in our ecclesiastical institutions; and it unfortunately happens, that while these evils are the most urgent of all, and most require the application of an effectual remedy, they are precisely those for which a remedy can be least easily found."

Sir Robert Peel, having then examined these facts and opinions, declared, in his place in the House of Commons, that—

"After making all allowance for the exertions which had been made by pious Churchmen, and, by the authority of Parliament, by the Government, and for the exertions to supply religious knowledge which had been made by those who did not conform to the Established Church—giving them all credit for the motives by which they were influenced, as well as for the good which, in that respect, they had effected—still that it could not be denied, that at the present moment there was a lamentable deficiency in respect of church accommodation, and still more in the want of pastoral care and superintendence; and therefore that it was incumbent on the house, if a remedy could be applied, to apply that remedy."

And this brings us to the point in dispute between the Premier and ourselves. He asks, "Shall this remedy be supplied by calling on Parliament for public aid, for the purpose of supplying the means of building and endowing churches?" To which we reply, "Yes—most certainly yes!" He, on the contrary, goes to ask, "Or shall we, in the first instance, maturely consider whether or no the revenues of the Church can be made applicable, through the intervention of Parliament?" To which we reply, we have no objection to make to these measures, as concurrent measures, but that so very little can be effected, as Sir Robert Peel has even himself shown, by this application of the Church revenues in another form, and by loans and reimbursements, that we cannot consent to let the one go undone, because the other is to be carried into operation. Well may Sir Robert exclaim, when, for the time being at least, he puts aside the direct, positive, palpable measure of making an appeal to Parliament for grants of the public money, preferring the very limited and inadequate measure now submitted to Parliament, "I cannot hold out expectations that this our remedy will be effectual and complete;" although he gives it as his opinion, in which we cannot concur, and the expression of which we deprecate as unwise, that "he is quite sure no step can be taken hereafter to induce Parliament to supply the deficiency, till the

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executive Government, acting in union with the Church, shall, in the first instance, consider whether the ecclesiastical revenues can be made applicable."

Sir Robert Peel certainly expressed an opinion, that if those revenues should be found inadequate, and still the amount of good done by the partial application of the means at the disposal of Government should prove the advantages, both religious, moral, and social, to be derived from the increase of pastoral care and superintendence which his measure would secure—that thereafter Parliament might be induced to grant further aid, and to extend these advantages. But this is precisely the opposite line of conduct to that which we should have desired to have seen adopted. Is it now for the first time that Parliament is to have *proved* to it that religious, moral, and social advantages are to be derived from the spread of the Christian religion, according to the articles, and doctrines of the Church of England? Has Christianity, or has Episcopacy, been so recently known and established in these realms that it is necessary to have some years of experiments, made on a small scale, to test the value of both, before we can demand of Parliament annual grants for Church Extension, and for the promotion of the spread of Christianity at home? Were Christianity to be presented for the first time to the inhabitants of the Marquesas, or of the Sandwich Islands, or to those of New Zealand; and were the prime ministers or chiefs of those savage tribes to present to an assembled and national throng the project of allowing Christian missionaries to teach and preach in the name of Jesus; we could conceive that both themselves and their hearers might conclude by the resolution, that the number of missionaries must at first be very limited, and that it would be necessary to begin on a small scale, and with a small experiment. But for the Christian and Conservative Minister of a great Christian nation to tell a Christian Parliament that, before the Government would venture to ask for a Parliamentary grant in favour of Church Extension, it felt it necessary to begin by economizing with the Church's admitted deficient revenues, and that not till this experiment had been made, and *had proved successful*, would it ask such assistance, is, in our humble judgment, a proceeding which cannot serve the cause of the Church—which must add weight and importance to Dissent and Schism—which will strengthen the hands of our opponents—and which already excites their hopes and encourages their enthusiasm. The Government has no right to assume, and has no grounds for assuming, that the Parliament would refuse to make such grants as it would propose. Not a single division during the present or

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the past sessions could justify such apprehensions. The unanimity which prevailed amongst all Church members—and they constitute an immense majority in both houses—when Lord Ashley and Sir James Graham made their celebrated speeches on the moral and physical condition of the working classes, supports us in our oft-expressed and deliberate conviction, that an annual Parliamentary grant in favour of Church Extension would be carried in both the lower and upper house by imposing majorities. We need not then add, that we deeply deplore this step was not taken during the present session. The Chinese money, which has come in so largely and unexpectedly, afforded an admirable opportunity for the vote to be demanded—and if enforced, as it should have been, if necessary, by a call of the house, a satisfactory and decisive experiment would have been made. Having stated in the former number, to which we have already referred, our reasons for feeling that this line of proceeding was the only one which was truly just to the Church and to the country, we do not propose to re-reason this matter; but having again expressed our conviction—first, that such a plan would be just, wise, successful, and effectual; secondly, that it is necessary; thirdly, that the Government ought to have adopted it; fourthly, that it ought to take precedence of all other plans for the promotion of Church Extension; and, fifthly, that no previous experiment is necessary to be made before it is carried into effect—we shall proceed to examine the measure now submitted to the British Legislature, wholly independent of that other and vaster measure, the deferring of which we, in common with multitudes of our fellow Churchmen, cannot but deplore.

Sir Robert Peel, in presenting his limited plan to the Legislature, said—

"The proposal I have to make on the part of the Government is now limited exclusively to measures wherein the whole aid to be derived in populous districts, towards effecting religious objects, *will be supplied from the revenues of the Church.*"

These words are as clear as they are important. They present the limited nature of the measure in such terms, that respecting it there can be no possible mistake. For, first, the measure is only to refer to populous districts; secondly, to populous districts where religious objects are not at present sufficiently attended to; and, thirdly, the funds to be supplied for these populous districts are to be wholly provided by the Church!

The history of the measure of Sir Robert Peel is the following. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners having recommended,

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and Parliament having sanctioned, that there should be in most of the cathedral establishments of this country a reduction in the number of canons and prebends; and having also recommended that the estates of all the non-resident prebends—that is, of all prebends in connexion with cathedral establishments, and from whom residence was not required—should be added to a common fund, to be applied, under the control of the said Commission, to supply deficiencies elsewhere; and having advised that all sinecure rectories should be suppressed, and that their revenues should be carried to a common fund, also placed under the control of these Commissioners; and having further advised, that where the deans and canons had separate estates that should not only be considered a corporate property, but separate estates of a personal nature attached to a particular canonry or deanery—that in that case also the whole of those estates should be carried to a fund placed at the disposal of the Commissioners; in the course of the few past years, various sums have accumulated in their hands, and which now amount to a total of about 25,000*l.* per annum!

This annual sum of 25,000*l.* consists, first, of sums derived from the separate estates of deans and canons falling in as the parties having life interests vacate the appointments; and, secondly, of sums derived from sinecure rectories falling in as the life interests cease. There are also sums arising from the estates of non-resident prebends, and from those of superseded canons. The total amount from these sources at present, is, as before stated, about 25,000*l.* per annum.

"But (says Sir Robert Peel) the annual payments now made by the Commissioners amount to about 18,000*l.*; *i. e.*, there is a sum of about 1,800*l.* annually applied as a provision for archdeacons, and a sum of about 16,600*l.* annually applied to the augmentation of small livings. .....Looking at the number of small livings, and supposing the intentions of the Commissioners entirely fulfilled in respect to the augmentation of those small livings, the total actual engagements of the Commissioners would be about 32,000*l.* a year."

Now the Government, having calculated that within a few years there will be a *considerable increase* of the property of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and having felt the pressing necessity of providing measures to meet the present state of spiritual destitution, has come to the conclusion, that it is desirable to devise, if possible, some immediate means by which to anticipate the future revenue of the Commission, and to supply increased means of religious instruction in the most populous districts. To effect this result two agencies are resorted to—first, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who expect to have, at an

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early period, a considerable revenue at their disposal; and, secondly, the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, who have at present a large amount of capital stock which may be made available for present supply. Thus the former are to be borrowers, and the latter lenders, and Parliament is asked to sanction the transaction. The borrowers are well known; they are of recent institution. We are indebted to the Reform Bill and to Radicalism for their creation; and, although they have laboured hard to get rid of the odium attached to their appointment, as really originating in the "pressure from without," still the Church feels that it is a body which has much to do, before even its existence can be felt to be in harmony with Church interests. The lenders are less familiar to our readers. The Queen Anne's Bounty Board was appointed for the superintendence of the sums of money derived from the first-fruits and tenths, and the funds at its disposal have very materially augmented, by Parliamentary grants, from 1808 downwards. Now the object of the Bounty Board is, like that of the Ecclesiastical Commission, to provide increased means of religious instruction, to endow new churches and chapels, and to increase the income of ministers where they are inadequately paid. From 1808 to 1820, the annual sum of 100,000*l.* was granted by Parliament to be applied by the Bounty Board in the augmentation of small livings; and the stock now vested in the name of the Governors is no less than 1,200,000*l.* Some claims and deductions from this sum will leave the amount in hand about 1,100,000*l.* And here we cannot but enquire how it has come to pass, that notwithstanding, from 1808 to 1843, a period of thirty-five years, so many thousands of livings should have required aid, and so many tens of thousands of incumbents, during that period, should have died in poverty and want, after having lived in penury and misery, still the invested stock of the Bounty Board should amount to so large and increasing a sum as 1,100,000*l.*? We know we shall be told that, in proportion as the capital increases, the revenues, and therefore the means of aiding poor livings and poor clergymen, will be augmented; but is it not a fact, that all the *interest* of the funds has not been expended, and that much interest, which ought to have been applied in aiding poor livings and poor incumbents, has been added to the capital stock? For the present we merely put these questions, and proceed, finally, to develope the plan of the Government.

That plan is, that the Bounty Board shall be empowered to advance 600,000*l.* to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, *to be employed chiefly for the purpose of endowing new livings.* The

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600,000*l.* so borrowed are to be appropriated, by annual advance of 30,000*l.*, so long as the capital will last, in endowing new livings of from 150*l.* to 200*l.* The inhabitants of each district are, as much as possible, to be required to raise an equal sum.

"But the principle of the measure (says Sir Robert Peel) will be that *which is popular in this country*, viz., where the income exceeds 300*l.* a year, though the average is considerably less, a new district shall be assigned to the minister, and for the discharge of the duties for that district he shall be held responsible."

We are not much pleased with this allusion to, and admission of, the "*popular*" feeling of keeping down clergymen's incomes to 300*l.*, and of assigning new districts the moment they exceed them; and we are sorry to find the feeling, as it were, consecrated, by its adoption by a Conservative Government.

The sum of 600,000*l.* thus to be borrowed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from the Bounty Board, it will take about seventeen years to exhaust; and so in the year 1860 the whole of the capital will have been applied, by the annual advance of 30,000*l.* in each year, towards the endowment of new livings in *populous districts*. In 1860, then, the capital will be exhausted; the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will have contracted a new obligation, and have to provide 18,000*l.* as annual interest, and 30,000*l.* in order to create a perpetual income, being a total of 48,000*l.* In addition to this there will be the further sum of 32,000*l.* to raise, being the amount already voted by the Commissioners, as the sum they do, and will continue annually to, apply for the augmentation of small livings. Together, then, the Commissioners will have to provide 80,000*l.* per annum; and this sum the Government is fully satisfied will be raised—first, by the revenues of suspended canonries, which will amount to 42,000*l.*, taking the value of the lives, and the number already fallen in, as data for calculation; secondly, from the prebendal estates now in possession, amounting to 30,000*l.*; and, thirdly, from the non-residential prebends' estates which may be estimated to fall in within the next seventeen years. Therefore the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will have ample means.

The 600,000*l.* thus to be borrowed and reimbursed, with interest, in the mean time, at three per cent., is NOT to be applied to the building of churches, *but for the endowment of ministers*, or the providing permanent incomes for incumbents, "strictly confining it (to use the words of Sir Robert Peel) to those populous districts in which the want of religious instruction is most felt." The Premier hopes also that, by the advance of small sums to spiritually destitute districts, he shall be able to excite the wealthier portions of their populations, and indeed all classes

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of the Church-loving community, to contribute their aid; and in confirmation of his views, and to induce Parliament to adopt his plan, he cited several apposite and most suitable illustrations of what had been effected in the dioceses of Ripon and Chester, and, above all, by the Incorporated Society, for the encouragement of the erection of new churches.

There is one feature in Sir Robert's plan which we have not yet referred to, and that is this, that he is greatly favourable to the creation of new districts, and not to the making additional curates subsidiary to the present incumbents of large parishes. On this part of his case he was most distinct and impressive, and we fully concur in every word he uttered:—

"Sir, I trust that when a clergyman is appointed under this arrangement it will always occur, or at least it will be the general rule, to assign to such clergyman a particular district. Instead of making him subsidiary to the incumbent of a parish, I trust that it will be arranged that a district shall be assigned to him, so that his exertions will be accompanied with responsibility, and that he may have an opportunity of deriving all the advantages resulting from personal intimacy with his parishioners."

There is another point, also, in this plan of Sir Robert Peel, which, though not embodied in the Bill before us, still forms part of the Premier's *programme*, and that is, that the appointment of clergymen is *not* to be limited, in every case, to districts in which churches are opened for their reception.

"I think (says Sir Robert Peel) the utmost advantage would in some cases result from the appointment of a minister to a district *in which there is no church*. Great evils arise, not more from the want of church accommodation, than from the want of pastoral care; and really I do not know if it would not be best, in many cases, to appoint ministers, in the first instance, to districts where no church is erected."

This is the Government measure. But before we hear its opponents we must call attention to some concluding observations from the speech of its proposer.

"I hope that the house (he said) will give the measure their unanimous sanction. It calls on them for no grant of public money. I wish I could get such a grant with the *unanimous* concurrence of the house and of the country; but, knowing my inability to obtain that *unanimous* concurrence, I must say that I think a sum appropriated from the revenues of the Church, as an encouragement to voluntary contributions, and a large sum also derived from individual donations, will prove of GREATER SERVICE than a sum *reluctantly voted* by the house, and *reluctantly paid* by a portion of the people."

What does this mean? Is, then, the wise and wholesome principle of *compulsory* payment to the support of the religion and Church of the nation to be abandoned? If so, then Dis-

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senters will doubtless continue to resist church-rates, for indubitably their *unanimous* concurrence will never be obtained to their imposition. And if so, then farewell to the hope held out in the first portion of the speech of the Premier, that when the benefits resulting from this new system should become obvious, Parliament might be induced to make suitable and necessary grants for Church Extension. If Sir Robert Peel, or any future statesman, is to wait until he has obtained "the *unanimous* concurrence of the house and of the country," before he shall ask for a Government grant for Church Extension and Endowment, the Dissenters may rest perfectly contented and calm, for as long as one Dissenter shall exist in the land, unanimity or concurrence could not be obtained. And as to preferring this very small, wholly inadequate, and admitted to be special and peculiar plan, only for providing, during sixteen years to come, an annual sum of 30,000*l.* to be applied *solely* for the endowment of churches in populous districts, to a general measure of Parliamentary or national grants for building and endowing churches, glebe-houses, and schools, simply because in the latter case some would "reluctantly vote," and others "reluctantly pay" them, we think there is more of sentiment than of principle—more of "a desire to please or to propitiate," than there is of sound orthodoxy in the declaration.

If taxes were not proposed until they were called for, and were popular, the treasury would soon be empty, and tax-collectors might destroy their books. No, that is not the way of stating the question. Is the Church of England the Church of an immense majority of the nation? Yes, or no? We say, and we are fully prepared to prove our assertion, yes. Then, is this Church to be supported, or is it to be allowed to decline and decay? We say, supported. Is it so at present? No. Are the people of this country supplied with adequate church accommodation, and with a sufficient number of clergy? No. Will this plan of Sir Robert Peel do more than endow a certain number of new churches, in populous districts, for sixteen years to come? It will not. Then why is the Government of this country, in the face of a state of things almost unparalleled in the history of any Christian land, to remain for sixteen years to wait the results of this small and wholly inadequate "*experiment*," because there are some who would "*reluctantly vote*," and others "*reluctantly pay*," a tax for Church Extension? We pause for a reply. That reply we do *not* meet with in the speech of Sir Robert Peel, nor in any of the addresses delivered in behalf of this "Ecclesiastical Commission and Bounty Board Loan transaction!"

Sir Robert Inglis, that real champion of a living, active,

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energetic Church, has complained of the Bill, that by it the Government confined itself to enabling one part of the ecclesiastical system to assist another, and refrained from calling on the State to contribute one fraction to Church Extension. "If (asked the honourable baronet), if the welfare of the country be dependent on its religious principles, is this the only way in which those principles are to be advanced by the Parliament and the Government?" The same intrepid champion of Church principles, and of our Episcopal institutions, attacked, in measured, but in pointed and well-directed terms, the expectations and hopes of the Premier, that, by not applying for a Parliamentary grant, he would appease and satisfy the Dissenters.

"No (said Sir Robert Inglis), the Dissenters will not be pacified by such a measure as this, and the experience of these last *three* days ought to have carried conviction to the mind of Sir Robert Peel, that no measure he could bring forward would succeed in effecting such an object. In every point of view it would have been far better to have said at once, 'We shall support the doctrines, discipline, and interests of the Church of England—a Church not merely established by law, but also established in the hearts and affections of the people.'"

Not only, however, has Sir Robert Inglis, but other warm and enlightened friends of the Church have objected to this measure. Those objections may be summed up as follows:—

It does not carry out fully and effectually the parochial system.

It is only the ekeing out the Establishment in one part of the country, and curtailing its resources in another.

It is a measure of too circumscribed a nature, and is only adapted to meet one portion of a class of evils, and not all portions or classes.

It is a measure of a temporary character, and will cease at the end of sixteen years.

It is a measure which makes Parliamentary grants for Church purposes subservient to the satisfactory or unsatisfactory opinions, which may be entertained hereafter, as to the results obtained by this proceeding.

It is a measure which encourages the principle of loans, and which ought to be discouraged by all religious bodies.

It is a measure which gives a *permanent* sanction to the constitution of the Ecclesiastical Commission.

To the minutiæ, and to the financial working of the measure, other objections have been urged; but Sir Robert Peel has replied to these more satisfactorily than he has to those raised against its principle.

Before we terminate our remarks, it is only an act of com-

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mon justice to record, that whilst the measure is objected to by some, it is warmly approved by others. The friends of the Government plan say—

"The first object was to provide for the support of the clergymen in the several places wherein they might be wanted, and the next to build churches." Therefore the measure is praiseworthy.

"Wherever the clergy are found useful, churches will follow." Therefore send the clergy first, and support this plan.

"The Bill will encourage the preaching of the Gospel in populous and neglected districts, where that Gospel would continue not to be preached if churches must first be erected." Therefore support the plan.

"The Bill will prevent an increased degree of animosity being cherished and indulged in against the Church by Dissenters." Therefore vote the measure.

"The Bill proceeds on the principle acted upon by our pious ancestors of leaving it to individual benevolence and private virtue to erect places of worship." Therefore rally round the scheme of the Government.

"The Bill will give to the country at least *three hundred* additional clergymen." Therefore those who believe in the moral, social, and religious influence of the clergy, should plead for the Bill.

"The Bill is at least a step, and a most important one, in the right direction." Therefore, at least, accept the plan as a promise of future good.

"The Bill proceeds on the right principle of exhausting the means of the Church herself, before application is made to Parliament." Therefore vote for the Bill.

"The Bill is a germ of a great principle." Therefore cultivate the germ.

"The Bill is really one for the advancement of the *temporal* comforts of the people—for those temporal comforts are never more effectually secured than by the presence of a good resident minister amongst them." Therefore support this Bill, even as politicians, independent of doing so as Christians.

"The Bill secures to the new clergymen such stipends as will enable them to discharge, in a manner befitting their station, the duties attached to their office." Therefore those who are for supporting the dignity of the clerical office plead for the Bill.

"The Bill will develope the yet undiscovered and unexhausted resources of the people of the country in support of religious instruction." Therefore all friends to the religious instruction of the masses should support the Bill.

"The Bill, dealing as it does with the property of the Church, is a very fair and just measure." Therefore vote for the Bill.

"The Bill is fair and just towards Dissenters, and none can with propriety oppose it." Therefore all who are averse to agitation should support the Bill.

Thus the measure has its votaries as well as its opposers, and

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the former unquestionably predominate in both houses. How could it be otherwise? Churchmen adopt it, because an instalment on a debt is better than no payment. The Dissenters do not oppose it, because it makes no appeal to their pockets, and does not interfere with their prejudices. Romanists are indifferent to it, because they are too much engrossed with the progress of their own Church to take any interest in that of others. And the great mass of the *laissez aller* portion of the community think no more about it than if it had never been proposed, for what care they for the Church, for morals, or for religion? So the Bill will pass, and *some good* will be effected; but the grand question of CHURCH EXTENSION will be left, as before, undecided! Is this wise?

ART. VII.—*The Ancestry of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and of His Royal Highness Prince Albert.* Comprised in Thirty-two Tables, with Biographical Memoirs and Heraldic Notices. By GEORGE RUSSELL FRENCH, Architect. London: Pickering.

2. *The Genealogy and Armorial Bearings of the Sovereigns of England, and a Description of the different Styles of British Architecture.* By ARCHIBALD BARRINGTON, M.D. With an accompanying Chart. London: Varty, York House, Strand.

THAT reverence for antiquity which forms so large an ingredient of Catholicity in religion—which turns the hearts of the children towards the fathers, and binds together as one household of faith the brethren of all generations of the Church, forms also a large ingredient of loyalty in States, which, like our own, enjoy the privilege of hereditary institutions, and under which we can look back with pride, as well as reverence, to those from whom we have derived those institutions, and emulate their virtues, and transmit those institutions unimpaired to our children. And those august persons who stand at the head of such institutions, and are entitled to all reverence from their subjects, have themselves to remember that they are men; and to them also it is most necessary to bear in mind the principles upon which their power is based, since it is by uniformity of rule alone that fixed institutions can subsist, and their stability be perpetuated.

As none of the States of Europe can at all compete with England, for institutions stretching into the most remote antiquity, and remaining steadfast, because fixed in the affections of the people, under convulsions which have overturned all the ancient institutions of other States; so the sovereigns of Europe

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cannot at all compete with Queen Victoria in point of ancestry, whether we look to length of line, brilliancy of collateral alliances, or the mighty deeds of the individuals by whose bravery, wisdom, and virtue, the line has been perpetuated.

Of these heroic deeds of the illustrious dead, heraldry and architecture furnish the abiding records. The achievements of the individual are embodied in his arms, and perpetuated in stone, to form his monument; and these arms transmitted, to posterity, excite in them an emulation of the noble deeds, and a desire to add fresh lustre to the memorial, that they may show living testimonials of their descent, in similarity of character to those whose arms they esteem it an honour to bear.

We are induced to put together two works, each of which is very meritorious in its kind, both to remark upon the great diffusion of information in the present day—and this information not necessarily superficial in consequence of its diffusion—and to take the opportunity of combining architecture with heraldry, in the remarks which we have to make. For though heraldry does not combine at all with Grecian architecture, and has nothing to do with architectural principles or classical models, and so they must be considered as two independent professions, requiring distinct courses of study; yet in British architecture there an association of heraldic ornament, which not only throws considerable light upon the history of the buildings, but has such an importance, that to it the form and arrangements of the building are often made subsidiary.

The first of these works is by an architect, but it is strictly what it professes to be—genealogical and heraldic; and it shows an acquaintance with the subject and an accuracy of facts which would do credit to a professional herald; while it is wholly free from pedantry, and those dry technicalities and minute and unimportant details which are so often found in professional works, to the disgust of mere general readers. Advantages these which are attributable to the good taste of the writer, and to his fortunate access "to the excellent genealogical and heraldic library, collected by the late Sir Thomas Gery Cullum, Baronet, and Bath King of Arms." (preface viii.)

The text gives, in an unpretending and in an amusing form, all that is generally requisite to be known concerning the several branches of the illustrious houses of which it professes to treat, the arms borne by them being not engraved, but described, and chiefly on the authority of Robert Glover, Somerset herald in the time of Elizabeth. And the tables at the end of the book present very clearly the summary of each branch separately and successively; being, as the author anticipates, an improvement

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on former methods, presenting a clearer *coup d'œil* and a more systematic arrangement, and so better for reference and more easy of remembrance.

The second work is by a physician, who, though ranking among the learned, is not generally expected to understand architecture or heraldry; yet it contains such information as might without any discredit be owned by a professed architect or herald; and though drawn up for the use of his children, it conveys instruction which should not pass away with childhood, and may be advantageously retained, and refreshed by such a chart as this, throughout every period of life. The author has evidently looked into the best authorities, and has not merely retailed what he has found in them, but, having made the information his own, has put it together with consistency and originality. All persons have found the necessity of an artificial help to the remembrance of historic facts—of a *memoria technica* in some form or other. Some find it in the arrangement of a cabinet of medals, as it is argued by Addison in favour of collecting coins; to others a genealogical table affords it; and by others it is found in the successive styles of architecture, especially in ecclesiastical structures; but certainly the bringing these together in one chart is the best of all expedients, and the only further addition we could desire to the present chart would be, the coins of the respective monarchs, if this were practicable, as it would also give us, in many instances, their badges, or the supporters of their arms. This might have interfered with the simplicity of the plan, and crowded the chart with too many details, and we do not, therefore, urge its omission as an objection, or say that they ought to have been introduced; for we believe that those who have had the practical experience of constructing a thing, understand its bearings far better than those who are only speculating about it.

The general remarks which we desire to make on both these works may be properly introduced by an extract from the explanatory little volume which accompanies the chart, in which the bearing of heraldry and architecture upon history is very well explained:—

"Let us suppose ourselves reading some portion of English history —whether it be from Rapin, Hume, Lingard, or any other author, it matters not—we have got to the battle of Bosworth Field, and are reading of the crown which was there lost and won, and of the consequent accession of Henry VII. to the throne of England. We turn our eyes to the chart which is hanging by our side; we see in the 'genealogical table' the '*line of Tudor*,' and below it a rose divided into four parts, each part coloured alternately white and red. On the right side is a portcullis, the famous badge of the house of Beaufort,

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and with which Henry VII. often associated the motto '*Altera Securitas*,' to show how his claim to the crown was strengthened by his connexion with that illustrious family. On the left is another device, of which, perhaps, at first, we find it somewhat difficult to understand the meaning; we see that it consists of a small tree or bush, with a crown above it, and on either side the letters 'H. R.' forming together the device which Henry adopted in commemoration of the crown having been found in a hawthorn bush, upon this same battle-field of Bosworth. A little lower down upon the chart we observe the names of 'Henry VII.=Elizabeth, heiress of York,' with the date 1485. Looking at the left-hand column, which is appropriated to the principal events in British history, we see, at 1474—viz., ten years before this battle—'Printing by Caxton;' while parallel with this on the opposite side, among the events in general history, we read, at the date of 1479, 'Ferdinand and Isabella, Inquisition.' Again, in the division of the chart which is devoted to the illustrations of architecture, we observe in this century (the fifteenth) the style called the Perpendicular, or Tudor, prevailed in England.

"But, it may be asked, what have all these to do with each other, or what connexion is there between them? A very little reflection will suffice to show that, while each possesses an interest independent of the other, this interest is much increased, and the recollection of each fact more powerfully impressed upon the memory, when the whole are taken in connexion. Let us for a moment consider them in this way. The manner in which the names of Henry and Elizabeth are connected by *red* lines with the heads of the houses of York and Lancaster shows how the two families were united by this marriage, while the white and red rose conjoined may be taken as a pictorial representation of the same fact. The crown and hawthorn bush, with its initial letters, remind us of the fearful battle which cost Richard his life, and placed the crown on the brow of his victorious rival—and each may be associated with the introduction of printing into England and the establishment of the inquisition in Spain, which we see to have occurred during the same period—two events which cannot but give rise to reflections on the present relative position of the two countries, and the place which they now respectively occupy in the scale of European nations.

"But let us carry our suppositions a little further, and imagine ourselves on the way to Westminster, to see in its magnificent abbey an example of the style of architecture which prevailed in the thirteenth century, during which period we know the principal part of it to have been erected; our attention is arrested by the chapel which we see at its eastern extremity, and by the striking contrast which this exhibits when compared with the abbey itself, in which we had recognized all the features of the Early English or Lancet style of architecture. We see that it cannot be of earlier date than the beginning of the fifteenth century, of which period it has all the characteristic features. But suppose that, on examining its interior, we find the same profusion of ornament, the same well-known *Tudor* badges, and in addition to these, on its beautifully painted windows, the device of

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the hawthorn bush and the crown, of which we have just been examining the origin—can we now fail to recognize, as its munificent benefactor, if not indeed its actual founder, the illustrious monarch whose badges are thus scattered about with almost boundless profusion—Henry VII., the first sovereign of the house of Tudor?

"By a single example, thus taken at random, we have endeavoured to show in what way each period of our history may be illustrated, and its leading facts impressed upon the memory, by associating them with certain other events in the history of the world, and certain objects of sense with which they are more or less intimately connected. If such associations are useful in refreshing the memory of the adult, how important is their agency in arresting the attention and permanently impressing the minds of more youthful students." (Introduction, p. vi.)

From this extract our readers will understand the intention and the utility of the chart, and we can assure them that its mode of execution will not disappoint them. The arms are beautifully emblazoned, and the examples of the different styles of architecture are well chosen, and engraved with great ability and fidelity: so that the chart may be called splendid, and may be considered as ornamental as it is useful.

It will appear, from what we have already said, that heraldry may be so connected with historical facts as to throw much light upon the history of comparatively modern times, and in countries where historic records abound. But such illustrations become far more important in earlier ages, when writing itself was rare; and of the few records which were made, very few indeed have remained, and those much mutilated and corrupted. And it should be borne in mind, that in those early ages heraldic and similar memorials often supplied the place of written records, and therefore acquire a far greater *absolute* as well as *relative* importance; arms were often then the only proof of consanguinity, the title deeds to an inheritance, and invariably the accompaniment of supreme command in war, and supreme authority in the particular State. But these primeval uses of armorial bearings have varied in different countries, according to the condition, possessions, and civilization of the people among whom they are respectively found.

The question of heraldry has not been fairly dealt with; men have expected impossibilities, and, being disappointed in these expectations, have doubted of everything, or thrown up the whole question in despair; and others have had an interest in questioning the antiquity of heraldry, where it might, by the acknowledgment, induce a question concerning an earlier or better right to a possession, and so disturb a security for which no increase of knowledge would compensate. If we expect to find the armorial bearings of early ages applied to all the various

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purposes of modern heraldry, it is expecting impossibilities; the things did not exist to which we would fain apply them; and heraldry has grown to what it is by long and gradual increase, according as circumstances arose which rendered these additions necessary. But that armorial bearings existed from the earliest times there can be no doubt, and that they were applied to as many of the usual purposes of arms as were compatible with the several conditions of the respective ages may be easily inferred. We need not repeat the arguments of Camden or Gwillim, in answer to the doubts of the discontented and captious Brooks; nor should we have adverted to the question, but that both these works repeat the assertion of Brooks, that there were no hereditary arms in England before the time of Richard I. —an assertion grounded merely on his not having seen any seals of an earlier period than the reign of Cœur de Lion.

It ought to be remembered that the Normans, and the Saxons before them, dispossessed a people more civilized than themselves; and we may not justly infer the barbarism of Britain from finding the Normans or Saxons to be barbarians. The name of Alfred, and the laws and institutions which yet remain to his glory, prove also that he ruled over a people capable of appreciating good government, and ready to second him in his enlightened plans, and perpetuate his institutions. And this is really at the root of the fond attachment which the English have on many occasions shown to their ancient dynasties. Mr. French, speaking of Henry I., says—

"No act was more calculated to render him popular with the native English than his marriage with Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III., King of Scotland, and Margaret, sister of Edgar the Atheling. This princess was dear to the nation, who were fondly attached to the memory of their ancient princes, and who hoped for a more equal and merciful administration, when the blood of their native princes should be mingled with that of their new sovereigns. At the time of her marriage, Matilda, whose name was changed from Editha, was an orphan, and had been educated under her aunt Christina, abbess of Rumsey. She was much beloved by the people, who called her the 'good Queen Mold,' and for whom she entreated her husband's love. The early chroniclers speak of this alliance, as if, in their estimation, it conferred honour upon the Norman. 'King Henry married Maud, or Mold, daughter of Malcolm, King of Scots, and of Margaret, the good Queen, the relation of King Edward, and the right kingly kin of England.' (*Sax. Chron.*) Nisbet says that, in testimony of this union of the Norman and English blood, Henry, on his seal, is represented on a throne, holding in his right hand a globe with a bird upon it, being the martlet of the Saxon kings" (p. 58).

It has been inconsiderately assumed, that the nations of the

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continent have been always more civilized than the inhabitants of Britain. But the direct reverse of this was the fact in the times of which we are speaking—at the Norman conquest, and for five hundred years preceding. All the remaining histories prove it, and especially the beautiful letter written to Charlemagne, by Alcuin, his preceptor, from the Abbacy of St. Martinat Tours, to which he had retired. Alcuin was an Englishman, and had been librarian to Egbert, Archbishop of York, A.D. 731; and a catalogue of the library drawn up by him still exists. He thus writes to the Emperor Charlemagne:—

"The employments of your Alcuinus, in his retreat, are suited to his humble sphere; but they are neither inglorious nor unprofitable. I spend my time in the halls of St. Martin, in teaching some of the noble youths under my care the intricacies of grammar, and inspiring them with a taste for the learning of the ancients; in describing to others the order and revolutions of those shining orbs which adorn the azure vault of heaven; and in explaining to others the mysteries of divine wisdom which are contained in the holy Scriptures; suiting my instructions to the views and capacities of my scholars, that I may train up many to be ornaments to the Church of God and the court of your imperial Majesty. In doing this I find a great want of several things, particularly of those excellent books in all arts and sciences *which I enjoyed in my native country,* through the expense and care of my great master Egbert. May it therefore please your Majesty, animated with the most ardent love of learning, to permit me to send some of our young gentlemen *into England*, to procure for us those books which we want, and transplant *the flowers of Britain into France*, that their fragrance may no longer be confined to York, but may perfume the palaces of Tours."

Hence we may perceive how unreasonable it would be to assert that, because the Normans had not at the conquest attained to the use of arms, the English were necessarily behind them. But Brooks goes still further, and will believe nothing which he has not himself seen—he will not receive any other man's testimony, but nothing short of the evidence of his own eyes. Speaking of the second Earl of Shrewsbury, who died 1098, and was buried in the Abbey of Shrewsbury, he says—

"Upon whose tomb (saith Mills) he is pictured in stone, with his legs across, and upon his shield *azure a lion rampant gold, with a border*. Which (saith Brooks) you may believe if you list: for at that time, nor within an hundred years after, neither king nor subject did use any arms in England, in their shields or seals, that ever *I could find or see;* and yet do I think arms used long before the conquest of the Normans," (p. 289).

Even Brooks admits that arms were in use *long before the conquest;* and therefore the only question is, whether this use of

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them was known *in England* as well as in other countries; and that they were so used, both by the Britons and Saxons, is evident to any one who will receive historical testimony, and believe the evidence of *other men's eyes*, as well as the evidence of *his own*. Nennius, who lived in the early part of the seventh century, A.D. 613, and a manuscript of whose history, written as early as the tenth century, exists in the Vatican library, alludes several times to the use of armorial bearings. Speaking of Arthur, he says, that in his eighth battle he bore the image of the Virgin Mary on his shoulders. On which Mr. Gunn notes, "this may signify merely the figure of the Virgin, which, according to Tysilio, was impressed upon the shield of Arthur." But the most curious passage is the reported discovery of *the dragons*, by Merlin, at Dinas Embres, or the citadel of Ambrosius, where Vortigern had intended to build a castle. The legend is in keeping with the superstition of the age, and has been embodied in "Taliessin" and the "Triads;" but we give only that part of it which bears upon our subject. Two serpents are represented as struggling for mastery, the one red and the other white, which Merlin interprets thus: "the red serpent is *your dragon*, but the white serpent is the dragon of the people who occupy several provinces and districts of Britain, even almost from sea to sea." This evidently refers to the *banners* of the Britons and Saxons, each party consisting of many petty princes, who were ordinarily independent, and each supreme within his own dominions; but who, in time of common danger, appointed a leader to whom the banner *of the nation* was committed, and whom all were then bound to follow. And thus the leader of the British party carried the *red dragon*, and was called Pendragon; the leader of the Saxon party bore the white, and was called Bretwalda. When Egbert attained the Bretwaldaship, he, by his wisdom, perpetuated and transmitted to his descendants that ascendancy over the other kingdoms of the heptarchy which his personal qualities had gained; and hence *the dragon*—the banner of the Bretwalda—became the arms of Wessex, merely changing it from silver to gold; and hence it was adopted by Elizabeth as one of her supporters in place of the *red dragon* which Henry VII. had introduced. Henry VII. had taken the red dragon for his badge from its being regarded as the royal banner of Wales, and being borne by his kinsman Rhys at the head of the Welsh division of his army in Bosworth field; and it was one of the standards deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral after the victory.

The lion, however, is to be regarded as the national symbol of Britain, and its diminutive lioncel or leopard, when many are

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introduced into a shield, and are, therefore, of a reduced size; and the Saxon martlet and the Danish raven are as characteristic of them as is the eagle of Rome. After the introduction of supporters to the royal arms, the lion, with few exceptions, remained invariably one, and the badge or banner of the monarch furnished the other. Edward III. had a lion and an eagle; Richard II., a lion and white hart; Richard III., a lion and boar. But Henry VII. generally used the red dragon, his own badge, for one supporter, and the greyhound, the badge of the house of York, for the other. His successors restored the lion, and left out the greyhound; and the Stuarts brought in the unicorn, which was their badge, and these have remained unaltered under the houses of Orange and of Hanover.

It is properly observed, that "in assuming the *national* bearing, the sovereign foregoes his *private* arms" (p. 8). This custom necessarily began as early as there were national as well as private badges; so that by not attending to this, the same individual would have two or more distinct devices attributed to him. And it was also a very early custom, as Camden observes, to borrow arms from those lords upon whom they were dependent, or to whom they were most devoted; so that many different families might appear to have had the same arms. But it is from confusion, which has been brought in by inadvertency to such things as these, that the arguments against the antiquity of armorial bearings have been principally derived. All concede the antiquity of national badges as insignia of war; but many doubt whether private badges were in use thus early, or were retained in time of peace.

There are but two ways in which national arms can have come in—either as being symbolical of the tutelary divinity of the nation, or as having been the private arms of the individual who is looked upon as the head of the nation. It is admitted that the arms of Scotland are derived from Fergus I., which his successors have retained without change; it is admitted that "we have positive testimony, from the history of Florence, to the antiquity of the lion as the Scottish ensign.....from public games having been appointed in Italy, in which a lion was crowned, in honour of the Scots and of their ensign;" and yet it is pretended that Fergus himself had no armorial bearings. It is admitted that the two lions of England are derived from William the Norman—and yet William himself had no armorial bearings! The very statement of the thing is contradictory and absurd.

Those who had derived possessions and honours from the Normans alone, might have found it to be a very natural and convenient way of disposing of this question, to assume that no

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rights existed of higher or of earlier origin than their own. But the Normans themselves did not rest satisfied with thus disposing of the question, as those who have dared to put forward a higher claim often found to their cost. As late as the time of Henry VIII. there have been instances of indictment for treason on the ground of unlawfully assuming the arms of the ancient line of kings; and if those under trial had asserted that Edward the Confessor had no armorial bearings, we suspect that the judges would have paid but little attention to such a plea. We have heard of an American who placed upon his carriage the arms of an ancient English family, and when he was asked for an explanation said, that *it was a pattern* that was very much admired; but such notions of the "aristocracy of wealth" had never entered the minds of the Normans. The tenure by which they held was the sword, and they were at all times ready, like the old Warrenne, boldly to avow, "This is my title; by this my ancestors won these honours—with this I will maintain them." A standing tribute of concession to the rooted prejudices of the English was paid by all the reigning sovereigns down to the time of the Reformation, in their swearing at their coronation to observe the laws of Edward the Confessor; and the Normans themselves imbibed the spirit of the soil, and said, "*nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*" Fortunately these things are now only matter of history.

All former petty distinctions are now abolished and annihilated. Britons, Saxons, and Normans are blended into the one family of Great Britain. A Queen now sits upon the throne, uniting in her own person the British, Saxon, Norman, and Scottish lines; and a constitution has been established, embodying all that is excellent in the fundamental institutions of Church and State from the earliest times. Under this constitution each person knows his own place, and, in standing up for his own rights, is also helping to maintain the rights of others; each knowing his own duties, knows also that duties are incumbent upon others, upon which he must not encroach; each respecting the rights of others, and conscious that his own will be respected; each giving to all their dues—tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour; honouring all men, loving the brotherhood, fearing God, honouring the King; fulfilling all the duties of life in the light of religion and in the spirit of Christianity.

These advantages are not attributable to any natural superiority of Englishmen, but are mainly consequent upon the insular situation of our land. Near enough to the centre of civilized

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Europe to receive the full benefit of whatever advances have been made, England has been strong enough to keep that which it has learned to prize. And when Gothic barbarism, or Papal corruption, or revolutionary anarchy, overwhelmed the continental States, England has enjoyed a comparative immunity, and has been the ark of safety for literature, for religion, and liberty; affording also shelter to others, not merely as an indifferent spectator, or even as wishing them well, but ready on all fit occasions to step forward as the champion of the oppressed, and to assist others in securing for other States such immunities and privileges as are the birthright of an Englishman.

We have not left ourselves much room for speaking of the architectural part of the chronological chart; but it is of the less consequence, as in another article of the present number English ecclesiastical architecture is handled in detail. But we may say that the examples of the various styles given in the chart, and the explanations in the accompanying volume, appear to be judicious and correct, and, for a work which professes to be elementary, may be deemed quite sufficient. Yet, as every good elementary work must have the germ of higher and more advanced knowledge, it should include principles of universal application, capable of expansion and future enlargement; and whether this enlargement be for good or for evil, is in a great measure dependent on the soundness of the principles on which our knowledge is based, and their consequent sufficiency, to guide and carry us through, in all our further progress. The principles which have regulated architecture are to be sought for in the religion of a people, rather than in their taste; and in their ecclesiastical structures, as giving models in conformity with which the other buildings were frequently, though often quite unconsciously constructed, the taste having been insensibly formed thereby.

We need not go the length of Mr. Wilkins, who, in his "Magna Grecia," maintained that the temple of Solomon furnished the model for Palmyra, Pæstum, the Parthenon, and whatever else might be named as of pre-eminent excellence in architecture; nor yet take up the still more difficult position of maintaining that the details of our old churches were deliberately contrived and arranged, so as to bring out by symbols the recondite mysteries of our religion, such as the doctrines of the Trinity, and the work of redemption, and the constitution of the Church. But we do maintain that the architecture of a people will, in the natural course of things, be in harmony with the genius and spirit of that people, and that the genius and spirit depend upon the religion they profess—that good taste consists in studying

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how this harmony may be promoted—and that to disregard this, and merely imitate Grecian and Roman forms, however excellent in themselves, would be pedantry, and not correct taste. The finest examples of ecclesiastical architecture have been erected under the superintendence of ecclesiastics; and the uppermost thought in their minds, either in designing or approving a plan, was religion: whether the plan before them agreed or disagreed with the primary object which they had at heart. And religion is a large word; it is very comprehensive, and has a variety of significations; it has its personal and individual wants, its social and parochial duties, its diocesan supervision, and its national establishment, all of which enter into the consideration of ecclesiastical architecture: and each of these will modify the other considerations, according as we are thinking of a parish church, or a cathedral, or the national church of St. Paul's. From not attending to these things some have instituted comparisons between St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey, the intent of which are so widely different—a comparison to which they have been certainly provoked by the pedantry and folly of the man who thought to show his superior taste by introducing Roman ornaments in rebuilding the towers of Westminster Abbey. However incongruous the Roman or Grecian architecture may appear when jumbled with, or substituted for, the Gothic, yet when used aright, with its imposing masses and gigantic proportions, the classic architecture is admirably adapted to distant effect. And looking at London, as a whole, from the surrounding heights, no one of taste and feeling would wish to see the metropolitan cathedral other than it is, towering proudly over the mighty mass, and crowning it with such surpassing beauty, the largest dome in existence adorning the chief city of Christendom.

There is a correspondence between certain forms and certain feelings or frames of mind, independent of any association which we can intellectually trace; at the root of which correspondence, therefore, there must be some principle which these forms appeal to or represent. This has unconsciously led those who are imbued with good taste to adopt such forms as are in keeping with the destination of the edifice they are constructing, and to reject such forms as belong to occupations of an unconsentaneous or inharmonious tendency. The feeling or taste may exist where there is no apprehension of the principle on which it rests; and a knowledge of the principle will not always generate the feeling, nor supply its place, where taste is wanting. Yet the principles may help to explain, regulate, increase, and perpetuate the feel-

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ing, and so turn rare and occasional impulses of genius into maxims of taste for daily use.

In ecclesiastical architecture more especially, it is most important to keep the forms in continual harmony with the occupation; the primary intent in which should ever be to help forward devotion—to be, like Jacob's ladder, planted indeed on the earth, but its top reaching to heaven, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon it. We shall find, on examination, that the buildings of this class, which have received the most unqualified stamp of approval, and have stood as models of taste for succeeding ages, have been such as embodied acknowledged principles or associations of the religion to which they were consecrated, and so made every glimpse of them from a distance, and every nearer approach which brought within view the external decorations, and every entrance of the portal and progress to the interior of the building, each one a higher and higher act of devotion in that religious service for which the fabric was erected.

The builders of religious edifices must remember that *worship* is the use of the building, and must endeavour to infuse the character of that worship into the forms and arrangement of every part of the building; so that whenever the temple was seen, it might recall emotions similar to those which should accompany all the services carried on within its walls. Even in the heathen temples this congruity between the structure and its uses was observed, and much more should it be retained in Christian temples; and in proportion as it is preserved in both, the impropriety will be most apparent of building Christian churches upon the plan of heathen temples, the services being so entirely dissimilar. The heathen idolatries, so far as they influence the form of their temples, may be reduced to two classes—the first, gross and sensual, beginning with departed heroes, or demigods, and ending in the worship of devils, and entire degradation of thought and feeling; the second, intellectual, beginning with the heavenly bodies, and the powers and influences of nature, and ending in the impersonation of these, and the worship of Apollo as lord of the sun, and Jupiter, whether imbrius, fluvialis, &c., or wielding the thunders of Olympus. The temples of the first class of worshippers were originally caverns, as in the remaining excavations of Elephanta and Ipsambul; and this original character was retained in their subsequent buildings—mountains of masonry like the pyramids, and those generally truncated, and as it were decapitated—narrow descending passages, as if leading to the infernal regions; and the very figures

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in keeping with this degradation, bestial forms and features, made to displace "the human face divine." The mountain top, crowned with fire altars, was the place where those of the second class originally worshipped; and when they built temples the place of worship was roofless—the idol stood *sub Dio*—the magnificent Parthenon was but the screen of a court, and above its walls, above its lofty porticoes, the gilded spearhead of the Minerva of Phidias glittered from afar, and told to distant beholders wherefore the gorgeous pile was erected, and what was the religious service carried on within.

The Christian worship is like the vision of St. John in Patmos—a door opened in heaven, and an approach to the throne of God; who, though he dwelleth not in temples made with hands, yet hath promised that wheresoever true worshippers come together, *there* he will be with them. Though the early Christians were, by the many persecutions they underwent, driven to the necessity of frequently worshipping in caves and catacombs, such places are wholly incongruous with Christianity; and the roofs and windows, which do not well accord with Grecian architecture, are indispensable in Christian worship. And therefore it is that all persons of devout feelings and correct taste have given so decided a preference to the pointed style of architecture for churches—a style which has so entirely grown out of the wants, and desires, and feelings of the Church, that it might well be called the ecclesiastical style of architecture. In specimens of this style our own country is peculiarly rich; and a great number of these are models of purity also, which we may study with as much advantage for ecclesiastical purposes as others may study the Parthenon, to which nothing need be added, from which nothing can with propriety be taken away—an advantage which our country mainly owes to the comparative purity of our faith.

The various ingenious accounts of the origin of the pointed architecture will not satisfy any unprejudiced mind, because they have sought for it in speculation, rather than by examining its introduction and progress step by step. The intersection of semicircular arches, and the ramifications of the long perspective of an avenue, suggest associations to us who are familiar with pointed architecture, but would go a very little way indeed towards explaining its origin, and not help us at all in accounting for either the perfect beauty of its forms, or the astonishing skill displayed in its geometrical constructions. These combinations of taste and skill never come by chance, but are the results of feeling and practice combined, and gradually perfected by many successive experiments. We are astonished at such an union

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of lofty, yet slender, piers; bold, yet graceful, span of arch; solid, yet light, construction of all the parts of these buildings; and we find, when examining them historically, that these stupendous results were not struck out at once, or attained by the fortunate rashness or rare genius of a single generation. We find that the science was rather the accumulation and the enlargement of traditionary skill, and that the defects were rather those of adhering to, than departing from, the practices of their predecessors.

In some respects the builders of our churches have certainly departed from the sound principles of Christianity in following early precedent—such as the introduction of grotesque and even diabolic figures into the carved work, both of wood and stone, and the giving the altar or table the form of a sarcophagus. Both these practices are remains of the early Church worship in catacombs—a necessity which the Church would have been most glad to have avoided, and which we, who are under no such necessity, are bound to repudiate. Life, new life, is the Christian calling; this we are bound to manifest, and shall desire to see in all around us. "Why seek ye the living among the dead—He is not here, He is risen:" this is our watchword. Our God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.

We are glad to find that this chart is dedicated, by command, to the Prince of Wales; and we hope that it will obtain the circulation which its beauty and merits well deserve.

ART. VIII.—*The Life and Times of John Reuchlin, or Capnion, the Father of the German Reformation.* By FRANCIS BARHAM, Esq., Editor of the Hebrew and English Bible, Collier's "Ecclesiastical History," &c. London: Whittaker and Co.

2. *The Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola, illustrating the Progress of the Reformation in Italy during the Fifteenth Century.* London: Whittaker and Co.

THE biographies of truly great men are entitled to especial regard; they demand at once the scrutiny of the critic and the attention of the student: for if the proper study of mankind is man, and if example is the living law, no less potential in its sway than genial in its influence, we cannot dispense with biographical record. It is, in our estimation, the most instructive and interesting department of literature—one which best combines the useful with the agreeable. It forms and educates our minds by the enchantment of sympathy, without the struggle of

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intellect—the sweat of soul. It insinuates with the utmost gentleness higher lessons of life and character than can be acquired by the hardest studies of metaphysics. For in biography, spirit appeals to spirit, deep calls unto deep; and, by a kind of moral electricity, the spiritual characteristics of the hero delineated, excite respondent phenomena in the experience of the reader: his being itself is ennobled by the same process as his learning is improved, and his very nature is regenerated, while his imagination is entertained.

Such is the transforming efficacy of biographic delineation. Here are no dry, cold, impalpable abstractions, glaring over the sphere of our vital experience like the unsubstantial meteors, that, riding on the wings of the wind, traverse the clouds of midnight; but all is definite, clear, life-warm heroism—virtue in action, rousing us to kindred dignity, filling us with passionate emulation. And therefore Deity himself, in his inspired word, hath sanctioned the most copious use of biographical illustration. The Bible is no system of hard, subjective, technical theology, like that which figures in the ex-suffocated folios of the schoolmen. No; its doctrines are vital essences—the living experiences of man, and angel, and devil; and divine hypostasis manifested in the flesh. Hence we may trace no little amount of the astonishing power of the Bible, regarding it even in its lowest light, as a mere literary composition. It is, and must ever be, in the intensest degree, what the Germans call "a world book"—a book of the vividest interest to all times and all nations—a living mirror at once of divinity and humanity—a biographical record of the universe. Therein the highest laws, being conveyed in the narrative and the parable, come home to human hearts with a force of sympathy unparalleled, vibrate through the recesses of conscience with the rapidity of heaven's own lightning, and bind all ranks and classes of society in one spell of thrilling emotion. Oh! most truly says the poet, "A touch of *feeling* makes the whole world kin."

But our present purpose is not to enlarge on the merits of biography in general, but to notice the two biographical works at the head of this article. Biographical works they are in the strict sense of the word, and withal sufficiently remarkable. Whatever their merits and defects, they possess a certain idiosyncrasy—a specific character, and purpose, and significance—which arrest attention, and almost command investigation. There is something startling and stirring in the fact of being thus suddenly brought into a sort of personal fellowship with those minds of the mighty dead, whose names we had only heard with vague and indefinable curiosity. It is almost as if spirits

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from some other sphere of being—yet spirits who have left imperishable traces of themselves on our death-smitten planet—had deigned to revisit us, and utter their revelations to us, and take up their abode with us.

The first biography of a great man which issues from the press always forms, more or less, an epoch in literature. It is the moral resurrection of a master mind making his avatar and epiphany in the world again. This is, at least, one true solution of the gorgeous fable of the phœnix—the resolution of death into life, and ashes into immortalities. For the personal decease of a great man gives rise to his biographical existence—a literary vitality perhaps more potent, as well as more durable, than his bodily life could be.

The more, therefore, the literature of any given nation is replenished by spirited and spiritual biographers of heroic men, the more sacred, the more majestic it becomes. The great cloud of witnesses totruth and virtue is thus indomiciled, like a shechinah, to kindle the enthusiasm of the people in the worship of the good and the fair. Yea, it becomes as a pillar of fire to guide them through the darkness of the wilderness. Such books are the true oracles of society: they display the excellencies to which saints and sages have attained, and prompt us, at least, to rival, if not to surpass them.

For these reasons we welcome these lives of Reuchlin and Savonarola. The authors have happily succeeded in presenting us with an original, vivid, and graphic sketch of their characters and writings. There is a certain freshness and power of genius in their modes of thought and styles of writing impressive by earnestness of purpose, and fascinating by poetry of sentiment. They emit a quickening, vivifying influence to the reader's mind; and by the boldness, yet truthfulness of their conceptions, do him the greatest of all services, by teaching him to think for himself. And thus these works afford a striking, and evidently intentional, contrast to the quiet, sober iterations of hackneyed and emasculated system-mongers, who overwhelm the theological press with the abortions of dulness and bigotry. We cannot, therefore, but congratulate the enterprising publishers on the appearance of these biographies, and we wish them every success in their intended series.

We now proceed to a more critical account of Mr. Barham's "Life and Times of Reuchlin." From his preface to the volume we extract the following remarks:—

"In the title-page of this work, Reuchlin, or Capnion, is called the Father of the German Reformation; for he appears to be better entitled to this honourable appellation than any other individual. Born in

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1454, several years before Erasmus, Luther, and Melancthon, he was expressly acknowledged by these great men, who were his pupils, to have been the originator of that religious amelioration which they so gallantly carried forward. And this fact has been more recently confirmed by D'Aubigné, who allots to Reuchlin's biography the earlier pages of his history of the Reformation, justly regarding him as the very source and fountain of the purest streams of Protestant intelligence.

"The notices that have hitherto appeared of Reuchlin, or Capnion, in this country, though all laudatory, are little better than small passages in Church histories, biographical dictionaries, or lives of his contemporaries.

"On the continent, however, far more attention has been paid to him. The excellent and learned Maius, a native of Pforzheim, and a first-rate Hebrew scholar like Reuchlin himself, wrote his biography in very lucid Latin. Chancellor Snurrer has also written a life of Reuchlin, as having been one of the principal Greek and Latin professors who presided over the early destinies of the admirable university of Tubingen.

"The work, however, to which the reader is mainly indebted for Reuchlin's biography is Mayerhoff's German treatise on "Reuchlin and his Times," which has been translated, and incorporated in the resent publication."

After these introductory remarks, Mr. Barham proceeds as follows:--

"Our English literature, in many respects so rich and exuberant, is yet extremely defective in the biographies of many of the most illustrious men the world has produced. In illustration of this remark, we may mention the names of Reuchlin and Savonarola, who exercised extraordinary influence over their contemporaries, and whose lives have frequently been written in foreign languages. Yet no biographical records of these master spirits have appeared in this country until undertaken in the series of works of which the present is intended to form a part.

"The biography of Reuchlin is necessarily more philosophic than dramatic. 'He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one.' And chiefly as a scholar, the most learned professor of his age, he acted with reference to the Reformation. Let no man, however, esteem Reuchlin the less on this account, for scholarship was then far more diguified and influential than it appears to be at present, and it gave its possessors a certain sway over society which cannot now be paralleled. The learning of Reuchlin and Erasmus lent a solidity and majesty to the cause of the Reformation, which no mere zeal, nor heroism, nor eloquence could ever have imparted.

"The life of Savonarola, born two years before Reuchlin, was, on the contrary, more dramatic than philosophic. In that transcendent Reformer of Italy we find less of the scholar than the prophet. His mysterious and impulsive destiny drove him forth from the quiet devotions of the monk into the stirring politics of the Florentine Republic. His course

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was a career of restless and perilous agitation—a vehement crusade against Borgianism and Machiavelism—a contest of intense tragic interest, like that of Dante and Rienzi, and Bussolaro and Martinuzzi.

"We trust that the time is at hand when the biographies of men like these—men raised up by God to accomplish the awful task of human regeneration—men who segigantic genius, aspiring to the sphere of Deity, at once ennobled and astonished the race to which they belonged—will be more frequently composed for the English public. The writings of Ranké, D'Aubigné, and other scholars, have been so well received of late, that we venture to hope that a taste for a higher and purer literature is beginning to revive among us, and that many authors, who are striving to encourage its development, will gain the reward of their labours.

"Yet were any scholar now to arise, who should attempt to elevate the literature of Britain, as Reuchlin elevated that of Germany?—where would he find men discerning enough to appreciate him, or generous enough to aid him?"

There is no question that Mr. Barham has a right to complain that Reuchlin has hitherto been so little noticed. Even Hallam, who ought to have been copious on a character so remarkable, has only briefly mentioned him in his excellent "History of the Literature of Europe." We will quote two or three of Hallam's incidental remarks:—

"Reuchlin (says he, vol. i., p. 206) accompanied the Duke of Wirtemburg on a visit to Rome. He thus became acquainted with the illustrious men of Italy, and convinced them of his own pretensions to the name of a scholar. The old Greek Argyropulus, on hearing him translate a passage of Thucydides, exclaimed, 'Our banished Greece has now flown beyond the Alps.' Yet Reuchlin, though, from some other circumstances of his life, a more celebrated, was not probably so learned or accomplished a man as Agricola. He was withdrawn from public tuition by the favour of several princes, in whose courts he filled honourable offices; and after some years more, he fell unfortunately into the same seducing error as Picus of Mirandola, and sacrificed his classical pursuits for the Cabalistic philosophy."

That this passage contains no small portion of mistake will be manifest to all who peruse the present biography. Reuchlin, whatever his connexion with the courts of princes may have been, was still the most diligent of all professors in the colleges and schools of Germany, and did more than any other man to form the minds of his youthful contemporaries. As to the disparaging observation on Mirandola, it is a mere *petitio principii*—and it may turn out, on examination, that what Mr. Hallam supposes to be the errors of Picus, are, in fact, truths of the utmost importance.

In page 289 of his history, Mr. Hallam has another remark on the subject of this biography:—

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"The famous contention (says he) between Reuchlin and the German monks thus began:—In the year 1509 one Pfeffercorn, a converted Jew, induced the inquisition at Cologne to obtain an order from the Emperor for burning all Hebrew books, except the Bible, upon pretence of their being full of blasphemies against the Christian religion. The Jews made complaints of this injury. But Reuchlin, before it could take place, remonstrated against the destruction of works so curious and important, which, from his partiality to Cabalistic theories, he rated above their real value. The order was accordingly superseded, to the great indignation of the Cologne inquisitors, and of all that party throughout Germany which resisted the intellectual and religious progress of mankind. Reuchlin had offended the monks by satirizing them in a comedy, perhaps the 'Sergius,' which he permitted to be printed in 1506. But the struggle was soon perceived to be a general one—the struggle between what had been and what was to be. Meniers has gone so far as to suppose a real confederacy to have been formed by the friends of truth and learning through Germany and France, to support Reuchlin against the mendicant orders, and to overthrow, by means of this controversy, the embattled legions of ignorance. But perhaps the passages he adduces do not prove more than their unanimity and zeal in the cause. The attention of the world was first called to it about 1513; that is, it assumed about that time the character of a war of opinions, extending in its principles and consequences beyond the immediate dispute. Several books were published on both sides, and the party in power employed its usual argument of burning what was written by its adversaries. One of these writings is still known, the 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum,' the production, it is said, of three authors, the principal of whom was Ulric Von Hutten, a turbulent, hot-headed man, of noble birth and quick parts, and a certain degree of learning, whose early death seems more likely to have spared the Reformers some degree of shame than to have deprived them of a useful supporter. Few books have been more eagerly received than these Epistles at their first appearance in 1516, which surely proceeded rather more from suitableness to the time than from much intrinsic merit; though it must be presumed that the spirit of many allusions which delighted or offended that age is now lost in a mass of vapid nonsense and bad grammar which the imaginary writers pour out. Erasmus, though not intimately acquainted with Reuchlin, could not but sympathize in a quarrel with their common enemies in a common cause. In the end the controversy was referred to the Pope; but the Pope was Leo, and it was hoped that a proposal to burn books, or disgrace an illustrious scholar, would not sound well in his ear. But Reuchlin was disappointed when he expected acquittal, by a mandate to supersede or suspend the process commenced against him by the inquisition of Cologne. This dispute has always been reckoned of high importance. The victory in public opinion, though not in judicature, over the adherents of the old system, prostrated them so utterly, that from this time the study of Greek and Hebrew became general among the German youth, and the cause of the Reformation was identified in their minds with that

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of classical literature. [*Vide* Sleidan's 'History of the Reformation.' Brucker, Mosheim, Eickhorn, and Bayle. None of these authorities are equal in fulness to Meiner's 'Lebenbescreibungen Berühurter Männer' (1, 98, 212), which I did not consult so early as the rest. But there is a very copious account of the Reuchlinian controversy, including many original documents, in the second part of Von der Hardt's 'Historia Literaria Reformationis.'"]

In this passage, as in all he writes, Mr. Hallam is lucid, elegant, and condensed; but for all that he is not quite fair. To blame the "Epistolæ Obscurorum," because they are full of nonsenses and absurdities, is somewhat preposterous, since their very object was to expose the huge concatenation of monkish inanities, which could only be done by repeating them with satirical improvements. Hallam's view of Hutten is, we trust, more sarcastic than correct: if he had examined the authorities more extensively, it would, we believe, have been more favourable; but, from the list of his references, it is evident he has scarcely at all investigated the principal sources of information quoted by Mr. Barham in his Life of Reuchlin; and as to Savonarola, he scarcely mentions his name.

Mr. Barham has not failed to remark the extraordinary resemblance which exists between those times of German Reformation and these of British Reform. Alluding to the heroes of the sixteenth century, he says—

"Such spirits are, indeed, invaluable to the world, and are at all times needed by it; and always does the world really need them most, when it believes it needs them least. Even now, likewise, are the heroic genii of another Reformation necessary—for wherever there exist abuses, there should also be the reformers of abuses. New Savonarolas, new Reuchlins, new Erasmuses, new Luthers, are demanded even in this nineteenth century. We want—oh! how intensely—those divine and inspiring intelligences, who arise like prophets to reveal far higher conditions of being than any that have yet been realized. But where can such be found, aye—where? 'Who now (says Isaac Taylor) ventures to rise to the upper sphere of celestial meditation? Who forgets the world, its madness, and its scorn, as he enters the gates of immortal hope? Who is it, as if the contemners of heaven were not in hearing, converses with, and concerning the glories of the Supreme?' And if such a man were to appear—a divine and prophetic man—who would now support, or patronize, or cheer him? A few would appreciate or understand him, but by the multitude he would be derided and persecuted, if not martyred. So it has been before, and so it will be again."

In this passage Mr. Barham reminds us of Schiller, who exclaims in his "Æsthetic Letters" after this manner, concerning his divine artist:—

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"The divine artist (says he) is indeed the son of his age, but woe to him if at the same time he be its pupil or even its favourite. Let a benevolent Deity tear the suckling betimes from its mother's breast, nourish him with the milk of a better age, and leave him beneath brighter skies to grow up to maturity. When he is then become man, let him return a strange shape back to his age—not, however, to rejoice it with his appearance, but, formidable as Agamemnon's son, to purify it. The matter he will indeed take from the present, but he will borrow the form from a more illustrious time; yes, from beyond all time, from the absolute unchangeable unity of divine being. Here, from the pure ether of his spiritual nature, flows down the spring of beauty, uncontaminated by the corruptions of generations, that in muddy whirlpools are rolling far beneath."

Respecting the resemblance of the characteristics of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, Mr. Barham carries the sentiment of Mr. Hallam along with him, in the most eloquent passage of the above quoted history of literature—a passage so fine and polished, that we quote it for our readers' delectation:—

"We cannot (says Hallam) give any attention to the story of the Reformation, without being struck by the extraordinary analogy it bears to that of the last fifty years. He who would study the spirit of this mighty age, may see it reflected as in a mirror from the days of Luther and Erasmus. Man who, speaking of him collectively, has never reasoned for himself, is the puppet of impulses and prejudices, be they for good or for evil. These are, in the usual course of things, traditional notions and sentiments, strengthened by repetition and running into habitual trains of thought. Nothing is more difficult in general than to make a nation perceive anything as true, or seek its own interest in any manner but as its forefathers have opined or acted. There have been, however, some remarkable exceptions to this law of uniformity, or, if I may use the term, *secular variation*. The introduction of Christianity seems to have produced a very rapid subversion of ancient prejudices, and a very conspicuous alteration in the whole channel through which moral sentiments flow. It was also so in the case of Mahometanism. Next to these great revolutions, in extent and degree, stand the two periods we are comparing—that of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, and that of the political innovation in which we have long lived. In each, the characteristic features are a contempt for antiquity—a shifting of prejudices—an inward sense of self-esteem leading to an assertion of private judgment in the most uninformed—a sanguine confidence in the amelioration of human affairs—a fixing of the heart on great ends, with a comparative disregard of all things intermediate."

But the reader will, perhaps, be anxious to know the more distinctive features of Reuchlin's theological sentiments. Mr. Barham gives us his idea on this topic in the following words:—

"The studies of Reuchlin (says he) among the Rabbinists and Cabalists of the Jewish Church, and the early fathers of the Christian

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Church, gave a remarkable colour to his mind. They appear gradually to have induced him to aspire after God, as the All in All, in a spiritual manner. In this respect he seems, in some measure, to have anticipated the views of Mendelsohn's 'Jerusalem.'

"Reuchlin's peculiar views of theology were probably strengthened by the works of Philo Judæus, Justin, Origen, Clement, Dionysius, Gerson, A' Kempis, Taulerus, and other mystic and Platonic divines. I say Platonic: for, from the time of Justin Martyr, who called Plato and Socrates eminent Christians, many theologians had looked on the Platonic philosophy as the holy handmaiden of Christian theology, and had devoutly used it as a subordinate revelation of God's eternal truth to the Greek nations."

In this and other passages Mr. Barham seems strongly inclined to favour the spiritual or transcendental theology of the mystic divines; involving, as it does, many of the Cabalistic and Platonic philosophemes. Whether he be right or wrong in his preference, no doubt exists that this mystic theology has ever been honoured and cultivated by men of high acquirements. Not to repeat the names he has mentioned, it is certain that Savonarola, Mirandola, Campanella, Fenelon, Malebranch, and, in our own country, Cudworth, More, Rust, Norris, Law, and Nelson, were all deeply enamoured with the mystic theology. They preferred it immeasurably to the dogmatic theology of the High and Low Church parties, because they perceived in it a supernatural vitality, and a miraculous power, which dogmatism in no form whatsoever can possibly possess. The soul of man, which contains a spirit to be fed, as well as an understanding to be informed, finds that spiritual food in the mystic theology, when the proper place for it—the Church—fails in its supply. And we certainly see some indications, even in our own time and country, of the revival of this mystic divinity. Not to mention certain Platonical divines of high influence in the Church, almost all the Coleridgeian disciples belong to the same school, and hail his "Aids to Reflection" as indications of an improved system. Among the Dissenters, also, sundry sects of some eminence countenance the same views. All these symptoms we regard as the stirrings of life throughout the Church, and as calling for greater vigilance and exertion in those to whom we look for care in an especial manner over spiritual things.

Mr. Barham concludes his Life of Reuchlin by addressing a solemn warning to the clergy of the land against dogmatism on the one hand, and indifferentism on the other. He urges them to a more earnest zeal and increased diligence for the encouragement of vital religion; and alludes to the necessity of their seeking after and cultivating the co-operation of the religious

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laity, and, by means of frequent visitations, acquiring more personal influence over their flocks—both to meet their wants and direct their enquiries into the safe and legitimate channels.

We must now briefly advert to the Life of Savonarola. Its author (we believe Mr. Heraud) is evidently a man of genius, in a day and generation when genius is extremely rare. His biography is invested with something of the grandeur, harmony, and romantic charm of an epic poem; it is no less the creation of the present, than the reflection of the past.

The most striking chapter in this author's work is that in which Savonarola is represented as a prophet—the true prophet of Italy—the prophet of Florence against the Pope of Rome. He argues with the great masters of theology, that the inspiration of God's spirit of prophecy has never ceased in any age or country, but has been freely communicated to those earnest and aspiring worthies who have sought it by faith and prayer—

"Savonarola was a prophet (says our author), inasmuch as in his character and conduct he anticipated a future age. He was a prophet, inasmuch as he announced in words the designs of Providence relative to the advening generation. If we deny to such men a divine mission, there are no grounds for granting it to any."

Certainly, everything in the life and language of Savonarola confirms this statement. If ever there lived a sincere saint and death-conquering martyr, it was he. Never yet did a godly prophet lash an ungodly priesthood with a more excruciating scourge of truth; and consequently the priests, as they are wont in all such cases, rose against him and murdered him.

The language in which Savonarola speaks of his divine mission hath an eloquence august and fulminating as the oracles of Isaiah. The following passage is finer than any of the classical perorations—the dazzling conflagrations of Demosthenes or Cicero:—

"Do you ask me (says Savonarola) what will be the end of this conflict? I answer, Victory! But if you ask my fate in particular, then I answer, Death! But death is not extinction! rather it serves to spread abroad the light. This light, as I have evermore declared, is spread wider than you believe. It is already in many hearts; and if you knew how many were enlightened thereby, you would be astonished and change your lives. Write to Rome that this light is kindled in all places; and howbeit it is not yet known, yet it will soon be perceived, and divisions spring up therefrom. But Rome shall not quench this fire, as nevertheless it will endeavour to do. Yea, if it quenches it in me, it will break out the stronger in another. Write that I invite all the learned men of Florence, Rome, and Italy to oppose this truth, and that I am ready to defend it in every way."

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In his views respecting the relative position of the clergy and laity, our author agrees with Dr. Arnold and Coleridge. Towards the conclusion, he strongly recommends the extension of the order of deacons, so as to include lay presbyters. But we have no time to follow him in this interesting enquiry.

The enthusiasm with which Savonarola anticipated the complete success of the apparently hopeless contest whereto he had devoted his energies, strikingly resembles Savonarola to the first apostles of Christianity. Like them, he had to fight *against*, yet *for*, the world. As in their times, so in his, impiety had robed itself in the habiliments of righteousness, and sat enthroned at once as idol and priest; mocking the true God with the blasphemies of superstition and the loathsomeness of hypocrisy. A poor and unarmed monk, only strong in the help of the Most High, he exposed in the very heart of Italy the manifold abominations of the Papal Church, and laughed her anathemas to scorn, with courage that perplexed, and impunity that terrified the promoters of her turpitude. The powers of darkness strengthened themselves and prevailed for a time; but though they were permitted to slay the champion, they could not stifle the cause. And in this who can fail to perceive the perfect analogy that subsists between the founders of our faith and the initiators of the Reformation? With their blood the apostles nourished the truth which they had sown. They died, yet that truth lived, immortal; oppressed in one age, it arose mightier in the next. If under a Dioclesian it endured persecution, under a Constantine it triumphed. Of a similar nature was the experience of the early Reformers. In Italy, Alexander VI. might lawlessly sacrifice Savonarola; in Germany, another generation beheld Leo X. impotent against Luther. Sathanas is a stubborn and sanguinary foe; and those whom he is permitted to martyr are often nobler than those from whom he is compelled to flee. The victory, when vouchsafed, is not of man, but of God!

Conscious that certain death awaited him, Savonarola never doubted the validity of his mission; never thought that God had deserted or betrayed him; never wavered or feared. Too well was he aware of the arduous nature of the conflict to hope that in his days it could be conducted to a prosperous issue; a work reserved for no single individual, however worthy or wise, but to be brought about by Providence in its own manner and its own good time, through the conjoint efforts and sufferings of many labourers. As his present biographer remarks, men so circumstanced, in themselves unsuccessful, though employed in a cause ultimately victorious, hold a small space in general history, and are almost unknown to general reputation; yet for that reason

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their lives are the more valuable, and should be prized as choice and rare by the reader of cultivated understanding and refined taste.

The biographer of others of the Reformers has often to apologize for the weakness of their faith, or the vehement coarseness of their tempers; but the life of Savonarola presents nothing which needs extenuation. He stands forth a Christian hero completely armed! His defect, at worst, was only the excess of virtue roused to measureless indignation at the reckless licentiousness and practical infidelity of his age. In such an age, when the utmost refinement in philosophy and literature was combined with the greatest sensuality of life and manners—when poems and paintings were valued in exact proportion to their wantonness, and the masterpieces of antiquity were compelled to pander to the vices of a libidinous generation—when, even in the pulpit, Plato was extolled above Christ, and quoted to the exclusion of the Scriptures—strong measures were necessary to stem the terrific abuse. Savonarola was not, as occasionally misrepresented, the ignorant fanatic, denouncing an æsthetic cultivation which he could not appreciate; he had himself been classically educated, and taught to reverence the wisdom of ancient times. The disease, however, which he was commissioned to eradicate had become not only malignant, but desperate. If aliment, under other circumstances healthy, is turned into poison, that aliment must be withheld. That in Savonarola's treatment of the works of the poets, and specimens of art in the least tainted with immorality, there was an excess, is admitted; but it was an excess fully justified on the ground that one extreme begets another, and that in his time an evil existed not to be effectually met, except by asserting the opposite principle in its rigid simplicity: an ascetic piety was needful to remove the corruption which a polite philosophy had left untouched.

So much being premised concerning Savonarola's general character and special aims, some abstract of the principal incidents of his personal history may not be unacceptable. He was descended from a noble and illustrious race, originally of Padua, and was born of Nicolo Savonarola and Helena his wife, on the 21st September, 1452, at Ferrara, and soon afterwards baptized with the name of Girolamo Maria Francesco Mattheo. His mother was of the ancient house of Buonacoisi at Mantua. For his instruction he was mainly indebted to his father and grandfather; the latter of whom, named Michèli, was a celebrated physician—one of the men so nobly patronized by Nicolas D'Este, Duke of Ferrara. From Bologna, accordingly,

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the Savonarola family seem to have removed to that city, where Michèli superintended the boy Girolamo's education, until dismissed by death from the charge he was so well fulfilling. Savonarola, however, was not left without a tutor; his father assumed that office. Under a mental and moral influence more worldly than heretofore, he was nevertheless happily placed; since education is seldom so legitimately conducted as when in the hands of its natural guardians—the parents of the pupil.

The condition of Italy at this period was remarkable. Nicolas V., a man of ample learning and indomitable intellectual energy, filled the Papal chair; "infelicitously," our author asserts, but we have reason to hope conscientiously. If overawed by the mischievous precedents of former pontiffs, he gratified the avarice of the clergy by affording to votaries, prevented by personal circumstances from attending the jubilee at Rome, the facilities of redeeming their omission, at a distance; he yet reformed some abuses, and attempted to suppress simony, together with other malpractices of his court. Hoping against hope, he sought, even when Constantinople fell, by a new crusade, to regain for the Church her eastern empire; but ere he had accomplished his object he died broken-hearted.

"No man (he complained) ever crosses my threshold who tells me a word of truth. I am confounded by the artifices of those that surround me; and if I were not restrained by fear of scandal, would resign the pontificate, and become once more Thomas of Sarzana. Under that name I had more enjoyment in a single day, than any year can henceforth ever bring me."

Nicolas was succeeded by Calixtus III., who reigned only three years; upon whose death the learned but worldly Æneas Sylvius assumed the keys as Pius II. It fell to the lot of this pontiff to sanction the long delayed canonization of Catherine of Sienna, the female imitator and disciple of St. Dominic—a canonization loudly demanded by the popular voice, notwithstanding the alleged saint had rashly precipitated the Church into a schism by which the spiritual obedience of Europe was fatally perplexed and divided. On the enthusiastic temperament of Savonarola, such an event, so famous in subsequent ages, and productive of such sensation in its own, could not fail of making a lasting impression. So much, indeed, had his mind opened in consequence of the precocity to which surrounding circumstances had excited it, that he already began, in the study of Plato and Aristotle, to feed those unworldly yearnings which are ever found to accompany in the mind of youth the first perceptions of the ideal. His progress was rapid; his father

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having provided for him competent teachers, with whom, fortunately, his native town was not ill supplied.

With his attainments in science his friends were delighted; but Savonarola himself was dissatisfied. Destined by his father for the profession of physic, he felt far other impulses within his soul, and he longed to lead a life of simplicity and devotion. This disposition was increased by the inauspicious issue of a love affair, in which he became entangled; and accordingly, determining to desert the world and its vices, he clandestinely left Ferrara during the festival of its patron St. George, and sought refuge in the Dominican cloister in Bologna. How deeply he had reflected on this step, and how bitterly he appreciated the sacrifices involved in it, appear from an exculpatory letter which he sent the next day to his father.

Savonarola had now attained the twenty-third year of his age. Although his desires were modestly confined to the humble privileges of a lay brother of the order, his superiors, availing themselves to the utmost of the learning he had acquired, employed him in teaching metaphysics and natural philosophy. This task, however, was soon felt by Savonarola as a weary burthen, and as anything but the object for which he had renounced the world; he resorted, therefore, to profounder contemplations. The sacred writings he made his especial study, and by frequent perusal, at length knew them almost by heart. Thereto he added prayer; by means of which, in his lonely cell, he learned more and more of the divine attributes and majesty, and of the nature of the duties incumbent upon fallen man. The undefiled conscience requires, of the world, of man and nature, answerable purity; and we may understand the kind and degree of wrath with which Savonarola discovered that the members of his fraternity were as much estranged from the principles that animated him, as was the world he had abandoned. He found that their conduct was as much opposed to the precepts of the New Testament as to the state of his own feelings—that they were in antagonism both to the written and unwritten revelations, which he had acknowledged as consenting oracles of the same celestial verities.

Influenced by such feelings, it is no wonder that Savonarola long rejected the office of the priesthood. He conceived that he could best fulfil the call to a pious life, which he had entertained, by remaining a lay brother. The solicitations of his brethren, however, prevailed; and Savonarola was ordained, after spending seven years in his lay novitiate, travelling from place to place by direction of his order, and teaching from cloister to cloister. The success attending his lectures led his supe-

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riors to anticipate for him a triumphant career as a preacher; but his first attempts at pulpit oratory were exceedingly unpropitious. Being appointed to preach the fast-day sermons at Florence in the Lent of 1483, his ungainly carriage and harsh elocution speedily emptied the church of St. Lorenzo, wherein he officiated, of its previously numerous congregation. Mortified, though not discouraged, he retired to his convent; spending his time, partly in expounding to youth the Scriptures, partly in gaining strength and experience as a preacher, by making preparatory trials of his powers in divers towns, at long and accidental intervals, and without publicity.

Savonarola's first successful attempt as a preacher was made at Brescia, in the year 1485. His mind was full of the Scriptures; and that part of them which he proposed to expound was none other than the mysterious, soul-inspiring, spirit-stirring Apocalypse. Such was the holy fervour which fired his imagination and awakened his eloquence, that to his hearers his words appeared to flow like water from the divine fountain of life, and his brows to be surrounded by the new lights of Gospel truth, with a glory like the aureola of saints. He stood before the people as a prophet. Without his announcement they believed his divine mission, for he brought the crime of a corrupt and apostate clergy to the judgment of the book, and denounced them in the language of God himself: and for such exposures the Italian populace were not unprepared; the condition of the Papacy had to them long been notorious. From this time forward the prophetic character was always ascribed to Savonarola; more pertinaciously, perhaps, than he desired. None but prophets in days of old exhibited such daring; nor, in these days, could impassioned Italians believe the courageous spirit less than prophetic, or a Savonarola less than inspired.

The fame of the new preacher was quickly spread abroad, and at length even penetrated the scene of his former failures. About the year 1487, a provincial chapter of the Dominicans of Lombardy was held at Reggio, at which Savonarola and Prince Pico della Mirandola were present. In the disputation which then took place, Savonarola showed so much talent, eloquence, and erudition, that Pico conceived a strong interest in his favour, and was desirous to have him recalled to Florence, feeling assured that the preacher would now appear to more advantage than heretofore. He therefore wrote to his friend, the celebrated Lorenzo di Medici, concerning him, and strongly urged the expediency of that city being enriched with the presence of so much learning and ability as he recognized in the person of this Dominican. Thus was Savonarola invited thither, and be-

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came consequently the prior of San Marco. Henceforth his name is connected with the history of Florence.

Small space have we to expatiate on the condition of Florence at this crisis. Suffice it to say, that its morals were almost irretrievably contaminated, its prosperity fictitious, and its liberties in danger of being swamped by the overgrown influence of one family. As the monastery of San Marco had been founded by Cosimo di Medici at an enormous expense, and as the patronage still remained in his family, they expected, not unreasonably, that the new prior would follow the example of his predecessors, and regard them with deferential respect. But the frame of mind in which Savonarola assumed his new duties was altogether alien to the then spiritual and political condition of men and manners in Florence. There was no man bold enough to chastise with eloquence the vices and follies of the age. The most celebrated preachers of the time were moral preachers; that is to say, preachers who studiously concealed the deep and grievous evil of sin from the people, and based the divine blessing on the performance of meritorious and self-elected duties. Men admired their masterly disposition, the logical clearness and soundness with which they treated their argument—"qualities (says the writer before us) surely subordinate in importance, where first the demonstration of the Spirit with power is requisite"—but went away cold and unmoved from their preaching. Savonarola's oratory, on the contrary, was impassioned and all-emphatic. Reform—repentance, were the subjects he treated; reform in the discipline of the Church, in the disorders of the clergy, in the morals of the people. The tempest of divine vengeance he perceived impending over Italy, only to be averted by prayer and fasting, and a change of life. He suffered few appeals to the reason, fewer to the ordinary principles or even passions of men; in the name of heaven alone he commanded them to repent; and if his words were indeed clothed with authority and terror, it was by virtue of that fearful inspiration which endowed his lips with eloquence to denounce anarchy and ruin. No suavity of delivery, no insinuating gentleness of address was his; the words he uttered were those of an offended God threatening desolation and danger, wailing and gnashing of teeth. Refusing to recognize the usurpation of Lorenzo di Medici, he pursued with fierce anathemas the luxury and despotism of the aristocracy; while multitudes, believing in his mission, gave evidence by the modesty of their dress, their discourse, and their countenance, that his moral exhortations had produced a strong, if not abiding effect upon his auditors.

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After the death of Lorenzo, and the expulsion of his son Pietro, Savonarola took a still more active part in the political affairs of Florence. He put himself at the head of those who demanded a popular form of government, and declared that the legislative power should be extended to all such citizens as were worthy and capable of exercising it for the benefit of the community. His representations induced the newly-elected magistrates to relinquish their offices to a council of citizens elected for the purpose of settling the affairs of the new constitution. Dissensions, however, distracted the republic; the aristocratical and democratical parties persecuted each other with great fury, the former consisting of the friends of the old order of things, and the latter of the devout admirers of the monk.

In 1494, Savonarola was deputed by the Florentines as envoy to Charles VIII., at Lucca. In this prince he expected his prophecies to be accomplished, but they were only partially so. He was, however, not at all disheartened at the apparent failure of his sanguine hopes, but persevered with unabated heroism in his course. He remodelled the Church and Republic at Florence, and for some time maintained in this city an almost absolute authority, in defiance of the Pope of Rome. At length, however, his antagonists, instigated by fear, jealousy, shame, and hatred, congregated their forces against Savonarola, and his spiritual domination was crushed by the weight of established authorities, who felt that their craft was in danger from the shafts of his righteous invective. According to the temper of that unhappy age, the Roman hierarchy chose to confound the supernaturalism of the prophet with the imposture of the magician, and put Savonarola to an ordeal, which was not unfrequently applied to witchcraft. Indignant as he was at so pitiful and invidious a treatment, he yet thought the honour of his faith obliged him to run all risks, and thus he became entangled in the meshes of a false position, and added his name to the catalogue of martyrs for the truth.

But the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. Though Savonarola perished, his cause triumphed. The spark of living faith which he struck out from the flinty rock of adversity, kindled a fire, which warmed and illumined the heart of all Europe—a fire which will burn on, through Reformation after Reformation, till falsehood and corruption be consumed from the face of the earth.

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ART. IX.—*Lord Ashley's Speech on Introducing the Factory Education Bill in the House of Commons.* London: Olivier. 1843.

IN an article of much humour in an old periodical we read of a scientific gentleman, who, by the force of some occult arts, in which he was deeply learned, contrived a magic vehicle, which should pass through all the streets of the principal cities (invisible to all but those who are adept in knowledge) at the most public hours of the day. This should be driven by a virtuoso dustman, who was not to take away the rubbish of the house, but to make it his business to remove moral turpitude only, in its representative of male or female. And this, he argued, must be seen to be an institution of general emolument and good. For persons, he says, affected with contagious disorders are interdicted all commerce with their healthy fellow-creatures, and their corpses even thrown into some common receptacle, without the ceremony of interment, and this only because they were touched with a calamity to which mortality is necessarily liable, without any guilt of theirs to deserve such treatment. If, then, preservation of those who are untainted can warrant this usage of the calamitous, who are not so by their own fault, but misfortune, how just and equal is this plan to carry off, by a magical vehicle, persons who, by their conversations and vices, willingly and industriously spread contagions that destroy the happiness, wealth, and more, the morality of their neighbours!

Now such a vehicle as this the late Whig Government, in the shape of magical commissions, have been driving, or endeavouring to drive, not only during the public hours of the day, but also during the almost more public hours of the night. They have been true day and night scavengers, and a pretty load of scum and filth they have presented before the public eye. The public have paid heavily for the horrid sights revealed to them, and now must pay still more heavily for the remedy. The disease has been discovered, if not probed; and there is such a hurt in the daughter of my people as cannot be healed slightly. If a little learning be a dangerous thing, a little doctoring, in this case, will be of no avail. Lord Ashley, that humane and eloquent nobleman, stated the case as divulged by the Whig underlings, who have been searching here and there too successfully for instances of poverty, profligacy, and ignorance; and Sir James Graham, as the proper organ of the Conservative Government, was prompt in suggesting the administration of a sanatory cure. We find no fault with the

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Whigs in ferreting out the profanity and ignorance of the people. We applaud Lord Ashley for availing himself, in so humane and able a manner, of such awful materials; and we very greatly approve of the remarkable promptitude and decision with which her Majesty's Conservative Government answered Lord Ashley's speech, by bringing forward the right remedy in the shape of a large and comprehensive plan of general education, secular and religious; and by choosing the very plague-spots of the nation, the manufacturing towns, for the commencement of their salutary operations.

It would be waste of time to go minutely over the overwhelming evidence adduced by Lord Ashley in support of the main fact, undisputed by either side of the house, namely, "that the moral condition of the great mass of the people was so low, and the education based upon morals so little, that it was absolutely necessary that something should be done to reform them." It would be idle, we repeat, to go into the evidence, not only because in our last number we referred to its more valuable part, but also because the facts are proved to the satisfaction of every one; and we hear of no one exclaiming that the people are not ignorant, or that they are not immoral, to a degree surpassing the ordinary belief of the Legislature. Lord Ashley has concentrated the most painful items of the various reports of commissioners, superintendents of police, and private testimony; and the places that particularly engrossed his lordship's labours of investigation seem to have been Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, Willenhall, Wednesfield, Darlaston, Bilston, Sedgeley, Warrington, Esdridge, Burslem, Nottingham, East Scotland, Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, North Staffordshire, Cumberland, &c.; places which are the stronghold of the manufacturing interest, and where religious Dissent, more than in agricultural portions of the country, flourishes. Sir James Graham could not resist the incontrovertible evidence brought forward by the noble lord; and, indeed, he must have expected that its nature would have been overwhelming, for nothing could exceed the promptitude with which he arose with the prepared outlines of a Government Education Bill, which bill was to set forth a compulsory system of education, was to commence with the manufacturing districts and the pauper children in workhouses throughout the country; and, as regarded that *vexata quæstio*, how to deal with the children of Dissenters and Schismatics, adopting the suggestions of a bill brought forward by Lord Brougham in the year 1820. In the year 1839 Lord John Russell also attempted the production of a bill; but the Whigs being powerless, it was reserved for a strong and

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talented Conservative Government to bring the matter to a completion, suited to the wants and requirements of the country at large; for be it remembered, that the Government measure is, in due course of time, to be extended throughout the entire rural districts, embracing every parish in Queen Victoria's British realms.

But let us treat on the abstract subject of education. First, as regards the mind of man. The Almighty has planted reason and free-will in man, and makes appeals to him in consequence of his having been granted an ability to make a free choice: "*Choose you this day whom ye will serve;*" "*How often would I have gathered you.....but ye would not!*" But what a curse to man is free-will, unless he exercise aright the reason that God has granted to him; even what a curse may reason itself be, and yet how would he murmur had he been formed the slave of blind fate. The reason and free-will thus given cannot be inactive. While the understanding is vigorous, progress is the natural thing in man up to that time when life turns backward upon him and infirmities impair his existence; and even then, if his reason has been well employed, reading and reflection may be of infinite value to him in his declining strength, and to all others who come in contact with him. But progress is the natural thing; a man day by day gains some kind of knowledge, and unless he debases his natural endowments by sensual indulgences, his mind will, in common course, beneficially advance. Many an idea that once occupied it will steal back into oblivion: many a high intention will break uselessly as a wave on the sea-shore: much knowledge will have entered and gone back, as the wave that leaves no trace behind;—yet, on the whole, if the mind be employed according to its natural impulse—if the ruling power which is within its reach be duly appealed to —if our free-will be exercised in obedience to its natural commands, advance will be permanently, however at times imperceptibly, made. This is the case as to general knowledge, be it good or evil; but surely in all acquisition of knowledge the great matter of concern should be, to choose the good and refuse the evil. While we attend, then, to the cultivation of our minds, and are seeking to drink in knowledge, we must ever remember that the mind has great influence over the heart, and that the heart can well repay what it has gained from the mind. The two should march onward in all reciprocity of good, not of evil. Therefore let the learning of the mind be of that kind which shall possess and exhibit a decided tendency to ameliorate and exalt the affections of the heart. The grand mistake too often made in educational efforts is simply this—the neglect of the

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heart. Heart and mind must be simultaneously influenced for good, or education, though it may conduce much to worldly gain; for without it few situations of emolument can be held; yet it will bring no moral advancement, little settlement of the passions, and certainly no fixed happiness. Let a man's mental superiority over his fellow-creatures be ever so apparent, ever so advantageous, in some points of view, yet if he be not master of his passions and affections, he may own the whole world in substance, and soar victoriously over multitudes in knowledge; but still if he has not gained a complete triumph, often to be hardly won, over the natural passions and prejudices of the heart, he will be far from peace, far from goodness, ever to be preferred before greatness, and consequently far from good citizenship and domestic happiness. What would not that man, be he ever so filled with worldly knowledge, which may be a vast power of evil, whose body and soul are ground down to the dust through the intemperance of sinful and rebellious habits, who knows no feeling but that of present irritation and anxiety, introducing all the horrors of future misery—what would not such a man give for the virtuous vigour of mind that might have been his enjoyment—for the serenity of heart that might, in unison, have been his comfort—for the salvation of the soul, which, duly sought from God, might have been his assured hope? O surely the sorest stings and pangs of the human mind are those which agonizingly contrast what we might have been, with that which we unhappily are. Attention, then, must be given in time to both the mind and the heart. Whether it be the disposition of our minds to lie fallow, or to bring forth rapid vegetation, we must be up and stirring in early life, sowing the intellectual seed of a good sort, rendering ourselves fit, if occasion offer, to mingle in that society where elevation of mind and the dignity of moral and religious worth are the main ingredients; and, above all, enabling ourselves to bear the blessings of solitude, and exclaim, from inward feeling and sense, under all circumstances, "My mind to me a kingdom is." The poet Goldsmith says, "that the solitary man is either a saint or a devil;" and, however this saying may be in a ridiculous extreme, still a moral and religious education will have its tendency all directed towards the effulgence and beatitude of saintship, whether that saintship be unostentatiously cherished in the solitude of retirement, or exhibited on the more exposed platform of public life—but, under either situations, it will be a departure from an evil, and an advancement in a right direction, so long as the apostolic voice proclaims that *our citizenship is in heaven.* Be assured, we must show diligence, early diligence,

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in this matter: for man is placed in this world to cultivate, to the utmost of the tether allotted to him, those rational powers that are given of God; he is to exert himself, as well as to call humbly on his God—for God will not listen to the indolent cry, the prayer unsupported by endeavour, be it as supplicatory as it will; otherwise, instead of cultivating our fields, or cultivating our minds, we should have nothing to do but sit down and roar lustily for that help which might do everything for us while we only listlessly looked on. Be assured, we must be children of nature, in the best sense of the word (for we have good natural affections of humanity given us), as well as children of grace—we should study this world's material beauties and mysteries, and our study should be sanctified by that grace from the immaterial world which will be given to assist the ardent investigator of those intricate creations of the Deity, which seem to be given as an exercise to the internal reason of man, as much as to delight his outward eye, or continue his existence. We should not neglect, then, the use and exercise of our natural faculties—the single or the ten talents entrusted to our care, and to be returned with the usury of improvement. We may strain, and even degrade them, by continued application to sordid or vicious pursuits; but rather we should apply them to the ennobling and humanizing scenes and duties around us, ever recollecting that our loss of time, our relaxation of action, or our debasing employment of either, our want of gratitude, and the fruit of gratitude in thankfulness to, and adoration of, the Almighty Giver of reason and free-will, must have a ruinous effect on our happiness here and for ever. The bad state of the mind must of necessity affect the health of the heart; and the whole man, like a wreck drifting on the ocean, or like an unfinished useless hulk that never carried freight, much less braved the battle and the breeze with her top-gallants set, will drift along the troubled sea of life, or lie motionless in the harbour, from which it had neither inclination nor ability to move. What a state would this be for any man—how cheerless, how desolate! How unkind towards God and man thus to abuse, or not use, gifts which are given for the glory of the one, and the best welfare of the other. Surely this consideration alone should incite us ever to keep before our eyes our high calling, as rational creatures capable of great attainment in education and intelligence, and to press steadily forward towards the exalted mark to which reason and religion alike point and beckon.

Yes, we must attend to the improvement of the mind and the improvement of the heart; we must not separate the religious from the rational exercise of our faculties. The two may be

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separated; and though religion can hardly flourish without reason, reason may proudly triumph, after a sort, without religion. But the two combined form a wholesome alliance—they are commonly twin-born; and where the former has been cherished independently of the latter, unhappiness and discontentedness, more than might be imagined, has existed; and, sooner or later, the ill-regulated, however superior mind, has become a prey to anxious desires, and often to the most melancholy despair, until it may be thought better to be born an idiot in the idiot's harmlessness of character, than to enjoy the gifts of intellect for the increase of pride or passion. A writer of the present age (the Rev. Sidney Smith), has well said—

"A young man standing on the threshold of life, and just going into all the business of the world, with a heart in which every principle of right and wrong is thoroughly shaken and impaired, if not destined for great offices in public life, yet he is a brother, a son, a friend; he is to be a husband and father of children; some must trust him and some must love him. I say it would be better for this young man *that the work of death was going on within him*, that the strength and the roses of his youth were fading away, and that he was wasting down to the tomb of his ancestors, wept by his friends and pitied by the world."

Let us feel, then, as well as understand, that religious knowledge is the noblest and most fertile subject for the eager and enquiring mind of man, and for the cultivation of a beneficent heart. The best philosophers of the better periods of antiquity made it their main study; and how beautifully Socrates, and Plato, and Cicero speak on the immortality of the soul, the classical scholar well knows. They enquired unaided, comparatively, for the truth; they partly succeeded, and partly wandered from it; we have it laid down for us by One who cannot lie. We have it laid down, accompanied by such overwhelming proof that it comes from God, that a new-born babe might as well attempt to stand erect against the vast sea-wave, as man pretend to oppose the divine origin of our holy religion. Many have made the attempt, and to every impartial and unprejudiced mind signal failure has proved to be the result. In that holy writ we are made acquainted with the attributes of the Deity; we learn, as far as is necessary for our limited capacities, the origin of sin; the fall is followed by the universal redemption of mankind; and assistance is promised to weak and erring man, from an all-powerful, omniscient, and all-merciful God. This latter was expected by the heathen philosophers, and they even said truly, that man's knowledge of God must be obtained from God himself. From the beginning of time God had given a revelation of himself to his chosen people; and even to the hea-

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then world, as so called, the Deity left not himself without witness. But in the fulness and fitness of time the revelation of the new covenant was given; and on that revelation, justification by faith through the atonement is founded—on that revelation the death of sin and the life of righteousness are granted; and for the conception and furtherance of a right knowledge of the heavenly doctrines, and of a right walk in the ways of piety and true holiness, the aid of that Holy Spirit, which first calmed the material waters of the world, and now tranquillizes the human soul, is promised and given. So far from the precepts of religion narrowing the limits of the human mind, or fettering the expansive nature of its reason, we cannot conceive that any principles, other than are delivered for moral government in the broad and sublime system of Christianity, can equally contribute to their enlargement. Enlarged notions of God, of his mercy, his love, his justice; enlarged notions, consequently, of faith; enlarged, most enlarged notions of purity and charity; enlarged notions of the responsibility and capability of the human soul, leading it onward to perfection; in short, the Christian religion, before any other, in its speculative and practical doctrines alike, contains whatever is most conducive to the expansion of the heart and intellect of mankind. Knowledge of and access to the Deity are open for the approach of the humblest mind, and we are exhorted to the practice and habit of philanthropy in such extended and winning terms, that every heart must feel that it can never outstrip the requisites of Christian love; for, indeed, as Bishop Sumner has truly written, if we all followed after Gospel peace and Gospel love, in unity and harmony, the whole world would be one vast and compact society of friends. These blessings and this spirit are all within our reach, for they may be obtained effectually by prayer; so what wisdom ought we in this Christian land to imbibe—what holiness and fraternal union ought to adorn and cement our Christian lives!

How is this desirable result to be achieved? O how easy, how delightful would be its accomplishment, if genuine Christianity was the prevailing character of Christians; and peace and unity, and one laborious endeavour to enlighten ignorance and convert from sin, was paramount in the land. But, alas! it is not so. On both sides there is error in this respect. The Churchman, with scriptural doctrine, and a scriptural form of government and discipline laid out for him, and with his income settled by the law of the land, may abuse the quietness of heart and entire diligence of life which such privileges should engender; while the Dissenter, with less scriptural doctrines and rules, and with an income dependent on extreme exertion, may

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be led into all kinds of unbecoming vituperation of his better circumstanced brother, and often resort to modes and means more suitable to the money-making mountebank; than the grave, serious, and zealous expositor of the truth as it was in the eminently calm and holy Jesus; on the base expediency of a living and clothing principle, as saith the poet Gray:—

"If I cease harlequin, I cease from eating."

And thus, in the curtained and cushioned conventicle, or the little ordinary provincial meeting-house, there may be one and the same effort to astonish, to exaggerate, and to inflame: because without such attempts the serener and holier principles of the eternal Gospel would fall on man's ears as flat, stale, and unprofitable, in regard to any material success in deterioration of the large and liberal Church, or in keeping up such an inflammatory process in the body corporate of Dissent as would magnify the necessity and desirableness of feeing in sufficiency the spiritual quacks who profess to cure all and everything in the way of malady to which man on the earth may be subjected. Since, then, there is this discrepancy among religious teachers, and since there is a large body of persons opposed to the scriptural Church, we are compelled to make a calm and reasonable selection; and if we cannot work out to a happy result our conscientious views, we must then do the best that present troubled circumstances will admit of. We confess, then, that it would be our heart's sacred desire to see the education of the country placed under the fostering and fatherly care of an Apostolic Church, and to see that Church bending herself down, in pure affection and condescension, to the young child's ear and lips; for we feel convinced that it is the imbibing of the reverential spirit of the Church that must be the cure of our social and political disease; while the wild ardour, or inflammatory harangues from the pulpits of such an heterogeneous and almost insane Dissent as now exhibits itself, would but extend widely the disease which is in the impure blood of the nation, by transferring to the voice of our meek and holy *religion* all the virulence, and hatred, and horrid vituperation, which is too plainly and unhappily seen in the varied discord of the *politics* of the age.

In corroboration of this, just let us for a moment turn our unwilling eyes to the sadly malicious spirit which is now agitating the Dissenting interests; while every impartial man must confess that the Church is looking out on all the commotion on this subject with her usual large, noble, and liberal spirit. The Government bill is by no means pleasing to the Church: even when in its unamended state, it was not so; but since its alterations the Church cannot but view the compromise with ex-

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treme suspicion, if not distrust. This we state, not without reserve to our own opinions, arising out of circumstances which we cannot correct, and which opinions we may, in part, reveal in this article. But, be it remembered, the Church did not move, even while the bill was very objectionable; and we may safely assert that the Church would never have digressed into virulent invective and dogmatical intolerance; but the Dissenters have blurted forth all their dark and venomous spleen against the bill, both with and without the amendments recited by the mouthpiece of the Government, and are daily and hourly proving that nothing will satisfy their extreme arrogance, nothing satiate the intolerant hungering and thirsting after spiritual despotism among them, save a total prostration of all principle and independence of feeling in others; and that all men, however pure and however lovely in their lives and opinions, will ever come under their exclusive ban, unless they exactly fall in with their heated and violent manner, and hold to the full their narrow and uncharitable conceits.

This is hard writing—too much so for our usual pen; but a season of uncommon malignity and perversion has burst upon us in all the concentration of its lurid and scorching glare: all Christian love and courtesy, every feeling of humanity and kindness seems to be in abeyance with the clique of political Dissenters—men who profess to be the descendants of those Nonconformists, who would have at once exclaimed of all merely party political matters, and with earnest self-denial too, "*Let the dead bury their dead.*" We quote from the Dissenters' own organ—a foul specimen truly of the public press; but, thank God, the public mind is not with it. After a tirade against the Whig Government, Lord John Russell, and even poor Mr. Hawes, the soap-boiling M.P. and much revilement of others, we are apprised that "our columns will show cheering proofs of the fact, that *the agitation is drifting* TO THE RIGHT POINT!"

And what are the cheering proofs adduced by a professedly Christian writer? Let us begin with the editor's leading article. Speaking of the excitement of the public (?) mind, it says, "Here are materials out of which faithful and competent minds might *forge the weapon* (a forgery indeed!) to level priestism *in the very dust.* Now for a bold attack upon the citadel of ecclesiastical despotism; and, whilst WE STRIKE FOR OURSELVES, *let us strike for God's truth!!*" And the following is the "pious Dissenter's" modest and benevolent description of the venerable and apostolic Church of England—a description, be it well remembered, given as of the oak by the fungus that hath sprung up beneath its noble branches!—

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"The Established Church is the main engine of aristocratic rule. Under the guise (how guileless these Dissenters are!) of promoting revealed religion, it works out the selfish behest of the lords of the soil: and by the circulation of slavish maxims, by sanctioning a system of spurious morality, and by substituting for reverence to truth and its authors, a superstitious veneration for the State priesthood, whilst it subverts Christianity, it destroys likewise all the chances of popular independence. There is no abiding hope for the country whilst a vestige of political ecclesiastism remains. Socially, morally, politically, and religiously, it is a noxious and death-diffusing upas. Whilst it lives, freedom can never be safe. The gentlest breath of heaven, and the very birds that lodge in its branches, carry its poisonous seeds into every department of legislation. Nothing escapes its withering influence. No interest is beyond its reach. It taints the whole atmosphere of British society, and is corrupting and unnerving the entire population."

This is all very horrid even to read—how unclean must be that breast that could write it! Yet this is the Dissenting description of the Church, be it borne in mind, in a leading article on the Government Education Bill. This is plain speaking, and all men should observe (Low Churchmen especially) where the real Dissenting grievance lies. It is against that Reformed Church whose very spirit is toleration and fair freedom, and for which a noble Russell went cheerfully to the scaffold. It is against that Church whose "spurious morality" it is, that men pray to live "in righteousness and true holiness all the days of their life," and urgently plead, "Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit;" against that Church which the pious Cecil said never could be wrong so long as it made the true and noble confession—"Thou art the King of glory, O Christ!" It is against that Church which the Dissenters cannot assail with argument, but must resort to railing, to misrepresentation, and most profane abuse, and league themselves under a vow to kill a St. Paul, whom they dare not meet in full and fair combat. Let statesmen ponder on this infuriate description of the Church, and let our Liberal bishops freely investigate it, and then see if pitch can be at all approached without manifest defilement.

We are too apt to say that a multitude must not suffer through a little evil leaven, or a whole army through the misconduct of a few cowards: but here is open speaking addressed to the many; this is the bond of union and congeniality, as though the writer knew well what kind of spirits agitated the mass of his polluted brethren for whom he so virulently and maliciously writes. Are we not perfectly justified in calling things by their names, and designating the above as being *malicious*—and of a

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malice, too, which is aforethought, and the essence of murder? In short, it is counselling the destruction or *murder of the Church;* it is the work of demolition that is vehemently urged, and any twelve honest yeomen would judge it to be so. Recollect, we harm not by this direct charge, for it is one gloried in by these "pious Dissenters!" If this will not take the dust out of our eyes, while it excites intense pity in our bowels of mercies, nothing else will.

In addition to the above horrid language, we find Dissenters exhorted, in the same article, to "go forth against that hollow image of Christianity, the State Church, and completely subvert it." The Church is called "a pestilential political pretence" (what an amiable alliteration); and "Down with a State Church!" must be the motto inscribed on their banners "until not a vestige of it remains to plague the people's peace!" And from all this what is to be the precious result to Dissenters? Simply this, as the same article says, "*Power* is being generated: how is that power to be employed *to level priestism? Our blood is up,*" &c. &c. For once the truth is spoken here. The "Our blood is up," "*Power* is being generated," speak volumes, and openly proclaim that earthly domination is the real endeavour of all political Dissent; this is THE RIGHT POINT to which the agitation is drifting. This is proud, wilful, carnal, intolerant sectarianism. These are the men who would reform the Church—who would work in concert, as they say, with any who advance the spiritual good of the community—who, with such subtle profession, awhile lull the suspicions of kind and humble clergymen; but unless they are to have everything their own way, and their most arrogant humours are to be entirely indulged, behold how the bile rises in the proud stomach, how the Donatist and Puritan spirit revives, and nothing is too shameful for the mouth to utter—nothing but the law of the land restrains them from any excess in the works of strife and hatred. Low Churchmen, beware! Let not the viper into your bosom; it will mock affection and humility for a time, but its rancour must burst forth with power, and it will sting you to the very quick, and too late you will find that you have sported with one who not only hath no moral, but no humane principle.

For now, as to some more examples of what, in the Dissenting mind, is esteemed *the right point.* The records are numerous, far too numerous, as well as too indecent, for our notice; but take a few. In regard to the Society of Friends this same organ says, "*We regret* to perceive they openly assert that it is the duty of the State to provide a scriptural education for the people!" O what a sentiment is this, after the awful disclo-

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sures in the benevolent Lord Ashley's speech, and when the Voluntary system has been proved, on the clearest statistical evidence, and is known to be, utterly inadequate to the calls of either education or religion for the people.

Next, "the bold and stirring" speech of a Baptist at Leeds is eulogized, together with a glorying in the "co-operation of the Chartists." And, first, let us note the falsehood put forth in so unblushing a manner by this Baptist—a falsehood that all "pious Dissenters" must utterly repudiate. "Here (cries the intemperate Baptist) was an attempt before them to educate the people in religion. What were they to be taught? What was the first lesson to be inculcated in these schools? 'You shall not love your neighbour as yourself.' That was the first lesson in these schools for religious education. What was the next lesson? 'The whole shall be taxed for the benefit of the few.'" And thus, with questions of this and a more perverted kind, the man spouted on before his Chartist auditory. At this meeting a Chartist spoke better sense, and openly attacked the sayings and insinuations of Dissenters.

At Manchester it was said—

"The Dissenters for the last twenty years had literally done nothing to remove that which was the root of the evil—nothing *to bring about a separation between Church and State.* Until that was done we should ever and anon *be pestered* with such bills as that now under discussion!"

Again—

"If Dissenters will only keep alive the spirit Sir James Graham has aroused, farewell, a long farewell *to priestly dominion*.....Let us do this as a body, and I verily believe the time is not far distant when it will be the *happiness and honour!! of our country to sing a requiem over the departed glories of our so-called religious establishments.* ... ..Never let us forget that this bill, *however detestable*, is but an exhibition of a State Church fairly carried out."

In Hull (and this is but a specimen of many such scenes) we read—

"The resolutions were moved and seconded by the various Dissenting preachers, Wesleyan, Independent, Baptist, Unitarian, &c. A Mr. Thomson, the minister of a Baptist chapel in Salthouse-lane, declared, in the presence of the chairman, a magistrate, 'I, for one, I confess it, *will resist it* (the Government measure) *even unto blood!*' On the proposition of the petition, a Chartist moved an amended petition, and spoke in its favour; but from that time the confusion that prevailed baffles all description—every species of noise and vociferation from *the two parties* filled the chapel. The original petition was carried after a regular row, and the 'house of prayer' was deserted."

It is a perfectly inexplicable enigma to us how Dissenting

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ministers can, after such carnal scenes as perpetually occur in their political preaching-houses, with any face, coolly get up on the Lord's day and endeavour to preach the pure Gospel of Him who did not strive, nor cry, nor suffer his voice to be heard in the streets!

A Baptist minister, of Wood-street chapel, Bilston, at a meeting held in the Independent chapel, Mr. R. Bew, *a Wesleyan*, in the chair, said—

"The people ought to be the Government. He charged upon the misgovernment of the country (he must have alluded to the ten years of Whig rule just passed) all the present misery and crime. He protested against the Government interfering between *him and his conscience*, dictating to him how he should serve *his God!!* The education clauses of the bill we are met to discuss to-night require the children to be taught the Church catechism. (This is a monstrous fabrication). He would make a quotation from the same—'to order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters.' 'Why (said he) I have not *a bettter* in all the world, and all men are my equals.' He then proceeded, 'This book I have in my hand is the Book of Common Prayer—and common enough, indeed, to wipe my feet upon.' He then threw it upon the floor, and rubbed his feet upon it. He took it up again, and threw it down again, and held his foot upon it for some minutes. He produced a Bible, and set the Bible against the Prayer Book, and quoted, 'The rich and the poor meet together, and the Lord is the Maker of them all.' He then said, addressing the *Wesleyan* chairman, 'If you will allow me, I will take it up again—it is a pity it should lie there.' He took it up, and made a quotation from the nineteenth Article—'The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men.' 'Some one below would say it was the bricks and mortar.' He then referred to the twentieth Article—'The Church hath power to decree rights and ceremonies.' He inferred that this article contradicted the former; for if one of the congregation were to ask Mr. Fletcher (meaning the incumbent of St. Leonard's) to read King James's 'Book of Sports,' he would say he could not; and he has no power to leave out the reading of the Lord's Prayer, though it be read half a dozen times in the morning service."

Alas! what an abominable spirit of pride and haughtiness out of an unclean heart is here displayed. This *minister*, a Mr. Bonner, *has no better in the world*, in his own estimation. We fear this is no mean part of the Dissenting creed; but how different from the creed of St. Paul, who says, "Let nothing be done through strife and vainglory, but in lowliness of mind let each esteem others better than themselves." Let Mr. Bonner read also the gracious sermon on the Mount, and see whether he be pure in heart, be a peacemaker, be poor in spirit, and meek, and merciful, and hungering and thirsting after righteousness! and just let him consider whether St. Paul would not

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turn to the Dissenters of the present day, as he did to the men of strife and schism in his age, and say, "Are ye not carnal?" We are grieved to observe that a Wesleyan could be in the chair, and yet rebuke not the outpouring of this man's insane trash. But, alas! of Wesleyan Methodism how would John Wesley now exclaim, in the bitter anguish and disappointment of his heart, "How is the gold become dim, and the fine gold changed!" That Mr. Bonner is under the malign influence of a satanic or maniacal spirit we can have little doubt, and we recommend his hearers to study well Winslow's "Plea of Insanity in Criminal Cases," and see whether they cannot discern the diagnosis of his disease. But to find a follower of John Wesley—a man ever Conservative of the Church even to his dying hour—aiding and abetting in such a scene, is inconsistent and extravagant in the extreme.*

Another Dissenting minister publicly said at Leicester, "he would as soon trust his child to the embrace of the polar bear, or the smiles of the hyena, as to the tender mercies of a bishop." This may excite but a smile, since all men know how gentle, how learned, and how enlightened the present bench of bishops are; but still it is no mean evidence of the awful and unconverted spirit of Dissenting *ministers!*

The same worthy further said—

"To take a clergyman's arm is rather a degrading process!" And again—"I believe these *gentlemen* (the clergy) to be the most inveterate enemies of freedom which the country contains. So decided are my opinions on this subject, that were I to descend to my grave to-morrow, I should desire no more honourable eulogy over my tomb than this—which I have some prospect of enjoying—the loud and long execrations of the clergy of these realms!"

What kind of freedom would such a mind as this grant to any fellow-creature who happened to differ from him? That is the question for the public to consider. And this man holds the pulpit (it is said) of one whom we confidently affirm every clergyman would respect, and most of them revere—we mean

* A fierce Dissenting organ says of the agitation—"If it had done nothing more than to reclaim our Wesleyan countrymen from their false position, it would have effected a great good. That they have been long *Dissenters at heart there can be no question:* and henceforward we hope we shall always find them to be *Dissenters in action.* The sentiments to which the Wesleyans gave utterance on Thursday night were worthy of *nonconforming Christians!* and were evidently the genuine reflection of *deep-rooted and long-cherished convictions, not the ebullition of mere temporary pique and vexation!*" This is a clumsy dose of "soft sawder" for the Wesleyans; whether it will go down or not we cannot tell, but it administers alike to shame and to vanity. Our readers must peruse the chapter in "Dr. Hookwell," on Wesleyan Methodism, albeit that popular writer be far too kind and too tender with their foibles.

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the accomplished and benevolent Robert Hall. Of him the clergy would say, as Dr. Johnson said of Watts—"Happy is he who can imitate him in all but his Nonconformity—can copy his benevolence to man, and his reverence to God." And we can as confidently assure his successor—this impotent defamer of the purest and most enlightened clergy in the world, that he will never *enjoy* their "loud and long execrations," but he will have the benefit of many an earnest prayer that he may be converted and renewed in heart and life before *he descend to the grave*, and stand before the tribunal of a God of peace and charity to all mankind.

Another teacher positively declared that "he would as soon give poison to his only child, as teach him the Church catechism." This man evidently, in common with the Bilston instructor of youth, does not approve of the "duty towards his neighbour!"

And then there are infuriate declamations against "bloody prelates;" "tyrannical governors;" "mitred bishops in the House of Lords, and their companions, broken down *roués*;" "horrid despotism;" "the mystic Popish cabbala, called the Church catechism;" "the Government functionary, the parish priest;" and an "assured belief that the Education Bill is purposely meant to keep on *the Corn Laws!*" with other such absurd stuff; and all this on the discussion of a plan for national education, certainly developed on liberal grounds, and with the best intention to heal all jealousies and rivalries, and do as much extended good as possible.

A thoroughly rabid Dissenting paper tells us that it would be better to return "to the savageism of ancient Britain," than accept any superintendence on the part of the Church; and one of the main arguments by another sectarian journal is, that a child would be exposed to imbibe *the poison of the Church catechism* (the poison of his duty towards his neighbour); "*on Sunday alone would he be taught the truth as it is in Jesus!*" This profanity and arrogance is very shocking to any Christian ear: and a more sensible Whig newspaper calls both of these sectarian organs to task, and rebukes the one for "its fierce denunciations," and the other for "its wild ravings;" and shows that Dissent has its "fanaticism, bigotry, intolerance, and arrogant presumption."—*Weekly Chronicle*, April 23.

To conciliate such Dissenters, as these infuriate persons vaunt themselves to be, is an utterly impossible task for man. God only can change the heart. The Church now sees what Dissent is—what political passions it engenders; how entirely it sets up a man's arrogant self in opposition to the lowliness and humility

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of Christ. And the Church, though it will not thank God it is not as other men are, yet will be grateful and glad of the evidence that the great Head of the Church has not given her over to a reprobate mind, to work and to utter all unclean sayings with greediness; but, conscious of divine support, to walk the earth erect in the assurance of holy aid, ever tolerating all piously weak consciences, feeling that "we who are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak!" We think we are borne out in the above remarks by the expressed opinions of two organs of the day, to which we are variously opposed, but which are the main organs of their respective sections. The *Record* says—

"The saddest page we have read for many a day is that we are now studying, of the pendent struggle concerning the educational clauses of the Factory Bill. The extravagance of the Dissenters is only one of the mischiefs which present themselves to the view. A new and lamentable source of alienation will have sprung up between Dissenters and Churchmen (because of the antichristian animus of Dissent). The Wesleyans, alarmed by the inroads of Tractarianism, have allied themselves with the Dissenters (an unholy alliance indeed!)—have joined with them in the recent movement, and have caught their spirit of animosity. ('Who can touch pitch?' &c.) The violent and inflammatory language will have produced a variety of bad effects. For, on the other hand, this enmity, exhibited in no very measured or cautious language, is eagerly taken advantage of by the Tractarians themselves, to augment the existing dread and jealousy of Dissenters within the Establishment; so that, turn which way we will, we meet with nothing but mischief and evil."

The *Record* is not fully honest here, because it must know that it is not Tractarians only, but the whole body of the Church, that will clearly see the insidiousness of Dissent as hitherto shaped, but now will be thankful for the timely warning presented by this palpable outpouring of the vials of indignation and irreparable hostility. And the *Patriot*, described as famous for "its fierce denunciations" by a Whig journal, corroborates our view of the utter impossibility of conciliating the implacability of Dissent, of mingling sweet with bitter, light with darkness, to any useful or benignant end. It says—

"We do not hesitate to say, that the amended clauses are infinitely worse than the original clauses! Nothing now remains for the opponents of the bill to do but to denounce it forthwith and entirely, in the strongest terms of petition compatible with the usages of Parliament. We spurn the insulting proposal; and we tell Ministers to their faces, that if they dare to force it upon the country by the aid of their bribery-obtained majority (we thought the bribery had been proved to to be grossly on the side of the Whigs), the Dissenters of Great Britain

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and Ireland will hurl them from the seat of power, and place there, in their stead, men who will advise the Crown in conformity to those principles of religious liberty, on the ground of which it came into the possession of the royal family."

Now, first, let all fair and honest men mark the violence, the worldly violence, of this passage. Here is a declaration of a hoped-for triumph *of political power.* We feel we cannot be too severe with such harsh and impious men as those we have been depicting; but still, let no man mistake our application, and think that we quarrel with any "pious Dissenters," so long as they exhibit a pious and peaceable demeanour of outward life, as derived from the effects of the working of a righteous spirit inwardly. Far from it: we regard these as in error, certainly—but we honour and appreciate the good life that is in them, and, so far from finding fault with their adhering to true and genuine scruples of conscience, we would applaud them, and humbly endeavour to be united with them on all those moral and spiritual points wherein we could consistently meet.

But since Dissenters must entirely fail in moral influence, let us turn to their numerical power. It is too true, that numbers alone can achieve vast things, however unholy the object in view. "My people loved to have it so" was the complaint of the Almighty in the great declension of religion. And what Government can stand against a supplicating nation, or refuse the demands of overwhelming majorities in a kingdom? Have the Dissenters, then, this preponderating influence of numbers? Far from it: their numbers are as naked of salutary power as is their morality. We have no very late returns to form an estimate by, but we can come to a tolerable opinion by turning to the eminent statistical tables of Mr. M'Culloch. In the year 1831 the population of England and Wales was returned at 13,897,187, and Mr. M'Culloch calculates that this return comprised about 3,000,000 Dissenters of all denominations. This is the return of one, doubtless accurate, but still who would be inclined to be favourable towards Dissent. In 1841, according to the last census, the population of England and Wales amounted to 15,906,829; and assuming the relative proportions to be the same now as in 1831, there are at present about 3,500,000 English Dissenters of all denominations, *being little more than one-fifth of the whole population!* We are told, by the same authority, that even this calculation must be received with great allowance, for, generally speaking, the Methodists are regular in their attendance at church, and indeed they hardly like to be called Dissenters; that many of the Dissenting congregations are very limited; and though some are numerous,

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yet at an average they are small compared with those belonging to the Church. "On the whole (says Mr. M'Culloch) we incline to think that *the entire number of Dissenters* (according to the census of 1831) *in England and Wales does not exceed* 2,700,000, *or at most* 3,000,000, *of whom* 500,000 *or* 600,000 *may be Roman Catholics.*"

And when we call on members of Parliament quietly to observe the spirit of Dissent, and to note its character—when we ask whether it be a Christian, a pure, a peaceable spirit, such as all pious men would wish to see pervading the nation at large —when we ask whether there is a hope of any good emanating from such an education as Dissenters would give, when the educated among them display such an antichristian temper—remembering ever that the noisy political Dissenters will always swamp the minority of humble and unobtrusive ones—it is but right, when such questions are asked, that the question should be put to us—what mode are we then to follow; which is to be the grand *exemplar vitæ morumque* which is to be held up as the beacon light to the nation, the safeguard and bulwark of national liberty, national tolerance, national humanity, and national religion? We answer fearlessly and conscientiously, "*You must take the Church as your guide, your example, your instrument to effect a calm and wide change in the moral aspect of the nation.*" Your nation has arisen to great power, great trust and confidence in her morality, under the auspices of the Church; and it is only because the wants of the people have outgrown the power of the Church to do good, that you are suffering from this moral malaria in those moral wildernesses where manufactures and Dissent have simultaneously increased. Our statistical references, and from unquestionable authority, will amply bear us out in our assertion here: for what are the facts? In Lancashire, which in the year 1700 contained 166,000 souls, there are now 1,336,854: the population has been doubled eight times. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, in parts of Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and several other counties, the same account may be given. In Glasgow, supposing every place of worship filled, even those of Socinians and Jews, still there are 90,000 persons, who, from age and circumstances, might attend church, and yet are unable to do so. Ninety churches, at least, capable of holding one thousand persons each, might be advantageously built in Glasgow. In and around Birmingham there are 101,292 immortal beings, who could not, if they would, attend the house of God. At Leeds only 14,393, out of 123,393, can find room in the churches. At Manchester about the same proportion; at Sheffield one ninth; at Wolverhampton one fifth:

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and this seems to be the average of the great manufacturing towns. In London—opulent London—there are thirty-four parishes in which alone there are 756,754 beyond the capabilities of existing churches; and if we calculate that one-half of a city population ought to attend church (an estimate very low), we need church-room for 378,477, or more than three hundred and seventy-eight new churches, for one thousand each, in order to supply the deficiency. Well does Archdeacon Wilberforce (from whom the above statistical account is received) say—

"In all these cases our parochial system is little more than a delusion: we retain the name and the form; we call the incumbents the pastors of the whole flock—they are charged by the bishop with the spiritual care of the whole; but, in the sight of God and man, they are not, and cannot be, responsible for the performance of impossibilities."*

This is the real cause of all our deterioration in morals, all our disturbance of the friendly feelings so lately exhibited in districts—*unchurched* districts—of the nation: how it is, as the excellent Bishop of Tasmania has said of our convict districts—

"That no voice of Christian teaching, nor of Christian encouragement, of Christian peace, of Christian comfort, and Christian hope, had been addressed to the souls of the unhappy outcasts; but the scourge, the lash, the fetters, had been the only means of reform resorted to."

And, oh! in our own country, what mockery, what cruelty, to build gaols and houses of correction, and transport, imprison, and put to death, those who, with the instruction and kind enlightenment of the Church extended to them, might have been respectable and respected members of society, and, under God's grace, been brought to a saving knowledge of the everlasting Gospel of Christ.

But a question may be put to us, to the effect, that although Dissent cannot be trusted with the education of the young, are we sure that the Church can? O what a triumph to the infidel would any answer in the negative be! He would say—"You, all of you, have really brought matters to a pretty pass through your religion—not a religion of love and forbearance, but one of feuds and forward malice. If neither of you can be safely trusted in the moral amelioration of your rising countrymen, better, indeed, would it be if your religion was in abeyance altogether."

We proceed, then, to answer for the efficiency of the Church—and if any one should raise the flippant cry of "Puseyism," we would reply that "*Puseyism*" is not the Church—not the

* Archdeacon Wilberforce's prize essay, "The Parochial System." Who will not wish to the good Bishop of London hearty success in his efforts to obtain a repeal of the Mortmain Acts?

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Church any more than *Mormonism* or *Swedenborgianism* is Dissent. But still, be it borne in mind, it is this very unhinging of all our civil and ecclesiastical institutions—this craving for revolution, accompanied by such bitterness of temper and absurdity of sentiment, that was the origin of the so-called "Puseyism;" and this opinion is well laid down in the first volume (page 228) of "Dr. Hookwell." The Doctor says plainly, "the tendency of *religious* liberty is to conduct its votaries to *political* liberty;" and we know what kind of political liberty he means; and the *Nonconformist* writes: "*True Dissent* and democracy must run in couples:" and then it exhorts all Dissenters to be "ripe for separation." Now we say, and with deliberation we say it, that if we are to have the free choice of "Puseyism," with its learning, self-denial, its holy prayer—or Dissent, with its vulgar declamation, its love of display, its arrogant violence and party strife —for the sake of pure and undefiled religion, let us have the former; but, putting "Puseyism" out of the question—for it is most unfairly dragged forward by Dissenters—let the question be between the pious, generous, liberal, and affectionate tone of the Church, and the virulent and vulgar voice of Dissent; and can there be a doubt which to choose in any reasonable mind or candid heart? We ask Lord John Russell, and Mr. Thomas S. Duncombe (the gay man of fashion for Dissenters), and Mr. Hawes, and Mr. Roebuck, whether they have any sympathy with narrow views and passionate words? And is it not always some *narrow principle*, on doctrine or otherwise, which sectaries put prominently forward, and which, in fact, *distinguish* them from the large mass of the Universal Church? Are not the Independents and Baptists (no mean portion of Dissenters) ultra-Calvinistic, and otherwise cramped in their views of our most holy religion?—and can men of enlightened and amiable minds really wish to see these narrow and harsh sentiments instilled into the minds of the young, and thus produce a rising generation of sour and severe dogmatists in matters of the lovely Christian faith? What, even, has Lord John Russell (the Whig politician) written deliberately of the Wesleyans, the better order, we believe, of the sectaries?

"Could the Methodists (he writes) be invested, indeed, by some revolution with the absolute power which the Church of Rome once possessed, there is reason to fear that, unless checked by the genius of a more humane age, *the Conference would equal Rome itself in the spirit of persecution.*"

This is as much as to say that the Wesleyan Conference has all the spirit, but restrained from the power, of the Papist in-

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quisition. Again, his lordship writes—"The Methodists grew vain of their peculiar sanctity, disputed with the world and with one another, and, in their search after unattainable perfection, became infected with worse vices than their neighbours, whom they despised." And no other member of Parliament could really wish to see the illiberal dogmas and rebel spirit of Dissenters extended among the people. We know it is a principle with some men to give fair play to all opinions, however absurd such opinions may be, believing that such opinions will rather be suppressed than advanced by competition in public; and thus we allow that toleration should be granted to all men, Jews and Mahometans alike. But toleration and direct encouragement are two different things. The Almighty tolerates sin, but does not encourage it. We are to tolerate all things till the day of sifting the chaff from the wheat arrive; but woe be to us if we encourage one bad passion, one evil habit, one semi-infidel doctrine, one malicious thought in the heart, or one idle or froward word on the lips. And if individuals dare not encourage evil and dissension, how can a Government do so with impunity? They cannot. The Government cannot for an instant harbour the idea of encouraging and supporting the wild and ruinous systems of hydra-headed Dissent; they would be doing an infinite injury to our public profession of Christianity and our domestic love and peace; they would violate and disturb all Christian unity and happiness at home, and how much more distract and bewilder the poor heathen countries and colonies abroad, wherever any missionary exertions may reach! No; the Government must make their election—they must keep to one thing. The happiness and glory, not of England only, but of the world, is in their hands—and that system which is most scriptural and apostolic, most ancient and primitive, most stable and hitherto effective, most liberal and lovely, most conducive to a sublime morality, soaring above the petty prejudices and passions of the age—that system must be taken up, cherished, and wholly approved by them; and while there be no persecution, but every toleration of Dissent, the Government must abide by the Reformed Church. Any other course would be fraught with absurdity and fruitlessness; and if Dissenters would but pause awhile amid their senseless and hot clamour, and instead of crying, "Our blood is up," they would say, "Let us sit down and exercise our calm judgment," they would see how absurd and frantic would be the idea of any Government fostering the wild opinions *of all the sects*, opinions held to-day and let go to-morrow; and yet if every sect is to be put on an equality with the Church—and this is the unreasonable cry—such must be the

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impartial but ridiculous extent to which the Christian Legislature must be carried ! !

But still the question may be—how know we that the Church will teach religion in its broad and moderate spirit, apart from the extremes of Puseyism or Calvinism? We answer—you have every guarantee for such teaching laid down in the articles and liturgy of the Church of England. From these the Church cannot depart, and will not depart, until Parliament should compel her to do so; and that Parliament must represent the will and wishes of the people of England. The bishops have lately set down even a slight attempt at construing the meaning of the articles (No. 30), which was considered not agreeable to the plain construction of the Church; and they are bound to do so again, should any attempt be made in the same direction. The religion of those articles and liturgy form the Christian sentiments of the Established Church, and that Established or National Church is the Church of the nation at the rate of five to one of its people. The State, then, may feel obliged, even on this ground, to teach the doctrines only of that Church which is in connexion with herself. But there are yet higher grounds than this; for it might be (as in Scotland) that a scriptural and apostolic Church may not be in connexion with the State. In England we have happily no apprehension on this point. We are the ancient Church formed irrespective of any aid or countenance from any civil power or State. We date from the commencement of Christianity; and our after connexion with the State is not an accident, or a yielding of the principles of the first formed Church, but of the will of God. We boast an antiquity prior to the Scriptures themselves, and by our first ministers the Scriptures were written at the command of the Most High and Holy One, from whom they received their commission, and the Scriptures their inspiration. We therefore stand on the ground of being of the first Christian Church in the world—of being the very first Church in this country—of having purified ourselves from the transient errors of Rome; and, as being of apostolic constitution and discipline, entitled to the priority of rank and esteem in preference to the ever varied and ever divisible sects that always will exist, whether in ecclesiastical or political matters, to the one grand established system under which the vast majority own it to be secure and salutary to live.

All that now remains to be considered is the manner, under the circumstances of a schismatic period, in which education should be given—that education which is to be of the heart, in sanctified knowledge, as well as of the mind. We would say,

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then, that, as Christians, we would *thrust* our teaching on no man, and on no man's child (contrary to the inquisitive and proselytising custom of Dissent). And we would say to any Dissenter, "we will teach your children all the good we are capable of in the way of education, and if you put a veto on our teaching them our own religious opinions, we will at once refrain; but, at the same time, we cannot like to see schools erected and supported for the inculcation of all kinds of heterogeneous opinions, which, in the majority of them, are exceedingly narrow and subversive of the best tenets of the Christian religion." This we might say, as holding broad and tolerant views of religion (whether we be of the Church of England or not), to any one professing and insisting on the teaching of opinions which we supposed to be more confined; but when, in addition, we belong to a Church established for ages, and when we are called on to give way to sects and societies of comparatively but yesterday in their formation and notions, (and how know we what new sect a day may bring forth?) and which sects, professing to be voluntary, now clamour for the money and countenance of the State and Acts of Parliament; and, moreover, when they have full and free course *to educate their children as they please in religious matters.* Surely, then, we are doing nothing unjust or illiberal—nothing more than a love of broad and comprehensive principles should incite us to do, when we decline to forward the heterogeneous scheme of schismatic confusion; but, at the same time, in a true spirit of liberality, say, "we will teach our principles to none but those who wish and love to be taught them; and, what is more, those who differ from us shall teach what they choose to others, undisturbed by any interference from us."

Now is not this what the Government plan would say?—and can it reasonably say more? We do not certainly hold their plans to be quite sound, because the Gospel must be taught to those who *may not like to be taught it.* But it will give the children of Dissenters an education, and also *a religious education,* as far as reading the Scriptures is concerned; but it will not teach the peculiarities and prejudices of any sect, while it will teach the religion of the vast majority of the people (we mean the catechism and creeds of the Church) only to those who desire to be so taught. What can any honest and candid Dissenters find to cavil at in this—and who would have imagined that this liberal scheme would have caused that black out-pouring of Dissenting bile which the country has so unfortunately witnessed, thus giving a just cause for infidelity to plume itself on a partial triumph over a religion professing to proceed from

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the portals of heaven? Sir James Graham has nobly, in the true spirit of Christianity, when he was reviled, reviled not again; he has held out the olive-branch of peace and friendly feeling, in answer to all the exaggerations and deliberate misrepresentations of Dissenting communities; and do let us hope that his generosity and kindness may yet be honourably and peacefully met—that this religious frenzy may be composed, in this instance, before the awful consideration of the ignorance and religious destitution around us; and especially that Wesleyans, not forgetful of Wesley and his attachment, under all circumstances, to the Church, may join with Churchmen in the words of Wesley's excellent biographer—

> "From public fountains the perennial stream
> Of public weal must flow.
> O England! wheresoe'er thy churches stand,
> There on that sacred ground,
> Where the rich harvest of mortality
> Is laid, as in a garner, treasured up,
> There plant the tree of knowledge! Water it
> With thy perpetual bounty! It shall spread
> Its branches o'er the venerable pile,
> Shield it against the storm,
> And bring forth fruits of life."

ART. X.—*Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King: being a Vindication of the Church of England from Theological Novelties, in Eight Lectures, preached before the University of Oxford, at Canon Bampton's Lecture in the year* 1842. By JAMES GARBETT, M.A., Rector of Clayton, Sussex, and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. 2 vols. London: Hatchards.

IF we allowed the creation of saints to be one of the functions of the Church, and that saintship depended upon the amount of benefit conferred on the Church by an individual member, few men whom we can call to mind would be better entitled to it in the Church of England, or would stand in a higher rank, than the founder of the Bampton lectures; in speaking of which we know not whether we should most admire the judgment which prompted their institution, or the constantly-sustained energy and learning by which they have been so long distinguished. The conditions of the endowment, vesting the choice of the lecturer in the Heads of Houses, has ensured a learned choice—as forbidding the appointment of the same person more than once, has secured freshness and vigour to the lectures; for

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since the opportunity can but once occur to any man, he will endeavour to distinguish himself on that one occasion, and, being enrolled in such a list, will put forth all his strength. And such expectations have been justified in the results, whether we look at the importance of the subjects which have been handled, or at the long list of lecturers, amongst whom there is scarcely a name which has not afterwards become associated with eminence in literature or in the Church. And while the range of subjects has been prescribed and wisely limited to the great practical questions of divinity, there has been found ample room, under one or other of these heads, to introduce the discusssion of every important religious topic which has from time to time occupied the attention of the Church. So that these lectures might almost serve for an ecclesiastical history of their corresponding years, as far as doctrine bears upon history; and they certainly indicate the doctrines which were most prominent in the Church of England at the time, and denounce the prevailing errors. The only drawback upon the lectures arises from their being contemporaneous with the questions which arise and agitate the Church, since the lecturer cannot speak with authority—cannot settle any question—can only lay it open for discussion; and he, being, as an individual, liable to some personal bias, will unconsciously impart it to the question he discusses.

And Mr. Garbett, having been elected to the Professorship in opposition to one of the writers of the Oxford Tracts, and alluding to the doctrines held by those writers as "*theological novelties*," from the reproach of countenancing which he would vindicate the Church of England, is on these accounts to be regarded as a partizan, and almost as pledged, and bound up, and committed to one side of the question. But on a manly and generous spirit this committal to a party does not lead to misrepresentation or contempt of the opposite party, nor any of the vulgar practices of vilification which ordinarily disgrace party strife. On the contrary, a noble mind, desirous of doing ample justice to an opponent, is apt to err in the opposite extreme; and, where praise can be given, to be lavish and extravagant, as we think Mr. Garbett has been in such passages as these:—

"No adequate conception can be formed of the masterly intellect which has consolidated them (the theological novelties) into one gigantic Church system, if they be examined from the standing point of the Church of England, instead of from that so-called Catholicism from which they themselves regard them.....the work of a most luminous intellect, and every part coheres with every other, in a dependence alike of logical deduction and moral analogy."—*Preface*, xi., xii.

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When a man like Mr. Garbett speaks of the framers of this system in terms like these, we may rest assured that they are not to be despised. Yet we must not take this praise without some qualification, or it would prove Mr. Garbett's book to be written in vain, since he has avowedly taken the Church of England for his standing point. And the best way of arriving at the just medium is by averaging the two extremes; the unfavourable extreme being taken from Mr. Goode's work, of whom, notwithstanding, Mr. Garbett always speaks highly:—

"Their extracts from the works of our divines generally will be found to be, for the most part, general, and loose, and indefinite passages, whose meaning depends altogether upon the context, and which are *applied* by the Tractators in a sense which the views of the writers, gathered from their works as a whole, altogether repudiate..... Almost equally incorrect and fallacious are their references to the early fathers, of whose writings one might suppose, from the language they have used, that their knowledge was most accurate and extensive."—*Goode*, xxiv.

"Able and learned men," says Mr. Garbett: "equally incorrect and fallacious are their references," says Mr. Goode. The truth lies between these two extremes. These writers began, with rather more than ordinary learning and ability, a work which required the most consummate ability and most accurate research; since it was the bold undertaking of passing judgment upon a whole generation of the Church, and that such a generation as stands alone in the history of the Church—a generation of giants in theology and biblical learning, raised up to accomplish such a work as the Reformation.

Mr. Garbett asserts that we need to go back beyond the standing point of the Church of England, in order to comprehend that "gigantic Church system" which our contemporaries are ambitious of constructing, and that this system should be considered, not in separate fragments, but as one luminous whole. Far more precisely does this apply to the Reformers—they *were* above the standing point of the Church of England; they were thrown upon themselves, and could not do the work at all except by doing it as a whole; and as one luminous whole we should always regard the Reformation. It comes out even historically, and in opposition to the Romanist branch of the Church. For what has given any semblance of unity to modern Rome? Indisputably nothing but the council of Trent. And *this* council, which gave all the unity which it has to Rome, was but a *treading in the steps* of the Reformers, and doing what *they* could to sustain the Roman system, the *opposition* to the "gigantic Church system" which *the Reformers* had constructed, of which

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the Church of England is the best, the most complete existing model.

We do not desire to speak slightingly of the excellent men who take the lead in the present movement of the Church. They are allowed to be fully competent to the creditable discharge of the several duties, whether in the Church or the College, which the providence of God has made incumbent upon them. But when they set up for Reformers, and set up themselves to pass judgment upon the Reformation, we ask for their commission, we examine their qualifications. They have not received commission from the Church to sit in judgment. We doubt whether the public voice would allow them precedency, in theological or scholastic attainments, of the many eminent men who now adorn the bench, or preside over the schools. And to think of comparing them with the giants of the Reformation, would be about as ridiculous as comparing their sixpenny tracts with the folios of close reasoning and profound theology which were written in justification of the doctrines and acts of the Reformers.

And still farther above all these, above the writings of individual Reformers, far above those of the individuals who have taken upon themselves to decide on the merits of the Reformers, we regard with reverence the solemn and collective decisions of the fathers of the Reformation, their confessions, and articles, and canons, and the prescribed formularies which embody and carry out their faith. These have received Church sanction—we do not think them legitimate subjects of criticism; the Church collective should revise them if they need revision. We cannot consent to the desecration of the solemn enactments of the Church, by placing these on the same level with anonymous tracts; and still less to allow the writers of these, by their private judgments, to set aside, or even call in question, ecclesiastical acts. The most that we can allow, on principle, is such a place and such an influence as that of Wesley and Whitfield in the last century, to whose most salutary influence on the Church we trust that the present Oxford movement may afford a parallel; saved by the superior learning and opposite tendencies in all respects, of the present movement, from the sectarian, and divisive consequences which appear in almost every phase of the Wesleyan movement.

Before Wesley and Whitfield began their labours, the Church of England had sunk into such cold formalism, that religion itself seemed at the point of death; it was necessary to restore the warmth and animation of devotion, even at the risk of violence, and by the sacrifice of decorum. And it is not easy to contend

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against formalism, and yet continue to love the forms. Certain, however, it is, that amongst those who are justly regarded to be among the most zealous and fervent of the members of the Church of England, there has always been remarked a tendency to undervalue and even despise all outward forms, as hindrances, rather than helps to devotion. This tendency needs a counterpoise, and this, we believe, will be found in the present movement; and although the two parties may at first appear irreconcilably hostile, and may even continue so among the narrow-minded partizans, yet we believe numbers will be found on both sides who may come to admit the truth which their opponents contend for, without abandoning their own: the forms becoming full of life, and God being worshipped both in spirit and in truth.

Though Mr. Garbett belongs to the party who lightly esteem the forms as compared with the spirit of devotion, he has a clear perception of this, and entertains the expectation of some such beneficial result from the present controversy. And we gladly quote what he says concerning Wesley and Whitfield, both for its excellence, and in order to carry the application a little further:—

"So long ago as the middle of last century, in the midst of the general slumber, two remarkable men had sprung up in the bosom of the Church, and had commenced that spiritual movement, which, both within and without her, has never since been checked, but has gone swelling on and on, till it has pervaded the length and breadth of the land. Both of them were singularly endowed with popular eloquence, and the power of moving, as one man, the hearts of the greatest multitudes. But one of them, John Wesley, was as remarkable a man as any age or country has produced—resolute, calm, indefatigable—combining with a stern personal ascetism, a rare sympathy with the minds of other men—with the most piercing and far-reaching sagacity, that profound enthusiasm, which gives to great truths the power by which they overbear opposition and conquer mankind—a mind legislatorial, systematic, creative, fixing what would have been, in other hands, the heats of the moment, in a permanent form; and embodying, in profoundly calculated institutions, the spirit which, in the case of Whitfield, evaporated after a few convulsive efforts, without any lasting result.....But the power of these remarkable men lay in the great truths they preached—truths which, from the beginning until now, have carried their own witness with them, and commanded the hearts of mankind. As at the Reformation, it was the announcement of the Gospel, as contained in the written word, which moved men's souls so deeply; and with all the drawbacks of enthusiasm, and the other evil influences which are always found to accompany the resuscitation, partial or general, of the religious spirit, it has permanently impressed an ameliorating influence on countless masses, which would otherwise

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have been abandoned to practical heathenism. In the mean time, there was not wanting a succession of ministers within the Church, who, through evil report and good report, announced the same long-neglected doctrines.....Gradually the spirit of reformation spread; the dead slumber of the Church was effectually broken; the once despised doctrines were widely recognized, not only as the unquestionable truths of Scripture, but as the authorized teaching of the Church of England." (p. 455).

"But still, though.....the mission to rouse and to awaken had been gloriously accomplished, there remained to order and to train. Even the main Gospel truths, in the absence of which religion is dead, and in which alone lay the power to regenerate the Church and nation, in some instances wore to thoughtful men, not a Catholic, but a sectarian aspect, from the lack of other truths, or at least from the lack of a *systematic statement of other truths*, with which, in harmonious subordination, but indissoluble connection, the word of God has bound them. .....The Fathers were utterly unstudied; the true relation, or the relation at all of the Church of England to primitive antiquity, was forgotten; the records of ecclesiastical history, as a whole, unconsulted; and Church order overmuch and unwisely despised.....I do not think it can fairly be denied, in short, that there were many wants felt; great instincts of the Church, in search of something which they had not yet found, though they were rapidly approximating to it. This grew more into a settled conviction—and now that men's spirits were ripe, and could bear to have it propounded without submerging the Gospel in mere outward forms, it came." (p. 457).

"It was at this moment, and in this combination of circumstances, when men's minds and hearts were in suspense, and prepared to receive obediently any impulse in harmony with their pre-existing feelings, that the impulse really came. There appeared that series of remarkable essays which have been the centre and exciting cause of the most signal religious movement since the first struggle of the Reformation, and the contest which sprung from it; till the adjustment, such as it was, of the claims of Church order with the ultra-Protestant elements, gave an interval of religious repose" (Vol. ii., p. 461).

This is very well put, and is the true account of the sensation which has been produced, and of the kind of movements in which the parallel or counterpoise to the present are to be found. But Mr. Garbett, partly from proximity, and partly from happy immunity from similar contentions, seems to us greatly to overrate the importance of what has taken place at Oxford; just as Dr. Candlish would overrate what has taken place at Edinburgh. And as to the *adjustment*, of which Mr. Garbett speaks, the language in the preface of the first volume is far nearer the mark, as it is also most probably the *latest* expression of the writer's convictions on this point:—

"There may now and then be a lull, but nothing can recal the elements of dissension which have been thrown into the midst of us, and which, for good or for evil, are stirring men's souls to the bottom.

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They must run their course—they must prevail, or be tempered, or be altogether subdued. The first would be ruinous, and the last is impossible. You cannot destroy living truths; and some such there are here, in the midst of dangerous errors."

The Church of England survived the shock of Methodism in the last century, and has even been strengthened and re-invigorated by a contest which awakened her to a consciousness of doctrines which she has ever retained, though seemingly forgotten for a time and held in abeyance. And the Church of England will survive the present shock, and be the better for the present contest, and that to a degree far beyond anything which those who are engaged in the controversy would imagine. Wesley maintained that he was a Churchman; that the doctrines which he held were those of the Church of England, and ought to be preached in every pulpit of the land. Dr. Pusey asserts that he gives his "entire assent, *ex animo*, to all the doctrinal statements of our Church on this subject," and that he has been condemned "either on a mistaken construction of his words..... or on grounds distinct from the formularies of our Church." We are quite sure that this is the case, but as much, and probably more, in consequence of Dr. Pusey having expressed his meaning in unsuitable words, than from those words having been perverted, or taken in a sense different to that which they would convey to a plain understanding. Men must have clear ideas, before we can expect their words to be so clear as not to be liable to misconstruction. And although the plainest words may sometimes fail in conveying the exact idea, to one who has not thought on the subject, this occasion of misconstruction is far less frequent than the other.

Men cannot attain to clear ideas on a subject while they look at it only on one side, and that the side which is most agreeable to themselves. They must bear to be told what aspect it has in the eyes of others, and especially in the eyes of those who look at it from the opposite quarter; thus checking and modifying their own exaggerations by counter exaggerations, they will arrive at the truth, and gain clear ideas concerning all the bearings of a subject. That this is not the case at present with either of the parties engaged in this controversy seems quite manifest. And what is now going on exemplifies a principle which we see constantly at work; we see men becoming mutually roused by antagonism, so as to acquire more, and accomplish more, than they themselves expected, or in all probability could have attained by co-operation, or under any other circumstances. We must in all fairness apply this principle to both parties in the present controversy—to the efforts of the Tractarians,

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and to their opponents in the Church, both of whom are certainly teaching, not only the neutral portions of the Church, but each other while thus contending.

That portion of the Church which stood most in need of the truths which the writers of the Tracts wish to inculcate is brought into direct opposition with them, and the result has been very conspicuous in improving both parties. And though the time is not yet come for ascertaining with any accuracy the exact amount of truth which the writers of the Tracts have contributed, and still less the permanent effect which it will produce upon the Church, yet, being based upon *realities*, it is the true counterpoise of the Evangelical system, which is based on *idealities*, and which certainly needed some such a counterpoise. We do not deny the truth of Mr. Garbett's charge against these writers, that they are for the most part cold formalists; and we have ourselves remarked their want of spirituality in many preceding reviews. But it cannot be denied, on the other hand, that the Evangelical system wants more realities, and that its professors treat all forms with too little ceremony, and often with unchristian contempt. We say *unchristian*, because the reality of which we speak lies at the very basis of Christianity; for what is Christianity but the *embodying* of *spirit?* Christ took a body for this end; the Holy Ghost is given to men for the same end, of manifesting Spirit by a body; and sacraments are outward visible signs of an inward spiritual grace—not empty forms, not representations of spiritual things, but forms embodying spiritual realities.

The Church itself is a body—the constituted body of Christ—through which may be made known to the world the mind of the invisible God. This is a truth which has been but little apprehended in our days, being sometimes utterly neglected, so as to make all forms and ordinances useless, and at other times so exaggerated and caricatured as to make them sensual, degrading, and contemptible. Both these parties profess, and no doubt with sincerity, that they are in agreement with the Church of England; and if they will hold to this, and treat each other with courtesy, and have a little patience, that things which seem new and startling may be put into their right places, and find their proper level, all will yet be well: and there, where the greatest breach has been apprehended, may be constructed one of the strongest defences of our Church. It is a proof that the Church of England has taken the true position, when both claim alliance with her; and it only needs further that both should be kept in this attachment to the Church, until they discover how it has happened that the Church of England at-

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tained this happy medium; when both may perceive that they have had something to learn and something to forget, and opposition may cease in common enlargement of Christian attainments.

Mr. Garbett evidently belongs to that party in the Church, the origin of which he has traced to Wesley and Whitfield. His predilections were theirs, his heart is with them still; but he has outgrown the narrow limits by which they were circumscribed—he is not one by whom "the fathers are utterly unstudied, and the relation of the Church of England to primitive antiquity is forgotten." But the study even of the fathers may be influenced by our personal predilections; and men of opposite parties may so consult and so understand the records of primitive antiquity, as to find in them what they may deem a confirmation, each of his own peculiar system. The fathers are not masters in the Church; one is our Master, even Christ, and all we are brethren. They are entitled to every honour as faithful servants, and stewards of the mysteries of God; but fellow-servants with us, and we stewards as they were of the same mysteries. Men, not things—living men, are the receptacles of the life-giving mysteries of Christianity; and our records are to be found, not on tables of stone, but in the fleshly tablets of the heart. It is a false view of the Church to consider it in any other light than as one, in all respects one, throughout all generations; and each of these generations is expected to furnish its own quota towards that sum total of the manifold wisdom of God, which can only appear in the perfected Church—in the "general assembly and Church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven."

We are largely indebted to the fathers for the truths which they have transmitted to us, and have to show our sense of the obligation by retaining unimpaired, and transmitting to others, all the truth which we have inherited, and that enlarged also, improved by being put out to usury, and with the increase expected from each generation to the common stock of the Church; just as we see in creeds and confessions, the Nicene is an enlargement of the Apostles' Creed; and the further questions which afterwards arose led to a clearer perception of the truth, and greater accuracy, as well as enlargement of definition, in the creed of Athanasius, and in the articles and confessions of the Reformers. And there is one large class of truths, more of a practical than of a doctrinal nature, of which time has been the expositor, concerning which the first generation of the Church would almost necessarily fall into the error of precipitation, as the disciples of our Lord were continually mistaking, by their

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precipitate expectations concerning the kingdom. There is a sense in which we may with perfect truth and piety take up the words which Gibbon used scoffingly and profanely—"the experience of eighteen hundred years has taught us not to apply too strictly the mysterious language of revelation."

The key for unlocking this Church mystery, the principle which explains this prophetic portion of divine revelation, is the doctrine of the unity of the Church; in consequence of which, as the faith, and hopes, and expectations of all generations are the same, so the revelation to all generations, as to facts, is precisely the same, and the times and the seasons are not revealed, but are kept by God in his own power. The fact, that the kingdom of heaven shall come, is revealed; that it shall come is granted on all hands; but the time and manner of this coming of the kingdom are the questions in dispute. It is, moreover, conceded on all hands, that, whenever the kingdom may come, those only who are prepared for it and waiting in faith will have any portion therein, and that those who are unprepared will be cast out; and, therefore, the discourses of our Lord are full of exhortations to watch always, for suddenly as a thief in the night, and in a day and an hour that we think not of, this kingdom shall come. But as the first and the last generations of the Church were both equally expected to be prepared, yet would be, in fact, oppositely circumstanced; forasmuch as to the first the kingdom certainly would not come, and to the last it would as assuredly come, the only way of keeping both equally prepared, is by leaving both equally uninformed of the time, while both should be equally certain of the fact.

In our Lord's discourses concerning the destruction of the temple, and the sign of his coming, and of the end of the world, in Matthew xxiv. and the other Gospels, enough is revealed concerning each of those events to guide the Church at these several times, without the possibility of inferring from the discourse how soon or how remotely they should all be accomplished: but with the admonition to the Church to be patient, yet always ready, for that very generation should witness the accomplishment of the first of those events—the type of the last, and the commencement of that series of events which is wound up in the last. And so eagerly did the faith of the Church press onward to the closing events of the Christian dispensation, that St. Paul found it necessary to write a second epistle to the Thessalonians to correct this error, and to show them that there must necessarily be an intervening time, of greater length than they supposed, and that during that time antichristian principles would arise, to be headed up in the man

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of sin, whom the Lord would destroy in the day of his coming. Similar cautions are interspersed throughout all the other epistles; and the visions of the Apocalypse seem chiefly to have been given for the very end of showing that a long series of events must necessarily intervene between the time of the vision and that time subsequently to arise, when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever (Rev. xi. 15). Yet, notwithstanding all this, the tendency of the primitive Church was precipitation—expecting the immediate coming of the kingdom of heaven, and giving to the circumstances connected with it the largest share of their attention, and the most prominent place in their theology.

But in the present day there is an opposite tendency in the Church; we think too little of that which occupied almost exclusively the thoughts of the primitive Church. And in our exclusive regard to personal religion, and those doctrines which regard the salvation of individuals alone, the future condition of the Church as a whole, as the body of Christ under him the head, has been comparatively disregarded; and, above all, the glory which shall redound to God from the harmonious co-operation of all the works of his hands, in the right use of all their faculties and powers, to be blessed in blessing others, seems to be totally unheeded by the great majority of our contemporaries. And against these tendencies also the prophetic Spirit of God had explicitly warned the Church, in all those passages which refer to the last days: sometimes characterizing them as perilous times, when men shall be lovers of their own selves, and enumerating the hateful excesses which selfishness may lead to (2 Tim. iii.); at other times showing the evil concomitants of isolation, or schism—these are they that separate themselves (Jude 19; 2 Pet. ii. 19); and at other times assuring us that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, "Where is the promise of His coming? for since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation" (2 Pet. iii. 4).

Mr. Garbett is no scoffer, nor does he belong to a party who are walking after their own lusts, in the sense in which these terms are applied by St. Peter. Nor can we allow them to be so applied to the Romanists, or their followers in the Tracts. Yet both these parties labour to explain away those passages of Scripture which most expressly speak of the coming of the Lord; because they have opposite systems to support, with which this would be inconsistent: and so, without being scoffers, are doing a service to scoffers, and a work with which scoffers may be pleased.

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All believers in the word of God must find some place for the kingdom of heaven, which is so frequently and so precisely spoken of in Scripture; and it is necessary to consider the character, and adjuncts, and concomitant circumstances of this kingdom, as revealed in Scripture, in order to determine its place. The primitive Church, from their oppressed and persecuted condition, had no temptation to imagine the kingdom to be already come in their day, nor to mix it up at all with the things around them; and they placed it at some future time, called the day of the Lord, when all things should be subjected to him, in the world as well as in the Church, and the recovery from the fall and all its evil consequences be openly and everywhere manifested. That they fell into mistakes and absurdities, in their attempts to explain these things, we cannot deny, mistakes proceeding from their taking things *as they are* —things under the curse—as fitting exponents of what things were *before the fall*, and what they shall be *after the curse is removed*. This fundamental error explains all their other mistakes.

When the condition of the Church began to improve, and time, the grand exponent of prophecy, had detected many of their mistakes, the expositors changed their ground, and began to maintain that the kingdom of heaven is already come—is actually begun in the Church, and actually set up and established in heaven—but that it is invisible or spiritual only, and not capable of being defined as to condition, or locality, or circumstances. But men never rest satisfied with vague generalities for any length of time, and the heart of man yearns after something tangible and real. To meet these longings natural to man, the Church of Rome has converted all the symbols of absent things, and prophecies of future things, into present realities; and, as a fit accompaniment, has feigned a sensual heaven, and purgatory, and tartarus; and taken the whole visible creation, in its present corrupt condition, as not unworthy of presentation "as one vast sacrament," in that gross and sensuous service which it has substituted for spiritual worship. Others, who also maintained that the kingdom of heaven is already come, have fallen into the opposite error, of saying that Christ reigns in the believer's heart, and that neither on earth nor in heaven is there any other throne, but that the descriptions of the Bible are all figurative, and only so many helps to conception. But sure we are that no individual rests satisfied with this, and that each forms a heaven for himself, where the affections, and aspirations, and high resolves, which make up the *very being* of immortal man, and without which he is *void of soul*, may have their proper objects to fix upon and to enjoy.

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The doctrine that the reign of Christ is merely spiritual, and that the kingdom of heaven is no more than what the departed saints at present enjoy, virtually makes void that cardinal point of Christian doctrine, the resurrection of the body, or, at least, makes it a very awkward incumbrance. The body to be raised! What for? and where is it to be placed? Nay, more, it makes void the chief part of the purpose of God in creation, to disregard the importance of material things, and the embodying of abstract ideas in ordinances and forms. For what was creation? It was God, who is a Spirit, bringing matter into being, to make known himself through ordinances and forms. And what was the incarnation? It was the eternal Son, who had created all things, coming down from the bosom of the Father into the midst of the things he had made, and uniting himself to flesh, and contracting himself to the person of a man. And what is regeneration? It is the eternal Spirit, co-equal with the Father and the Son, coming into the sinful flesh of each one of us when brought into the Church of God, and renewing us, body, soul, and spirit, after the image of him that created us in righteousness and true holiness. Yet these points, urged home, will scatter to the winds all that false sentimentality—the spurious growth of false spirituality and superficial theology—which supposes the kingdom of heaven to be already begun, or to be at the same time both on earth and in heaven, or to be no where save in the heart, or conscience, or imagination of the believer.

There is no accurate theology save that which is systematic, for to be accurate it must be consistent in all respects. And that theology which is at all dependent upon sentiments and emotions, will be variable, as these are ever found to be. Mr. Garbett's natural strength of character, improved by the training which he has received, and stimulated by the publicity of the place he occupies, has emancipated him from the trammels of a system under which theology had become stunted and withered—at best limited to five points, and often dwindled down to one. But although Mr. Garbett is emanicipated, and has attained to considerable mastery and just appreciation of systematic theology, there are, every here and there, remaining traces of the slovenliness of the system from which he has been brought out. We take an illustration of what we mean from the very first page of the preliminary remarks to Lecture I., where we find the words, "for whom the Lamb of Atonement had been slain from all eternity." With the *sense* of the passage in which these words occur we entirely agree, and it is only with the *words* that we find fault—and that, first, because they do not accurately express Mr. Garbett's own meaning; secondly,

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as not correct theological expressions. And thus they remind us of the loose phraseology which continually occurs in the writings of that class of divines who are regarded as pre-eminently spiritual.

The Calvinistic divines almost invariably confound the purpose and the acts of God; and where a thing has been *purposed* from all eternity, they speak of it as if actually *done* from all eternity—done before the existence of the things on account of which, and by means of which alone, the thing can be done. "The Lamb slain before the foundation of the world" is a very common expression in their writings; but they might as well speak of the incarnation as from all eternity, or the crucifixion; and then, in all consistency, discover an eternal tree for the cross, and Jews and Romans for the executioners, from all eternity. The fact is, that the expression, though so common, is a blunder, from misunderstanding a passage in the Apocalypse, which two other passages in the same book ought to have freed from ambiguity. For "the Lamb's book of life" is mentioned xxi. 27, and "the book of life from the foundation of the world" is also mentioned xvii. 8; therefore "written, in the book of life of the Lamb slain, from the foundation of the world," should be thus pointed in xiii. 8; or it might be read, "written from the foundation of the world, in the book of life of the slain Lamb"—that is, the Lamb which had been slain *when the vision was seen*—the lion of the tribe of Judah (v. 7).

But this is not the only inaccuracy. "The Lamb of Atonement" is not a correct form of expression. Words are never used at random either in the Old Testament or the New; and the word "atonement" is of very special signification—is not applied generally and to the whole work of redemption, like the symbol of the lamb; and when that special act of atonement is spoken of, it is in connexion with the blood of bulls and of goats, and not with the blood of the lamb. Such is the precision observed in Scripture in the use both of words and symbols. The special and true Christian signification of the word "atonement" is brought out by the application of it in St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews—not to the whole work of Christ, but to that one act which he performed, when, having risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, he presented the blood of atonement before the Father's throne; an act which certainly presupposes a work done upon earth, and presupposes the death upon the cross, but is distinct from either, since it is ever transacting in heaven, and a continuous act, and is performed by a living high priest, who ever maketh intercession for us, and in the presentation of whose blood we have continual acceptance before the Father. Redemption was the

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work completed on the cross; the price was then paid, of death for deserved death. Atonement was made by entering heaven, where the reconciliation was completed, by the Father's acceptance of the satisfaction made through the Son; and from this throne of reconciliation, this mercy-seat, the Holy Ghost is given, to empower us, though on the earth, to lay hold on that salvation which has been wrought out for us in the heavens, and to bring forth corresponding fruits of the faith by patient continuance in well doing, and all holiness of life.

In mentioning this, we do not mean to imply that Mr. Garbett's doctrines are erroneous, but only that the expressions are loose. And therefore we have taken at random the first expressions which occurred. Mr. Garbett has taken the true way of becoming sound, and remaining sound in doctrine, by casting himself, heartily, honestly, and confidently, into unreserved communion with the household of faith—with that Church to which he owes his spiritual being, and to which he has vowed spiritual allegiance and filial reverence.

"But then, if the ground which we select for our defence be the doctrines of the Church of England, as defined in her authoritative formularies, we must be prepared for all the consequences of such a position. We have no right to quote her on certain points which we account fundamental, and then refuse to admit her voice on other subjects upon which she has spoken with the same distinctness and authority." (xvii.)

Taking the Church of England for his guide, Mr. Garbett has put the sacraments and ceremonies in their right places, and has well shown, in his third Lecture, the danger of a worship consisting of symbols, as necessarily tending to deaden and materialize worship in the great majority of mankind; and with the few in whom they have not this effect, becoming still more pernicious—fostering a superstitious tendency into a gross and abject idolatry, and turning aside from God and heavenly realities those of devout imaginations who are prone to luxuriate in sensuous forms. And he truly observes, that in the Christian Church we have only one divine symbol, to which man cannot add another. That in the Lord's Supper:—

"The essential portion of the rite, and its only outward sign, with one specific meaning, came from the hands of its divine Institutor; and it is of no human original—it forms, along with the initiatory sacrament, the *only* external ceremony attached to the spiritual and universal system which he bequeathed to the keeping of his Church. Standing, as they do, thus alone in character, and peculiar in sanctity, anything which shall not only draw our attention from them, but even divide it with them, is an encroachment upon their proper prominence, and an actual violation of our Lord's intentions." (i. 316).

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And if we have seemed, in the course of our remarks on these Lectures, to have been rather free in our objections, and rather sparing in our praise, we would guard against mistake by saying that it has not arisen from our having found less to praise than to censure in these volumes, but from our desire to point out the few things which we think require qualification, that we might then give to the whole of the remainder unqualified praise. We think that these Lectures fully sustain the reputation which has been gained by the long and brilliant train of preceding lecturers. All the chief points in the present controversy are examined, and in the last Lecture the ecclesiastical origin of the controversy, and its probable issues for good or for evil, are very fully and very impartially discussed.

Mr. Garbett asserts, and we think justly asserts, that no movement of the kind has met with even a temporary success, except in proportion as it has sprung from real wants in the Church, which men thus irregularly and impatiently endeavour to supply. And if the Church manifests impatience on her part, and, instead of enquiring what the wants are, how far they are legitimate, and how they may be regularly supplied, she proceeds rashly to cast out the leaders of the movement, she deprives herself of men who would, by forbearance, become a blessing and strength, by their raising the tone and standard of the whole Church through remaining in communion, instead of weakening and dividing it by separation and hostility. In consistency with this, Mr. Garbett deprecates the adoption of strong measures towards the leaders of the present movement, and also the calling on the Church for an immediate decision of the points of doctrine—whether by Convocation, or in any other way.

"In delaying the period when the system in question shall have a fair field open to it, I cannot but express the opinion that the control of the State has been the safety of the Church; and though I am aware that the avowal may be an unpopular one with many whom I greatly respect, I think it is so still. Twice during the last thirty or forty years any such Convocation as should truly have represented the sentiments of the Church, would have rent it asunder—first, the *Evangelical* clergy would have suffered a signal condemnation, and a year ago the *Tractarian* divines would have been visited with a similar fate..... It may be difficult to say how soon we shall be ripe for a fuller liberty of action: but at present it would be a liberty, too probably, to be used for self-destruction.....At all events, may God reconcile us one to another, and heal our crying dissensions, before this wholesome check (of the State) is removed! No man can foresee the consequences of such an irrevocable step, either to the nation or to the Church." (Preface, p. xvi.)

We feel the force of these wise admonitions, and hope that the

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time is not yet passed for the exercise of patience and forbearance. And most assuredly our experience of what has been done by the Convocation of the Church of Scotland, in the acts of its General Assembly, is anything rather than encouraging to our trying a similar experiment in the Church of England. We may flatter ourselves with the notion that the rulers and clergy of the Church of England would show more wisdom and forbearance than the Edinburgh Assembly; and this might be the case if we were sure that they would be left to themselves. But "pressure from without" is the order of the day at present; and once bring a body together, and invest them with sufficient power, and they may be forced by others to use the power for purposes from which they would have revolted under other circumstances. We are sure that a Convocation is a right thing; we are sure that it is greatly needed; but the time for its assembling involves many considerations, and requires the exercise of the greatest wisdom.

ART. XI.—*Speech of Lord Stanley on the Canadian Wheat and Flour Bill.* Published by Authority. London: Painter.

2. *A Letter to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel on the Condition of England, and the means of removing the Causes of the Distress.* By R. TORRENS, Esq., F.R.S.
3. *Some of the Difficulties of Ireland in the way of an improving Government stated.* By a CLERGYMAN of the Archdiocese of Canterbury. London: Ollivier, Pall-mall.
4. *The Speech of the Right Hon. Lord Ashley, M.P., on the Suppression of the Opium Trade.* London: Houlston and Stoneman.
5. *Taxation, in its Operation, by means of the Income and Assessed Taxes, considered.* By WILLIAM MAKEPEACE. London: Painter.
6. *Protection of Labour and Land closely allied with Britain's Destiny.* By R. GALE. London: Ollivier.
7. *The Perils of the Nation; an Appeal to the Legislature, the Clergy, and the Higher and Middle Classes.* London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley.

A FEARFUL spirit of reckless and lawless rebellion has once more displayed itself in Ireland. The *drapeau* has inscribed on it "REPEAL THE UNION:" it is carried from city to city, and from town to town, by *the most* unprincipled demagogue mankind have ever gazed upon; and hundreds of thousands of shoeless, coatless, and unhappily almost of breadless peasants, rush to the standard of revolt by the direction of an inveterate, bitter, and

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persecuting priesthood. The multitude are ignorant, dissatisfied, miserable, and superstitious; they are kept in ignorance by their clergy; they are dissatisfied, because they are poor, dirty, diseased, indolent, and starving; they are miserable, because their priests will that they should be so; and they are superstitious, because they are taught so to be. But more than this: they are prepared to risk their lives for their errors; they are infatuated almost to imbecility; they have received and believe in their consciences a lie, and that lie is, that their miseries are to be traced to their connexion with "*the Saxons*;" and headlong they are willing to rush to ruin and to death! One of their *tribunes*, the *Nation*, has given vent in the following terms to the hate and vengeance of the Repealers. It is a melancholy specimen of fraud and misrepresentation, of passion and of insolence, of ingratitude and of insanity; but it effects the object which those persons have in view who throw firebrands into honest men's houses, and who seek to involve all classes in the horrors of a general conflagration:—

"The Irish peasantry (says the *Nation*) have long looked on the law as a common enemy. It was made by aliens, and administered by foes. To dismiss, or drive by tyranny from the bench the few magistrates whose character made law respected, seems a poor preparation for dark days, when some other influence than that of us journalists (the tribunes of the people) might be needed to hold the people in. *There is content* in seeing a Ministry, instead of pursuing the alarming policy of partial concession and division, *spending their energies in oiling the castle gates, sending* 25,000 *stand of arms to Ireland, with a fleet, and a lot of amphibious combatants called marines.* There is hope, too, from England. The English democracy are not prepared to sacrifice principle and their own freedom to a poor vengeance on Ireland. There is joy in the increasing fervour of France for our cause —in the universal attention of Europe; and much joy in the business-like and grave position now taken by the American Repealers, who have given their own 'strong notions' about liberating us! But, above all, there is pride and trust in Ireland. In Cork, in North and South Tipperary, and in Longford, some hundreds of thousands have 'met in order, and separated in order.' Aye, Mr. Shaw, and when next you harangue, state to the *Saxon senate* the fact, as well as our advice. They—these myriads of strong, brave, and enthusiastic men—marched, headed by their noble bands—marched, like intelligent and prepared men, to their rendezvous. They marched in silence, without mob shout, or loose walking, or any disorder; they marched and stood in sun and rain; some stern cheers they gave when their leader praised their country and defied her foes; they gave their contributions (the sinews of war); they agreed to their *loyal!* petitions for the great charter of neutrality, and they dispersed at the wave of a hand, calmly, rapidly, and in order. Let the people continue thus labouring, contributing, organizing. Let no man be content while there is in his

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parish a single man who has not sent his name and his shilling to the Association. Let no Repeal warden rest easy till there is in his parish a band, and a Temperance reading-room. *Let every warden endeavour in every possible way to teach his neighbours the necessity for their combining in a minute, active, and full organization for Repeal; and let him be their leader and example in perfecting that organization, and in strictly obeying the law, the shield of our agitation.* Let the men of Ireland act thus incessantly and patiently, and they will be an over-match for the English Ministry, no matter how it assails them."

In this dark and scowling picture are displayed the Irish hatred for England, the Irish bad faith as to "the Union," the desire of the Repealers for civil war, their jesuitical pretext of keeping within the law, their reliance on foreign aid, even of American liberation, their intimidating and defying attitude, and their resolution to risk and to sacrifice everything—houses, hearths, sex, position, rank, cottages, mansions, hovels, palaces—all—everything—to attain one end, the Repeal of that Union for which they never could feel too thankful, but which their priests and jesuit demagogues have taught them to look upon as a bane and a curse.

"But this is only the language of one journal," replies some mystified reader of the *Record*, or some optimist of the *ignoramus* school of politics; "we must not judge of the real state of opinion in Ireland from a factious and unprincipled journal." Good—we will not do so, but will listen to the opinion of Lord Roden:—

"My lords, I am anxious to take this opportunity of giving notice, that having very recently arrived from Ireland, and having been an *eye-witness* of the *tremendously mischievous* effects of the agitation on the subject of the Repeal of the Union in that country, I shall to-morrow put a question to her Majesty's Government on the subject."

Thus Lord Roden declared himself to have been an eye-witness—and a recent one too—of the tremendously mischievous effects of the present agitation. The next day he gave the whole of his testimony, from which we shall extract only two or three sentences:—

"The cause of the present unparalleled agitation is the assembling together of immense masses of the population, in various parts of that country, to whom language of the most inflammatory character is addressed by demagogues, and by Romish priests." And again: "The Irish Government has treated these tumultuous proceedings with silence and apathy; and under such circumstances I consider myself justified in enquiring what steps her Majesty's Government proposes to take to avert these growing and dreadful evils." And again: "The state of public feeling with regard to Repeal has never been so serious as at the present time."

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This is the evidence of an eye-witness—of a member of the House of Lords—of a conscientious and religious man—and even of an adherent, on most subjects, of the *Record* school. Surely such evidence cannot be disbelieved, or rejected as factious. At any rate, though entertaining, on some subjects, very different opinions to those of his lordship, we are not prepared to dispute the accuracy of his facts, or of his opinions.

But in order that the character and extent of the moral, as preparatory to the physical, rebellion in Ireland may be justly appreciated by our readers, and by men of calm and philosophic, as well as Church and Christian minds, we shall proceed to state some facts, and to make some citations from the speeches, addresses, and manifestoes of the leaders and organs of this Repeal movement. There is a striking characteristic in the moral rebellion now going on in Ireland, and that is, that it is founded on two antipathies—hatred to the English, and an abhorrence of Protestantism. The hatred of the Irish for the English is not simply that of the conquered for their conquerors. That might, under certain circumstances, be a natural, and almost a noble feeling; but the hatred which the Irish have been taught, instructed to feel for the English, is one of a more personal, individual, malignant character. That most characterless of all demagogues, Daniel O'Connell, is in this respect, as in all others where the worst and lowest passions of human nature are displayed, the apt representative of the Repealers. Let us supply a few illustrations of our meaning:—

"I will give you *my* opinion of the Duke of Wellington (says this mountebank). The poor man says, he is much abused here, in Ireland. Now that is not the fact: he only is laughed at! Here is a Prime Minister, a super-superlative corporal!—I will not call him a serjeant, for the serjeants are a very deserving body of men; but this man is a corporal—Wellington is a corporal."

Now we would put it even to such men as Lord Ffrench, writhing beneath the recent infliction of a *supersedeas*, whether such language applied to "the" Captain of the Age, and to "the" man of whom the whole British empire is most justly proud, was anything short of indecent ribaldry, which would even make a Tipperary repealer, or a Drogheda rebel, ashamed of their leader?

"I will give you *my* opinion of Sir Robert Peel (said this Repeal coxcomb. The man is so complete an hypocrite, that he even deceives himself. He says the Queen is determined to prevent a Repeal of the Union. Now he has been obliged to swallow his own words: he had NO AUTHORITY for saying that. *I never will support any Administration in this country that does not impeach Peel.*"

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What arrogance! what presumption! But, above all, what trickery and falsehood! In order to degrade Sir Robert Peel in the eyes of the Irish, he represents him as an official liar! When he uttered this heartless libel on the Premier, he *knew* that he was concocting a falsehood, without the shadow of a foundation on which to rest it. He *knew* that the Queen had most expressly authorized Sir Robert Peel to declare to the House of Commons that she was resolved on maintaining the legislative union of the two countries. But as the name of the Queen could not, with such a declaration on her part, be any longer made use of by him, as a covering or cloak for his treason, he first of all dared to deny the fact of the declaration, and then exclaimed—"As the Queen never made it, God bless her." If the Irish were a reading people, a Protestant people, a fairly taught people; and, in plain terms, if the priests did not keep them, expressly for their own ends, in a state of woful and unapproachable ignorance, it might be hoped that, were they made to know the depth, and wickedness, and falsity of this statement, they would abandon O'Connell and his delusions. But no; the priests are foremost in disseminating the falsehood, and rejoice in the opportunity of putting into circulation a statement, which shall cover Sir Robert Peel's character with infamy and disgrace.

"I will give you *my* opinion of Lord Brougham (says this desperate demagogue). He is false to his friends, treacherous to his party, fawning to those in power, the disgrace of literature, a foul stain on talent, the reproach of everything like patriotism, selfish grovelling, submissive to those in authority, and opposing every person who had nothing on his side but virtue and right?"

If this anathema had proceeded from the lips of a country shopkeeper, of an attorney's clerk, or of a linen-draper's apprentice, it would have carried a world full of weight with it in England, when compared with the utter contempt which is felt for O'Connell's opinion in *this* country. But in Ireland it is not so. Amongst the "finest peasantry in the world!" his "opinions" are law, because the priests and the Pope sanction and approve them: and therefore it is that Lord Brougham, who could wither O'Connell with one sarcasm (as Lord Lyndhurst did on one occasion, when the Irish agitator trembled and turned deadly pale, at the bar of the House of Lords), is now regarded by *all* the Repealers as "false, treacherous, fawning, grovelling, and a foul stain on talent, and the disgrace of literature." Why is all this? It is because it is a part of the Irish priest and demagogue, and of the Repeal system, to teach the peasantry and people of that country to hate *individually* the Saxons!!

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"I will give you *my* opinion of Lord Beaumont (said this political Judas, who would sell the happiness and liberties of his own country for the personal enjoyment of *the rent*). Lord Beaumont is a fellow better known than trusted—a very queer lad he always was. This *English lordling!* (I was instrumental in getting him his title) impeaches the whole Catholic clergy of Ireland: he accuses them of perjury—perjury in his teeth, the filthy brute!"

It is the "English lordling" that O'Connell is indignant with. It is to hate an English peer that he instructs his peasantry. But how coarse, violent, bitter is his animosity! And he instructs, exhorts, stimulates his catechumens to feel so too.

The *Scotch* also he hates! The Scotch are Protestants, Presbyterians, far removed from the monkeries and mummeries of his own superstitious Church, and are a reflecting and philosophical people: he hates them therefore. They will not aid his rabid thirst for vengeance and revolution, for dominion and power: and so he says:—

"I will give you my opinion of the Corporation opposition. Send for a Scotchman! Some fellow that you will call Carnegie—if you have an uglier name, call him by it. Tell Carnegie, and every other insolent Saxon, Highland or Lowland, Northern or Southern, that while we keep within the bounds of the law, we set at defiance the opposer!"

These quotations from the agitator's declamations will prove two things—first, how much he hates us, both English and Scotch; and second, how bitter a spirit he is seeking to engender in the whole of the Irish people towards each and every individual Englishman and Scotchman.

But the hatred of O'Connell to the English and the Scotch increases, as he advances in his career of rebellion. The calm and manly declarations of the Duke of Wellington and of Sir Robert Peel, made in the Houses of Parliament, that they were resolved to maintain, at all risks and hazards, and by every possible means, both moral and physical, the legislative union, augmented his rage and added to his fury. And the quiet and most constitutional declaration of the Queen, that she would follow the example of her predecessor, her illustrious uncle, and add her sanction to the resolution of her Government, caused him to venture on such language as that which we are now about to transcribe:—

"Let them attack us; and if they do, what will be the consequence? What would be the state of the three and a half per cents? If they did attack us, and that some pennyless, shoeless, Irishman found his way on the deck of a steamer to Manchester or St. Giles's, and collected a number of Irishmen about him, and one would ask him, 'What news?' To which he would reply, 'Your father was cut down by a

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dragoon, your mother was shot by a policeman, or your sister—but I will not say what has happened to *her.' Let him say but that,* and I will ask Peel HOW MANY FIRES WOULD BLAZE OUT IN THE MANUFACTORIES OF ENGLAND? No; they must discuss the question with us—they must listen to us—they will not attempt to bully us, for it is not to be done. They shall not attempt to massacre us. No; *the hangman will be disappointed*—we are safe, for Ireland reposes in peace. Her thousands are aroused, and peaceable arms are extended to heaven, incapable of being intimidated from joining the offer I make you—and *the time is come when I am enabled to make you that offer.* I offer you the REPEAL OF THE UNION. I do not talk to you or warn you to be afraid. No; for that would be ludicrous. I tell you this—ENGLAND IS INCAPABLE OF PUTTING YOU DOWN."

We have not time or space to dwell upon the "deafening cheers," the "rising of the whole audience and cheering for several minutes," or the "tremendous cries of 'hear, hear,' and deafening cheers for five minutes," with which these declarations of the revolutionist were interrupted and closed; but we are anxious to point out the dark, the almost Satanic counsels of O'Connell to his misguided but desperate followers. He tells them that if they should be attacked for breaking the laws and disturbing the public peace (for they would not be attacked without), they are to burn down the English manufactories, to carry fire and desolation into the heart of England, and to seek her ruin and her destruction! This is a specimen of his feelings, and of those of his followers, for England and the English!

"But this is a flash in the pan," says a correspondent of the *Record*, as do others, who, like the Bristol orator, can only say, "Ditto to Mr. Burke," and who, adopting the phrase, go about asserting, "It is only a flash in the pan!" But to this absurd supposition we reply by citing the language of one of the most influential of the journals of the Repealers, expressing, as it does, the determination of the rebels:—

"The bare supposition that the Repeal movement will cease—that it will diminish one jot under any coercion—that all the power of England could extinguish it any other way than *with our blood*, is the grossest insult that could be offered to a people. Have we been insane in entering upon it? Our time, our money, the prospects and fortunes of many able men, have been thrown into the flame that now rages in the heart of Ireland; and to do this, unless under a profound and solemn conviction that we contend for the life of our country, and that it is worth all sacrifices, would be downright madness. Believe that we are rash, unwise, and misjudging if you can; but never believe the utter folly, the gigantic absurdity which all experience goes to disprove, that a people so resolute and self-sacrificing can be unsuccessful—that the conviction of success is not its certain and inevitable precursor. History records many glorious revolutions which met more resistance

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than this—which had stronger prejudices and deeper interests arrayed against it; but never one that excited more profound and unquenchable enthusiasm in the hearts of a proud, bold, and sensitive people."

Now, although we protest with all the ardent convictions of men deeply satisfied of the utter folly, perversity, and madness of this Repeal movement, we do believe that O'Connell and his agents have, during a period of ten years of Whig-Radical misrule, so succeeded in causing the Irish peasantry to believe that all the woes which afflict them, and the miseries they endure, are to be, one and all of them, traced to the union of Great Britain and Ireland, and have so led them on to distrust, hate, and now loathe and curse "the Saxons," that, speaking of the mass of Irishmen in the lower, if not in the middling ranks of life, there is a fixed, resolute, insatiable desire for a Repeal of the Union. And it is because we have this conviction—because we believe it to be a most dangerous and desperate movement—because we are satisfied it is not to be met, and not to be overcome, by mere writs of *supersedeases* and Parliamentary manifestoes, that we have resolved fully on examining the demands of the rebels, and the arguments of their tribunes, and then on stating what we conceive should be the course to be taken with reference to this rebellion.

And in order that there may be

——— "nothing extenuate,
Nor aught set down in malice,"

we shall take the "address to the people from the Repeal Association," signed by O'Connell as the chairman of the committee, and by it adopted on the 6th of June, 1843, as the text on which to comment. We shall not, of course, notice at any length those passages of the address which are purely bombastic and exciting. They are mere phrases to please the mob, or to excite a cheer. But to those passages which explain the objects of the Repealers, the means to be by them adopted, and their replies to the objections urged by the opposers of this rebellion, we shall in an especial manner invite our readers' attention.

The address begins with a statement which fully corroborates our previous remarks, as to the intense, though mad and senseless, excitement which now exists in Ireland with reference to this subject.

"We have arrived at a conjuncture (it says) of the deepest and most vital importance—a conjuncture which, if we wisely and prudently avail ourselves of it, must tend to measures of the utmost utility to the political rights, as well as to the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural prosperity of Ireland; and, before all, to the restoration of our self-government, the only means of obtaining the blessings we have now enumerated."

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This "conjuncture" at which Mr. O'Connell points, has come even upon him rather more rapidly than he expected—but it *has* come. On a recent occasion, indeed, at a large public dinner, he admitted such to be the fact, and he even cautioned the Repealers against too great rapidity, lest by haste, their own designs might be deferred. The truth is, that O'Connell kept the Repeal question in the back ground during the period of the "Whig-Radical Administration," not because he had for one moment ceased to abandon it, but as the condition he was bound on his part to keep, as one of the clauses of the unrighteous contract entered into by him with the Melbourne Administration. When the Conservatives returned to power, that contract was of course at an end; and as the agitator, after a few months' unsuccessful trial, perceived that "peaceful agitation" would soon conduct him to "no rent," "no subsidies," and to obscurity, he resumed the Repeal folly, and refused any longer to "plead for Ireland" in a mixed "Saxon and Irish Parliament." The priests at first viewed this new turn of affairs with distrust. The people had almost forgotten the Repeal movement, in the Irish Poor Laws, the new Electoral measures, and in the political and Governmental changes everywhere going on; and it required O'Connell's personal stay in Ireland, and his incessant devotion of time and energies to the Repeal question for very many months, before he could persuade priests and people that this time, at least, he was really in earnest.

And, in truth, when the Conservatives returned to power he had but two courses to pursue. The one was, to retire comparatively into private life, or to consent, at any rate, to limit his opposition to one of a legal and Parliamentary character; or else, the other course was to resuscitate the Repeal agitation, and become a demagogue for his country's ruin. And who that had watched his selfishness, his bigotry, his isolation from all that was truly British, his aversion to England and the English, his love of feasting and fattening on "*the rent*" raised from the tears, sighs, groans, and sufferings of the poor, could for a moment doubt which of the two roads he would select? As there were no wrongs to redress, no injustice to be avenged, no inequalities to remove, no burning, bitter cause for jealousy or hate, he had to return to the old and hackneyed promise of the paradise to be gained by an IRISH PARLIAMENT; and right glad was he to feel that the moment was propitious, for, to use his own words, "She has a rebellion in Wales—agitation in the manufacturing districts—a division of the Church in Scotland—and trouble and peril everywhere." With a traitor's heart and a rebel's head, he applied his passions and his talents to the question; and he has so far suc-

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ceeded in his efforts as to have brought Ireland to that "conjuncture" at which he states truly she *has* arrived.

But what are the *objects* proposed by "the Repeal Association," and by O'Connell, their chief? He shall speak for them, for he is their representative:—

"Our objects, then, are these—*restoration of a separate and local Parliament for Ireland;—the restoration of the judicial independence of Ireland.*"

Or, in plain terms, an IRISH PARLIAMENT and IRISH JUDGES. The *first*, to make the laws; and the *second*, always to construe them in favour of the Irish and the Romanists, and always against the English and the Protestants. And that no possible mistake may be entertained on these points, he goes on to say, that the "interposition of any other legislature in Irish affairs" is to be wholly excluded, and that the decisions of all Irish tribunals are to be without appeal. Nor would the simple restoration of the former Parliament of Ireland now satisfy the rebels, for it is avowed "that the simple restoration of our former Parliament would not suit the spirit of popular reform which has mixed itself up with the British institutions since the passing of the Union statute." The Irish House of Commons is to be a Reformed House of Commons, "representing the intelligence, integrity, steady and deliberate wisdom, and pure patriotism of the Irish people!" Not a word about the property, landed interests, hereditary families, and vested rights of the country being represented. Oh no!—but the Irish Reformed House of Commons is to represent "*the capacities*"—or, in other words, "the non-property men" of the whole country. Household suffrage is to be the basis of the elective franchise—and even something "less limited!" The ballot is to be the form of voting: and thus "*tranquillity* is to be ensured amongst the masses, and independence of voting to each individual." Universal suffrage, or nearly so, vote by ballot, and probably no property qualifications for members, and annual, or at least triennial Parliaments, constitute the basis of the "Repeal" plan for a Reformed Irish House of Commons. What honest and Christian heart does not palpitate with horror and alarm at the bare possibility of the existence of such a Parliament in the sister island? The existence of such a popular assembly in Ireland, would be really a recognition by this country of the triumph of democracy, and amount to nothing less than the overthrow of a constitutional monarchy. For where would be the balance of power *then?* Where would *then* be the union of King, Lords, and Commons? The Irish Peers

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would be kept in a state of ceaseless apprehension by the pressure from the priests and the mob without; the Protestant landlords and tenants would be compelled to have recourse to emigration to save their lives; while their property would be *legally* confiscated, and Acts of Parliament would be passed to the tune of "*Ca Ira*," or of some other revolutionary air.

"The restoration of the Irish House of Lords (says the 'Address') presents no serious difficulties. Any modification of the Peerage, in consequence of creations since the Union, may be safely left to the decision of the House of Peers itself."

To be sure it might! Those created since the Union would be treated at Dublin, as the peers created by Charles X. during his reign were by the revolutionists at Paris in 1830: they would all receive their "*congé*;" and another French example would soon be urged by the "pressure from without," in terms not to be mistaken, that "the spirit of popular reform" required that the Peerage should not be *hereditary*. Thus, with an universal suffrage House of Commons, and a sort of Swiss Senate-house of non-hereditary Peers, Ireland would have a Parliament which would be the laughing-stock and derision of the whole world. The consequences would be, that in less than one brief year Ireland would be one scene of anarchy and confusion—not a gentleman or a landlord would dare to reside in the country—the middle men would fly for their lives—and the rabble would eat thistles or nettles on uncultivated lands; whilst O'Connell, six months afterwards, would be the victim of his own treason. These results would be as certain, as that vice and crime conduct to misery and to punishment.

It is a by no means unedifying fact, that this part of the project of the Repeal Association is brief and cavalier with reference to the Irish House of Lords. There is a sort of "guillotine, or obedience"—whichever you like best, gentlemen—air about it, which cannot, we think, greatly endear it to the Irish nobility.

Next comes the "judicial independence of Ireland;" but it is despatched in as many words. "We do not see any difficulty in the way of the restoration of the judicial independence of Ireland," is all that is said on this subject. Oh! of course not. Mr. O'Connell would be Lord Chancellor; his sons and relatives would take all other posts which were of a permanent and immovable character; and the "Repeal Association" would vote for the rest *by ballot!* We think we see the rush of barristers to elect themselves, and the disappointed, ruthless, and savage visages of those not returned! This is the *programme* of

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"judicial independence!" What a farce!—shall we say? No; what a satire! But already the Association is in love with its scheme:—

"The spring of prosperity (it says) which, as a necessary consequence, followed the independence of 1782, must produce the same, nay, more useful and more important results at the present period, when there would be more room for improvement, and as great and more expansive power for generating prosperity in the Irish Legislature, than it formerly possessed."

This is just an average specimen of the frothy and tricky stuff which O'Connell doles out to the waiters for his palaver. He knows that the page of history will contradict his bold and unfounded assertion, that *real and permanent* prosperity followed "the independence of 1782;" and therefore, to get out of the difficulty, in which history and facts would inevitably place him, he resorts to the *ruse* of declaring that circumstances are more favourable now, than they were then, to that astonishing and wondrous "spring." So that those who knew nothing of history, and were to be easily deceived by his asseverations, would imagine that to attain to such a state of things as existed in 1783 would be quite paradisaical; whilst those not so easily cajoled would be met by the latter part of the phrase, and receive the assurance, that now there was greater room for improvement, and a greater and more expansive power for generating prosperity. Now the author of this double allegation knew both parts of it to be false. He knew that the facts of Irish history, as well as its philosophy, were against the assumed and pretended prosperity of Ireland, independent of Great Britain. And he knew that the factious spirit excited everywhere throughout Ireland, by himself and the Romish priests, would render an Irish Legislature far less capable of bringing about such a state of things as that he described. The Reformed Parliament he desires, with universal suffrage, annual or triennial elections, the ballot, and a cribbed, cabined, depressed, non-hereditary Peerage, could not possibly raise the moral, political, or social condition of the Irish: and he knows it.

But "*two* objections of a serious and important nature (it appears) have been made to the restoration of the Irish Parliament." Two objections!—only two! That is another specimen of the fraudulent mode of mis-stating truth adopted by the Repeal agitator. He says nothing of the violation of a national compact; nothing of the advantages derived by the Irish from the Legislative Union, and which by the measure he proposes would be lost; nothing of the want of confidence which would from that time take place in the minds of men as to the destinies

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of Ireland, and especially in the minds of the landed proprietors; nothing of the ruin which must follow the withdrawal of English capital from Ireland; nothing of the impossibility, without that capital, of instituting the Irish manufactories he afterwards dwells on with so much affected delight; nothing of the party divisions and fury which would arise and be displayed everywhere if once Ireland should be left to her own Legislature; nothing of the heart-burnings and jealousies which would be felt in the Irish law courts, when once promotion should be left to Irish patrons; nothing of that Republican faction which has never ceased to exist in Ireland, and which has its active correspondents and agents in France and in America, and which O'Connell seeks to appease by his assurance that the plan of household suffrage is of course open to *extension;* nothing, in one word, of the hundred and fifty objections made by all men who have any stake in the country, something to lose, and but little to gain; but the objections to the Union are two!—*just two!*—and no more. That those two objections are of a valid and formidable nature we will not deny, and to them we now propose to address ourselves.

"The *first* of these objections (says Mr. O'Connell), and apparently the most important, arises from the apprehension that the consequence of the Repeal of the Union would be the establishment of a CATHOLIC ASCENDANCY, to be substituted for the by-gone Protestant ascendancy."

And how does Mr. O'Connell meet this objection? Does he prove from Irish history, from the character of the Romish faith, from the doctrines of the Romish Church, from the conduct of the Romish clergy, from the present line of proceeding of the Irish priests, from their conduct at the last Irish elections, from their first and forward movement in this Repeal rebellion, that such an objection is groundless? No, no; he could not do that, for thousands of facts were ready to be adduced against him; but, as usual with all men of false, vapid, and disingenuous, but bullying natures, he resorts to the stale trick of abusing those who make the allegation, that the result of the Repeal would be "Catholic ascendancy." He alleges, indeed, that "there exists in the hands of the Church of the minority of the Irish people the possession of the entire ecclesiastical State revenues of the entire Irish nation;" and then he more than hints "that this state of things would not continue to exist after the Repeal of the Union;" or, in plain terms, the Protestant Church is to be overthrown! But then, with his accustomed *finesse*, he declares that every Church in Ireland would be severed from the State, and that there would be a new appropriation of the ecclesiastical State revenues. Of course there is

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the usual utilitarian promise of "appropriating those revenues to purposes of public charity and general education;" or, in plain terms, the endowments of the Protestant churches are to be torn from them, and applied to the spread and encouragement of Popery under the direction of Romish priests! Having thus disposed of the temporalities, viz., by a wholesale system of robbery, Mr. O'Connell says—

"The ecclesiastical temporalities being disposed of, there remains no earthly purpose for which the Catholics should seek an ascendancy. For what should they desire an ascendancy, which could not be accompanied by any one single shilling of ecclesiastical revenue?"

This is the "beggarman's" accustomed mode of viewing all questions. He reduces them to matters of pounds, shillings, and pence. Fame, ambition, love of power, the predominance or ascendancy of the Church, are all kept by him in the background, and he reduces the question of Catholic ascendancy to one of mere arithmetic. "When once we have taken from the Protestant Church all that it has," is the real substance of his question, "what more can we desire?" But that *would* be *Catholic ascendancy* with a vengeance; and the results which would follow would be natural and unavoidable.

As to the promise that the Protestant endowments should not be appropriated to the Romish Church, it is not entitled to a moment's consideration. The Irish representatives of a "somewhat more" than household suffrage, elected by ballot, and every one or three years, would not be over scrupulous on the subject of "appropriation," and Mr. O'Connell's promises in this manifesto of the "Repeal Association" would be scattered to the four winds by the then democratic ascendancy.

But, secondly, says Mr. O'Connell—

"Religious ascendancies and prosecutions are, thank God, passed away from the temper and manners of present times. Christians have ceased now to persecute in every clime and country. *In no Catholic country has a single Protestant been persecuted for more than a century!*"

Now this is the most rampant specimen of falsehood and intentional mis-statement in the whole "Address," and no man but the agitator would have dared to have printed it. What! were not the French Protestants so persecuted by the Papists in the south of France in 1815, that their lives were in constant danger, and that they were obliged to fly to the fastnesses of the Alps and worship their God in secret? And have even three years yet elapsed since the Papists of Austria so persecuted the Protestant inhabitants of a whole village, that they were obliged to emigrate, with their wives and their little ones, to the Prussian dominions? And in the Romish cantons of Switzerland has

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not the spirit of persecution against Protestants been carried to such an extent that they have frequently been obliged to remove all their personal property, and escape? And what was the persecution in one canton of the Jews by the Romanists, but another proof that the principle of "Catholic ascendancy" is inherent in the Romish Church? What! is "the period of religious persecution gone by never to return," as alleged by Mr. O'Connell, when only the other day, near Dungannon, a party of Protestants were waylaid and attacked by the Irish Papists, for no other reason than that they were Protestants? And if we look to the recent events in the islands of the Pacific, do we not see that the movement there going on is one of persecution of the Protestants, and of ascendancy on the part of the Papist priests and Jesuit missionaries? And what is the character of that spirit which in SPAIN will not allow of the profession of the Protestant faith, or the circulation of the Protestant Scriptures? And what was the nature of the revolution of Belgium in 1830, so much vaunted about by Mr. O'Connell in this very "Address," but the persecution of a *Protestant* dynasty by a Romish priesthood? No; the Romish Church is, and ever must be, the same—a Church ever seeking an ascendancy over the minds, consciences, convictions, and liberties of mankind.

But, thirdly, says Mr. O'Connell, "the Catholics of Ireland never have retaliated by one single instance of persecution." And he blasphemingly adds, "Glory be to God!"

Now really there is no possible way of arguing with a declaimer of wholesale untruths like this. What mean all these assassinations of Protestants; these way-laying them on the roads to their homes; these stabbings in the dark; these threatening letters, year after year, and month after month; these destructions of their cattle, their stacks, their barns, their garners, their homes, or their cottages? What mean these persecutions of the Irish Protestant clergy; these weekly conspiracies against Protestant schools; and these refusals to contribute towards the revenues of the Protestant Church? Are all these things to be ascribed to this love of peace and this fraternity of sentiment which all of a sudden, and for the first time in the history of Popery, are said to be now displayed by its sons and daughters?

Fourthly, Mr. O'Connell attempts to show that a large number of the members of the Irish Reformed House of Commons will be Protestants; and that the Lords, *at the outset* will be nearly twenty to one Protestant; and that as the Queen will be a Protestant, why no persecuting measure against the Protestants would receive her assent.

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This is jesuitical special pleading, and nothing more. For who could honestly venture to predict of what materials such a Reformed Irish House of Commons as Mr. O'Connell proposes would be composed? Who could truly say that Protestants would be elected at all? Arguing, and fairly arguing too, from the scenes at the last general elections, and at other more recent appeals to portions of the electoral body in Ireland, we have the right to presume that when once the flood-gates of anarchy and insubordination were thrown wide open, which they would be by the Repeal of the Union, and by the threatened confiscation of the property of the Irish Protestant Church, we have the right to infer, as we do most sincerely believe, that in three-fourths of Ireland such a spirit of intimidation would be successfully resorted to against the Irish Protestants, that scarcely an Irish Protestant member would appear in Parliament. The gentle hint, that "*at the outset*" the Irish House of Lords would principally be composed of Protestants, is intended to encourage the aspirants to the Irish Peerage amongst the Romanists, and to lead them to rally round a leader who promises "sops" to all his worshippers. But O'Connell would give only a short breathing time to his "outset" Protestant Peers. An Irish specimen of a XVIII. Brumaire would soon close the career of the "outset" Protestant Peerage. The sneering sarcasm as to a "Protestant" Queen will scarcely deceive an Irish Papist peasant. Even *he* will have sense enough to feel, that the Repeal, which commences with the Lords and the Commons, and proceeds to the Bench and the Church, will not be very submissive at the foot of the throne. Mr. O'Connell dwells always with much complacency on the revolution of Belgium. But the Queen of Ireland cannot fail to remember that the Belgian Papists overturned the throne, as well as separated Belgium from Holland.

Fifthly, says Mr. O'Connell—

"Let it be recollected, that even if any attempt were made by any faction in Ireland to injure any class of Protestants, the latter would be forthwith backed and protected by the people of England, the overwhelming majority of whom are Protestants."

There are two leading points in this statement which we shall briefly dwell upon. Mr. O'Connell keeps out of view this fact, that Great Britain and Ireland, as a State, as an United Kingdom, as one empire, is a *Protestant* empire, and that her constitution is Protestant. Therefore, when he speaks of "injuring any class of Protestants," he places the Protestants in precisely the opposite position in which the constitution has placed them. According to the constitution, the Protestants protect, tolerate, defend the Romanists, so long as they act with obedience and

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in a spirit of loyalty and submission. But Mr. O'Connell would place the Protestants in an attitude of dependence and of sufferance. The other observation which suggests itself is this, that if, according to Mr. O'Connell's own admission, the people of England would be omnipotent to protect the Irish Protestants in the event of their being openly and flagitiously persecuted, that same people of England now have only TO WILL the peace and order of Ireland, and TO WILL that this Irish Repeal rebellion shall be put down, in order to secure that most desirable, and indeed indispensable, result. The Irish Protestants, backed by the English Protestants and the English army, can, ought to, and must restore peace to Ireland; or, in other words, silence for ever the cry of "*Repeal the Union!*"

Mr. O'Connell winds up his replies to the objections urged, on *Protestant* grounds, to the Repeal proposal, by his usual adjectives of "futile, foolish, absurd, and idiotic," as applied to those persons who could possibly apprehend "religious persecution." But, in spite of all this shallow declamation, it is not the less true that this "pacifier" of Ireland would commence his great work of peace and harmony by confiscating the property of the Irish Protestant Church!

"The *second* objection (says Mr. O'Connell) made against the Repeal comes from the landlord class, who are alarmed at the doctrines relative to the fixity of tenure."

O'Connell does not attempt to dogmatize on this subject, but simply to delude. He talks of "an experiment of vast magnitude made in Prussia," which has no more to do with the subject of what the Repeal Association intends by "fixity of tenure," than had the issue of *assignats* in France with a *paper issue* of a solvent and national character in Great Britain. He admits that "nothing could have a worse effect on the prosperity of the Irish nation, than to check the national inclination men have to possess wealth in its most agreeable form—that of landed property;" but he need not trouble himself on this head, for could he carry the measures of Irish Repeal, Church robbery, and Irish judicial independence, not a gentleman on the face of the earth would desire to possess a perch of land in all Ireland. "On the other hand (he says), it is utterly impossible, with reference to the security of persons and property in Ireland, that the relations between landlord and tenant should continue in their present force." And then he proceeds to denounce Lord Lorton for having "turned adrift" a certain number of families in three parishes. This piece of malignity on the part of O'Connell it is easy to appreciate; but the deception he practices with regard to "fixity of tenure" is not so perceptible

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to or by the multitude. "The rights of landlords" he would begin by attacking. "They consist principally (according to him) in masses of statute law, being statutes passed by the landlord class, for their own benefit." This is the usual language of the *Jack Cade* class of politicians; and O'Connell's scheme for reducing the landed gentry of the country to mere dependents on their tenantry, shows that his principles are well represented by the tone of his declarations.

The Repealers are to "enact a law," which is to repeal "much of the existing statute law in favour of landlords;" but then those landlords are to have "*perfect remedies* for recovering a rent *adequate to the real value of the land, after allowing for the tenants' rightful and natural share of the growing produce.*" There is an agrarian insolence in this which betrays the cloven feet of those who are sighing and groaning to ride roughshod though the halls of the Irish landlords, and, if possible, through the palaces of the Queen herself. Leases are to be imperative —the real value of the land is to be fixed upon, of course, by him who is to cultivate it;—what is the "tenants' rightful and natural share of the growing produce," is to be decided by the tenant himself; and then the tenant is to have a *lien* on the land for valuable and lasting improvements! Mr. Sharman Crawford is to be the umpire: his bill the model;—and then Ireland is to be tranquillized when the Papists have plundered the Church, and when the tenants shall have defrauded the landlords! What a perfect specimen of just, equal, reasonable, and tranquillizing pacification!!

The rest of the "Address of the Repeal Association" to the people of Ireland can be disposed of in a few sentences. It contains, in a most inflated and bombastic style, false promises, unjust assertions, statements of imaginary wrongs, and exhortations to energetic union, and a display of force. "The commercial relations" of Ireland are to be vastly improved; Ireland is to have her own manufactures; the elective franchise is to be vastly extended; corporate reform is to be complete; "foreign minions" are no longer "to insult the people of Ireland;" "the right of petitioning" is no longer to remain in jeopardy; "the absentee drain" is to be got rid of; the "English debt" is not to be paid by Ireland; and that land of lands is to equal "glorious" Belgium, or proud and splendid "Norway," both put forward by the agitator as the models of independence, virtue, happiness, and prosperity!!

This is the "Address." It concludes with a panegyric on the Belgium revolution!

What does this mean? Does it mean to convey a threat, an

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insult, and a direction? To be sure it does. It is intended by it to say to the Government—"Take care that we do not make a revolution, and a revolution too to *overthrow the dynasty!*" It is intended to insult the people of England, by representing them as easily got rid of, as the Belgians separated themselves from the Dutch. It is intended as a direction to the Repeal wardens all over Ireland, to prepare for a general rising, and for physical resistance! Couple this language with that before quoted in the earlier pages of these remarks, in which the dastardly exhortation to the Irish Papists in London to burn down English manufactories and property should the Irish Repealers be attacked, and we have the measure of the infamous schemes which O'Connell projects for carrying into effect his plans of repeal and of anarchy. True, indeed, to cover his retreat, and hide for awhile his shame and his rebellion, he protests that he does not desire, but "repudiates," a total separation, "such as Belgium," and only looks for and seeks a local Parliament "like Norway." But who that is acquainted with the history of all revolutions, and of all demagogues and democrats, in all times, and in all countries, does not know that they commence as they did in Belgium, and as they are now doing in Ireland, with "sweet speeches, fair promises, and loyal assurances," to end their career in perjury, disloyalty, bloodshed, and treason?

We have entitled this article "IRISH PROSPECTS, AND GOVERNMENT DIFFICULTIES," and we have done so advisedly. And is not the first and foremost difficulty "WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH IRELAND?" The Government has presented a bill to disarm the disaffected; and it has well done in so acting. The opposition to that measure in the House of Commons is factious and unprincipled. The Government has sent troops and vessels to Ireland and to the Irish coast; and it has well done in adopting measures to preserve physical peace, or at least, if possible to prevent collision. The Irish have little confidence in O'Connell's sharp-shooters, when they have marshalled against them English battalions. The Government has dismissed from the commission of the peace the magistrates who attended at, or encouraged, Repeal meetings, and has accepted immediately the resignations of those who have rejoiced either to display their spite, or to insult the Irish authorities. All this is well done on the part of the Government, but it is only a tithe of that which they must yet perform. Is the Legislative Union to be maintained? Yes, or no! We do not mean maintained, like the Protestant ascendancy, to be defended in 1828 and abandoned in 1829. We do not mean maintained, like the old and admirable constitution of the House of

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Commons, to be pronounced a perfect model in 1829, and sacrificed to the "pressure from without" in 1830. But we mean to ask this question of our Government—"Is the Legislative Union to be maintained, even if so great and vast a calamity should follow as a civil war? *Coute qui coute*, is the Legislative Union to be maintained?" We say—"Yes!" Do our governors say the same; and are they prepared to accomplish the same? If they are, then something like the following plan must be adopted.

First, the Irish Poor Law must be greatly altered, for it has added vastly to the ill blood and bad feeling existing previously. The Irish complaints on this head are just and well-founded, and we hold it to be the bounden duty of the Government, and of the Parliament, to listen to and redress them.

Secondly, the Repeal Association must be declared illegal by law, and all other associations, or plans, which shall have for their object, directly or indirectly, to agitate the public mind on the question of Repeal. There must be no loop-hole left by which O'Connell and his faction may escape. The folly of talking of *legality—i. e.*, of the *legality* of seeking to overthrow all the institutions of a country, under the pretext of holding public meetings to repeal an Act by another Act, is too contemptible and childish to be treated with seriousness. If the shallow excuse of meeting to repeal the Act of Union can justify rebellion, because this Act is, forsooth! to be repealed by another Act, then why not seek to repeal the Magna Charta by calling "the people" together to make another Charta? In all these large and popular movements the real question is this —What is the object sought for? Now, in this case, who can doubt for a moment that the object is to overthrow all the institutions of the empire, and to disturb that union which is essential to the well-being and happiness of all its parts? This is not merely *illegal*, but it is revolutionary and anarchical, and should be treated as such.

Thirdly, all public meetings held in the open air, and so held for the manifest purpose of exciting masses of poor and ignorant people to moral, if not to physical insubordination, should be treated as seditious meetings, and prevented by cautions and proclamations, or dispersed by force and severity.

Fourthly, the active and interested leaders should be arrested, imprisoned, and tried; and in the event of it being clear to the Government that fair and impartial trials could not take place in the counties in which the offences were committed, the

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Attorney-General should have the power of preferring the indictments, or of removing them to less disturbed and agitated districts.

Fifthly, all subscriptions, collections, or contributions of any sort, and in any form or disguise, with the view of aiding the Repeal movement, should be prohibited by statute; and persons either subscribing, or receiving subscriptions, for such a purpose, should be held to be guilty of a misdemeanor. Besides this, the press should be interdicted from publishing any lists of such subscriptions or subscribers, or from making any allusion thereto. A similar bill has been passed in France during the reign of Louis Philippe; and since then subscriptions for revolutionary purposes have been unknown. Of course such a proposal will be met by the cry of, "This would be gagging the press." The answer would be, "This is not gagging the press, but preserving Ireland from abortive attempts at revolution."

Sixthly, the garrisons of Ireland must be well filled with English and Scotch soldiers. The magistracy of Ireland must be composed of men of devotedness to the Union. The public officers of Ireland must be persons of no doubtful calibre; and all who have taken any part in the Repeal agitation must be removed from spheres where their presence could be injurious, and their example baneful.

But, seventhly, public works in Ireland must be encouraged; emigration from Ireland to our colonies must be promoted; patronage in Ireland must be carefully and kindly exerted and bestowed; local interests must be watched over and defended; and all that can possibly be done must be done, and ought to be done, to make the Irish feel less and less that they are a conquered and a dependent people, by placing them on as near an equality as possible with us, in all our civil, ecclesiastical, municipal, political, and social relations. Not only do we ask for "*justice for Ireland*," but for kindness, sympathy, and Christian brotherhood.

If the Government is prepared to adopt this line of conduct, it is not only possible to maintain the Legislative Union, and to put down the cry for "*Repeal*," but to render Ireland a source of prosperity and of advantage to Great Britain, at the same time that the latter will become a nursing-mother to the former country. This is the *only* means of meeting the FIRST and the greatest difficulty, which the Government has to encounter. We will not venture to predict the course that will be pursued; for ease is always preferred to effort, and Governments, like individuals, leave too much to time, to accident, and to circumstances; but we are at least sure of this, that the present Repeal

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agitation in Ireland is not to be put down by compliment, civilities, and persuasion.

The SCOTCH CHURCH QUESTION is the next difficulty which the Government has to meet. Not what is to be done about the *Veto Act*, or the *Strathbogie ministers*, or the *quoad sacra* clergy: for these are resolved by the proceedings of the General Assembly of the Kirk, and by the measures of the Government. But what is to be done to pacify the Scotch Conservatives, who are so indignant that five hundred of their ministers have been allowed to withdraw and form themselves into a "Free Church," because they could not obtain from the Government the concessions they demanded, or the terms they dictated. We regret to state that the course the Government has pursued (and yet which was the only course it could adopt) has so offended its Conservative friends as to render their support next to impossible at the next general election. On this subject, however, we shall say no more, as it will be treated of in the "Ecclesiastical Report."

In like manner we shall say little of the THIRD difficulty—we mean the EDUCATIONAL CLAUSES of the Factory Bill. The Government has neither satisfied the Church, conciliated the Dissenters, or enlisted any party on its side with respect to this bill. The Wesleyans make common cause with Papists and Socinians, Independents, Presbyterians, and Baptists, and all the followers of Joanna Southcote, Emanuel Swedenborg, and Edward Irving; and that powerful body of sectarians, the followers of John Wesley, are now in a state of open hostility to the Church.

The melancholy divisions in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND—the schism at Oxford—and the necessity for taking strong moral measures to close the breaches and heal the disorders in the Church, present the FOURTH capital difficulty for the Government to meet and to overcome. This is another subject which here we simply allude to, since it is debated fully elsewhere in our pages.

CHURCH EXTENSION, and the necessity for doing something effectual for the amelioration of the condition of the poor, form the FIFTH difficulty; and the former Sir Robert Peel has sought rather to elude, than to meet, by a measure of a very limited character; whilst the latter evil he has proposed partly to cope with by a measure simply applicable to a very small portion of the community, and to which objections are, however, made *in limine*.

The SIXTH difficulty consists of two questions which we will place under one head—the proposed union of the dioceses of St. Asaph and Bangor, and the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill. The

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existence of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' Board is in itself a difficulty to a Conservative Government. The measures proposed by them all bear the impress of "the pressure from without," and keep the clergy in a state of very natural, but much to be regretted agitation.

The SEVENTH difficulty is a spirit of insurrection and insubordination which has for some time past shown itself in WALES. Armed, riotous, tumultuous bodies transport themselves from county to county; destroy property; alarm the well-disposed and honest; render impossible, or most dangerous, the collection of turnpike-tolls; so reduce the interests of those who have property invested in them as to make them valueless; and cause the Welsh to exclaim, "Faction triumphs, and the law is powerless!" Let us hope that this difficulty will be met with energy. It is a question of brute force: it must be put down by law and severity. Let such rewards be offered as will lead assuredly to the arrest of the ringleaders. Let each district be required to preserve its own peace; and let each district be compelled to make good the damage done to property within it.

The EIGHTH difficulty is the question of the CORN LAWS, or rather the agitation everywhere excited and kept up by *the Anti-Corn Law League!* This is another specimen of the dissolving principles which are now at work, and put into operation, to break up existing institutions, and overturn the whole fabric of society. Whilst the Repealers in Ireland are seeking to set the Irish, not only as a nation, but individually, against the English, as well as against England; the "Anti-Corn Law League" are seeking to divide English society into two classes, with separate and clashing interests, and to place the agriculturists and the manufacturers in a state of personal, as well as of class hostility. This effort has, unfortunately, been attended with no small portion of success. The funds raised by the League have been appropriated in the furtherance of measures of an anarchical character, and in the dissemination of every description of tracts and treatises likely to increase dissension, and render less facile any arrangements or adjustments. The men who raised, at the invitation of that League, the standard of revolt last autumn, have been acquitted on a technical objection, and the Chartist insurrection of 1842 has therefore remained almost unpunished. But what is to be done with the League hereafter? That is a vast and important difficulty indeed, and one which it is not easy to meet. It is impossible for trade or commerce to flourish, whilst uncertainty exists as to the future, and especially on so capital and commanding an article of commerce

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and universal consumption as *corn*. This uncertainty amounts to little short of ruin. Capitalists and financiers, bankers and bill-brokers, all men, in fact, who have money, will hoard it up, or dole it out with most parsimonious hands, so long as this question shall be kept hanging over their heads *in terrorem;* and yet how can it be otherwise whilst the League sends its interested and rabid agents to every portion of the empire, to excite the most bitter hate against all landlords and landed proprietors? And what adds to the difficulty in this case of the League is the fact, that really nothing can be done with regard to it, but to trust to time, to the gradual return of the public mind to order and good sense, to the influence of argument as opposed to clamour, and to the effect of a steady and serious resistance, on the part of the Government, to every attempt to modify or change the existing Corn Laws. It has unfortunately occurred, of late, that many minds have been shaken in their previous confidence that the Corn Laws would not again be touched or tampered with, in consequence of the introduction by Government of the Canadian Wheat and Flour Bill. We think, however, that the speech of Lord Stanley on this subject, and its large circulation in the agricultural districts, have tended to open the eyes of all classes to the justice and policy of the bill, and have caused them to perceive and feel that no inference as against the declaration of the Government, that it will maintain the present Corn Laws, can be fairly drawn from this departure from the general rule. There can be little doubt that this Canadian bill will now pass into a law; and we believe there is quite as little uncertainty as to the resolution of Sir Robert Peel, and his co-adjutors, to maintain intact the present Corn Laws. The meetings of the League, in this respect, have not effected so much as might have been anticipated. The divisions in the House of Commons against the interests of the land are hardly more formidable than formerly; and Parliament is still very far removed from affirming the principle of a free trade in corn. But what care the leaders of the League for *this?* They have ample funds, a large party, and numerous agents, and they play a desperate game, the which, if they won, would place the fortunes of the aristocracy at their disposal. Nothing but FIRMNESS in refusing every demand made by them, and in opposing with energy every proposition for change submitted by them, can successfully meet their proceedings; unless, indeed, they should attempt another "outbreak," to intimidate and deceive.

The NINTH difficulty of the Government is the question of COLONIZATION. What is to be done with this mighty subject?

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Its postponement answers no purpose, and conducts to no result. Postpone it as the Government will, it returns ever and anon with redoubled force. Why are we to have half-peopled and half-cultivated colonies, when we have at home tens of thousands wholly without employment, and hundreds of thousands also without adequate means of support? What sense, reason, philosophy, can be discovered in a system of leaving our colonies unprovided with labourers, when our streets and lanes, towns and cities, are choked by a densely crowded and unhealthy population? Yet what plan of colonization should be recommended? How far will the State come to the aid of individual enterprize? What amount of encouragement, and subject to what regulations, should be given to public companies and institutions established for promoting emigration? What are the measures to be adopted to prevent emigration from being ruinous to individuals, to families, and districts? And, above all, can this country afford, without making a *special loan* for that purpose, to advance money to colonists, to colonial societies, or for colonial objects? If not, then the question of loans is raised incidentally, and with it the state of our currency, the amount of our circulation, and the whole economy of our national financial arrangements.

The TENTH difficulty is the depressed, and the continued depressed, state of our trade and commerce. There is no denying this depression. It is, perhaps, somewhat less intense than it was, and even in a few branches of manufacture there may have been a partial revival. But, speaking generally, this has *not* been the case; and scarcity of money in trade, an aversion to even the most legitimate commercial speculations, the hoarding up of the precious metals, the apprehension of increasing stocks of goods in hand, and the necessity for being satisfied with the least possible profit, for the sake of securing some sales, are circumstances which denote very general anxiety and depression, and which it would be worse than madness to deny. And what adds to this difficulty is, that other nations are less than ever disposed to favour any system of commercial reciprocity; are more resolved than ever on manufacturing for themselves; are determined to put up with inferior goods of their own fabrics, in preference to letting in foreign merchandize; and even, as in the cases of Portugal, Brazil, and France, to suffer themselves from the result of their own system, rather than allow us to exchange our Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield products for their wines, fruits, and corn.

The ELEVENTH difficulty is the most awfully wretched state of the manufacturing, and even of the agricultural poor, and the

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increase of mendicity and crime amongst all the labouring classes. When Lord Ashley brought under the consideration of the house his terrible statistics of national ignorance and guilt, the Government, like the country, could not but quail beneath the *exposé*. All honest men felt that they were, *in some degree*, answerable for the state of crime thus depicted, since they had not done all that they could and ought to have done to secure the moral education of their species. But then came the physical sufferings, wants, and sorrows of these same classes. Their want of the necessaries of life could not be denied; their filthy, unventilated, unhealthy abodes, rose in tens of thousands before the eyes of the legislators of the country. The crimes to which this state of existence led were too palpable to be denied; and the change in the former characteristics of the English race, viz., of modesty into immodesty—of domestic happiness and conjugal felicity into vagabondism and immorality, could not be controverted. Poverty, with its bitterness and disappointments, with its denials and privations, with its coldness and its hunger, its nakedness and its thirst, were there—and the Government had, and has still, to meet the difficulty. And yet how is it to meet such sorrows and calamities as these? They are too general for public subscriptions to suffice, or for Government grants to provide for. The Government looks on, hopes, prays, negotiates with other countries for commercial treaties—seeks to excite the wealthy to benevolence, and the landed proprietors to improve their estates and expend some even of their capital. More than this, the Government strives to preserve peace, to improve morals by Christian education, to diminish the public burdens, to cause taxation to fall more on the rich and less on the poor, to reduce the prices of the necessaries of life, and to secure to the poor man some few of the luxuries which have hitherto been almost exclusively confined to the tables or closets of the wealthy. All this is wise, kind, benevolent, patriotic; and yet the tide of misery still sets strongly in, and it cannot be stemmed by all the efforts of the Conservative Cabinet.

We certainly think we perceive in very extensive colonization *one* remedy for this vast amount of calamity, and therefore again do we urge it upon the Government. When a ship has been tossed by a tempest on rocks and a lee shore, the first question is how to escape. The breakers are dashing against the sides of the vessel—the wind tears into shreds the canvas and the rigging—all the efforts of the sailors to prevent even the water from rising are unavailing—and the pumps are forsaken —the sailors and the crew, the passengers and all on board, now

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think only of their lives—"and they which can swim cast themselves first into the sea and get to land; and the rest, some on boards, and some on broken pieces of the ship. And so it comes to pass that they all escape safe to land." And so it is now with the working classes of this country. They are in great peril. Something must be *done*. The amount of population increases daily. Do the means of existence, of decent and comfortable existence at home, increase with the numbers? Certainly not! Then try emigration, colonization, home colonization, and everything which holds out even a remote hope or chance of success. These observations are not written either from want of confidence in the Government, or from despair of the country, but from a desire to place fully and fairly before all parties the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

The TWELFTH difficulty of the Government is the manifest DIVISION which exists on some very important topics in the ranks of the CONSERVATIVE PARTY. We shall not amplify upon this very lamentable fact. We shall not even point out the reasons for this division. They are known to Conservatives; and it is not necessary that they should be discussed by agitators, leaguers, and rebels. We should indeed regret if a single word of ours tended to increase that division; and therefore it is we pass on to some of the minor difficulties, both domestic and foreign, with which the Government has to cope, and which, though comparatively small, when examined separately, form together a mass of embarrassments which is enough to startle, to deject, and to derange it.

The English Poor Laws work most unsatisfactorily. Illicit distillation increases in Ireland. The revenue continues to fall off in every part of her Majesty's dominions. This last subject of anxiety is indeed one entitled to separate consideration. When the quarterly return of the revenue was made up to the 5th of April last, there was a decrease of upwards of a million of pounds sterling on that quarter, as compared to the one which preceded it. Under the important heads of Customs, Excise, Stamps, Taxes, and Crown-lands, there was a sensible decrease, and we have not learnt that any notable improvement has occurred during the current quarter, except, perhaps, in the receipt of another instalment from China. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer presented his BUDGET, in May, he deplored that he could not remit taxes, nor diminish the burthens of the people. "Distress is still prevalent in the manufacturing districts," he exclaimed; and Sir Robert Peel admitted that he had been disappointed in his calculations with respect to the probable produce of certain branches of the revenue.

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Our observations have already extended to such a length that we are glad to feel that to FOREIGN TOPICS we need devote but a few lines. The stability of M. Guizot's Government in France we cannot but feel endangered by various financial defeats it has sustained. M. Thiers is always ready, with his war-song and his grasping policy, to volunteer his aid. The love of conquest lately displayed by the French Government in the Pacific is a cause of unquestionable annoyance to the English Government. The *Ashburton treaty* with America already gives rise to a double interpretation as to the right of visit; and other questions present themselves in so unsatisfactory a shape as to render it more than probable that a *denouement* with the United States will one day occur. Greece is unable to pay the dividends on the loan to her creditors, and England is compelled to contribute to the support of a Greek Government, the most imbecile and worthless. The battle of Navarino was indeed, and most truly, "an untoward event." The conquest of Scinde entails new difficulties, responsibilities, and anxieties, and we can scarcely congratulate Lord Aberdeen on the announcement. China is a most embarrassing and still unsettled subject, and the Opium-trade question is one which the Government seems not to know how to meet, so encompassed is it with difficulty on every side. The present state of Spain is far from satisfactory. As the period draws nearer when the youthful Queen Isabella II. will assume the reins of Government and the direction of the vessel of the State, party spirit becomes more violent and faction more vehement. In the short space of a month two new Ministries have been formed, and the demon of "revolt" has shown himself in more than one city and province. Portugal continues to keep at arm's length our diplomatic agents in their endeavours to obtain true commercial reciprocity in our relations with that country; and France is as obstinate as ever in refusing to sign a commercial treaty. Russia has triumphed in her settlement of the Servian question, and Turkey is once more degraded, by her submission to the terms dictated to her by the Emperor. There have been earthquakes in the West Indies; a revolution at Hayti; and there are apprehensions that the Chinese mean to violate their solemn promises and engagements when a suitable opportunity shall offer. This is an abridgment of an essay on our foreign relations. The well-instructed reader will, however, perceive, in the subjects referred to, the germs of many discussions, and of a host of difficulties.

In thus presenting to our readers *the Prospects of Ireland, and the Difficulties of the Government*, we have had two distinct objects in view; and we do not hesitate to avow them. Our

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first object has been to open the eyes of some, who are liable to be deceived by the false lights and allurements held out by a portion of the London press, as to the real state of Ireland. It is rotten at the core, and strong measures must be applied. Our *second* object has been to seek to prevail on all classes of the Conservatives in this country to rally, without distinction and shade, round a Government which has so many difficulties to meet and so many foes to withstand. We ought, however, to have another object in view, and we trust that to it we are not indifferent, and that is—to prevail on all our readers, whether clerical or lay, to make the subject of national afflictions, sorrows, and difficulties, matter for private prayer, that "the high court of Parliament" may be so directed by God in all their deliberations and decisions, and that "all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavours, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations!"

Ecclesiastical Report.

THE important Government measures of Church Extension and Education in Factories having been discussed in two separate articles, we shall not allude to them under this head, but pass on to that of

THE SCOTCH SECESSION.

A considerable body of the Scottish clergy have at last separated themselves from the National Church, setting up what they choose to designate a *Free Protesting Church.* The separatists profess to adhere to Presbyterian principles, and to have no quarrel with the Church of Scotland, except on the question of patronage. This question, however, is one of considerable importance, and it affects England as much as Scotland. If the Legislature had interfered to abolish the old law, in accordance with the wishes of the Non-Intrusionists, there would have been persons in England who would have clamoured for a similar change in this country. The effect of the change would have been this, namely, that the appointment of ministers would have been vested in the people. But the Government continued firm, and refused to change the laws at the bidding of a faction. Had such a change been introduced, the Church of Scotland must have been ruined; for nothing but confusion could have

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resulted from the measures of the Non-Intrusion party. To us it is surprising that any men should be so enamoured of the Dissenting system, respecting the choice and appointment of ministers, as to wish to introduce it into a Church. Look at the working of Dissent in England. A preacher dies, and what are the consequences? Confusion, discord, hatred, malice, and all the evil passions are immediately called into existence by the proceedings in the choice of a successor. After wrangling and jangling for a time, the two parties separate, the larger retaining the old chapel, and the smaller going off to erect a new one. But does the mischief end here? On the contrary, the same scene is again repeated whenever one of the ministers dies. There is no principle in Dissent to check this evil: it flows as a natural consequence from the system. Let us then suppose that the Non-Intrusionists had succeeded, and that the appointment of the clergy had been vested in a majority of the parish. Under such a system the Church of Scotland could not exist for a single generation. Every removal of a clergyman would leave the parish a prey to the evil passions of the multitude. The same consequences would arise also in England if the appointment of the clergy were vested in the people. We have a practical illustration of the working of the system in the proceedings of Dissenters; yet we have been told that some few English clergymen sympathize with the Scottish Non-Intrusionists, and that they have been so rash as to communicate their views in writing.

Now the least we can say of such individuals is, that they are pursuing a most inconsistent part. What are the Non-Intrusionists but Dissenters? There is no single point on which they differ from English Independents; as well, therefore, might a clergyman support Independency in England as Non-Intrusionism in Scotland. We remind such clergymen that, in their support of the Scottish schismatics, they admit a principle, which, if acted upon, would ruin the Church to which they profess to belong, and to which they have declared their attachment. The principles of the Non-Intrusionists would turn every parish in England into a Dissenting or Independent body. No man, we think, should adopt principles, or lend them his support, which he is not prepared to carry into practice. Either, therefore, those clergymen of the Church of England, who approve of the course of the Non-Intrusionists, should quit their posts in this country and join the Dissenters, or go over to Scotland and enrol themselves among the separatists. If the Non-Intrusionists are right in their principle, then the Church of England is in error; and if a clergyman adhere to the former, he cannot, as an honest man, remain in the latter.

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Before we quit the present subject, we would suggest whether our bishops, in their examination for holy orders, and in granting licenses, might not make a point of presenting to the minds of the parties the subject of Church government. Many young men are ordained without troubling themselves on the subject; the consequence is, that in various instances they become lax in their opinions, and inconsistent in their practice. For example, what must be the inference from the fact, that certain English clergymen approve of the course of the Non-Intrusionists? Undoubtedly it is this, that in their estimation the question at issue is of no importance. If the subject of Church government were brought prominently before the candidates at, or prior to, ordination, those who entertained unsound views would be kept from entering the Church, and others would be strengthened in their attachment to her doctrines and discipline. We should not then see so many instances of clergymen actually joining and acting with Dissenters.

With respect to the Church of Scotland we would remark, that she is much more likely to prosper now than she was, while so many refractory ministers remained within her pale. By the Non-Intrusion party she is denounced; but when the places of the separatists are supplied by suitable individuals, the Church will flourish as before. In all probability the present schism will not be able to linger on for many years. Judging from the practices of our Dissenters, we may infer that the Non-Intrusionists will soon be divided into a variety of sections, all of them influenced by the bitterest feelings of hostility against each other. That such consequences will ensue, is, in our opinion, certain; and the people will then become sensible that there is no security, no sure ground, to rest upon in Dissent.

We cannot, however, believe that such an extensive schism could have taken place if the Church of Scotland had been Episcopal in her government and discipline. It appears to us that Episcopacy is not only scriptural and apostolical, but that it is better calculated to prevent divisions than any other system. Still, as the Church of Scotland is recognized by the laws, we cannot but sympathize with her on the present occasion.

CHRISTIAN UNION.

Christian union! The Dissenters of England have actually invited the public, even the members of the Church of England, to unite with them, in what they term a bond of Christian union. For what purpose the union was proposed we have not been able to ascertain. We only know that a meeting to further the object was held in May. Into the proceedings of this body we

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do not intend to enter. We merely wish to point out the absurdity of the thing, as well as the inconsistency of those *few* clergymen, who gave their countenance to the strange design.

Now with respect to the thing itself. How absurd for Dissenters to invite the clergy of the Church of England to unite with them! How is it possible that they should? Or for what purpose could they unite? These questions are, as we think, inexplicable. The only principle on which an union could be effected with Dissenters is that of submission. Churchmen must come down to the level of Dissent, and merge all their own principles, or there can be no union with Dissenters. They were not unreasonable enough to expect such a result, though they were unprincipled enough to send out the invitation. Their want of principle in the business is evident, from their conduct on *the Factory Education Bill.* The Church and the clergy were denounced at their meetings. The Church catechism and Episcopacy were branded as worse than heresy. Yet these same men could, at the very same time, use the *cant* of Christian union! It is scarcely possible for hypocrisy to assume a more disgusting form.

Then with respect to the conduct of some few of the clergy, we are told (but we rejoice to find that the number was very small) that certain clergymen were so far allured by the Dissenting bait as to countenance the design. Yes! some few clergymen actually listened to the invitation of Dissenters for Christian union! They must have been very weak men, or else very unsound Churchmen, to listen to the proposal. We deem the act to be traitorous towards their own Church. To unite with men who denounce the Church, who stigmatize Episcopacy as heresy, who denounce the catechism as a tissue of lies, is most dishonest. We are happy to find, however, that several clergymen drew back, assigning as their reason the conduct of Dissenters respecting the Education Bill. So far they acted well; but what must be the opinion of sound Churchmen on such conduct? Dissenters have not acted more nefariously respecting this bill, than they had often acted before; and the clergy ought, from the beginning, to have stood aloof from men, whose only object, in forming a *Christian union* was to unite them against their own Church.

According to the newspapers, *two clergymen only,* Mr. Baptist Noel and Mr. Thomas Mortimer, attended with the motley band of *unionists* in Exeter Hall. We would not speak harshly of any man; but we must contend, that to support such an object, is to act in opposition to the Church. The countenance of clergymen encourages the Dissenters to imagine that their

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course of opposition to the Church is secretly favoured, even by some of the clerical body. It also gives them an opportunity of launching out their denunciations against the clergy in general, whom they contrast with the few who are present at the meeting. This was done in the case of the meeting for *Christian* union. The Dissenting organs applauded the liberality of the two clergymen, while they denounced all the rest as bigots. We deny even the possibility of forming a Christian union with men who can act as the Dissenters have recently acted in the matter of the Factory Bill. Nay, it can scarcely be deemed uncharitable to allege, that some of the speeches uttered by Dissenting ministers could not have proceeded from Christian men. Though professing the Gospel of Christ, and pretending to act as ministers of Christ, yet they could have had nothing of the Spirit of Christ.

Some persons have affected great surprise at these speeches. We are grieved, but we are not surprised. "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." We know that Dissenters feel the greatest hostility towards the Church of England. Their hearts are brim full of hatred and ill-will to the clergy; and, therefore, whenever a fitting occasion presents itself, the secret is discovered by the foul and false language of their mouths. The scriptural declaration is fulfilled to the very letter on all occasions when Dissenters meet to abuse the Church of England.

We should like to know why the Bible Society does not satisfy Dissenters? Why do they wish to form another society for *Christian union?* That society embraces all parties. Some of the clergy support it. But are they treated on other occasions, by Dissenters, as Christian brethren? We apprehend not. If we are to form a judgment from the proceedings of the Dissenting body during the last fifteen years, we must come to the conclusion, that there is scarcely a man among their ministers who does not deal out, as was said some time ago by the *Eclectic Review*, "a little round abuse" against the Church and the clergy. Surely, then, no union can be formed with such men. Persons of opposite views cannot unite. "How can two walk together except they are agreed?" And can a Churchman concur with men who would overturn the Church? We contend that the very notion is an absurdity, and the thing an impossibility.

DR. PUSEY.

Our readers are acquainted with the particulars respecting Dr. Pusey's sermon, as far as they have been made public.

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That gentleman preached a sermon before the University, which was supposed to contain erroneous doctrines. The statutes of the University provide for all such cases, by enabling the Vice-Chancellor to summon to his aid six Doctors, to whom the sermon is to be submitted. As a complaint was alleged against this particular sermon, it would have been a dereliction of duty on the part of the Vice-Chancellor to have passed the matter over. Feeling, therefore, that he had a duty to perform to the University, he acted on the authority of the statute, and summoned six Doctors to his assistance. To this body the sermon was submitted by Dr. Pusey. That more able and impartial men could not have been found in the University, we think will be admitted by all who are acquainted with Oxford. Indeed, we have not heard any objection raised against the men. The Board deliberated, and the result was an unanimous conviction that the sermon contained unsound doctrine. This result was soon made public. At first it was reported that some of the judges dissented from the majority; but the report was unfounded, for the opinion respecting the unsoundness of the sermon was unanimous. Having arrived at such a conclusion, it became necessary for the Vice-Chancellor to exercise the power with which he is vested; and Dr. Pusey was suspended from preaching in the University during the space of two years.

A great outcry has been raised against this decision, and chiefly on the ground that the particular passages in the sermon, which were adjudged to be erroneous, were not pointed out and specified. Now we regard this objection as very frivolous. The character of the judges is a sufficient guarantee that they would not have condemned Dr. Pusey if the sermon had not contained erroneous doctrine. Besides, they have only acted in accordance with the practice of the University in such cases. It appears to us that the parties, who call for a specification of the passages from the sermon, might permit the matter to rest where it does; for they must be well aware that the doctrine broached is contrary to the Articles of the Church of England. Dr. Pusey has been so long tampering with some of the peculiar doctrines of Rome, that at last he has overstepped the mark, and thus actually propounded Romish views. We mean, that on some points he has done so. Of this there can, in our opinion, be no question. Let his writings during the last few years be examined, and it will be seen that on some points he has verged very near to Rome. We are, therefore, grateful to the Vice-Chancellor and his brethren; and probably the circumstance may be useful to Dr. Pusey himself: it may lead him to re-consider his opinions, and perhaps to renounce those which are erroneous.

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But we are grateful on account of the effect upon the country at large. It is sometimes said by parties, who are not very scrupulous respecting the truth, that the University is essentially Popish. These parties represent the thing as they would wish to have it. But now ruling authorities in the University have suspended the man, from whom the name is derived which is applied to the party in Oxford. The fact is, that the advocates of the Tracts form but a comparatively small body in the University, though certain parties, some ignorantly and others designedly, represent them as constituting the great majority, as leavening the whole, and as likely to deluge the country with the peculiar views of the Tracts. The proceedings of the Board will prove to the country that the University is determined to suppress all unsound doctrine. On the youth of the University, who are more exposed to the temptation of novelty than older persons, and also on the younger clergy throughout the country, who may perhaps have quitted Oxford with some degree of admiration at the learning and talents of the leaders of the party, this decision will have a most beneficial effect. The members of the Board are well known in Oxford—as well known as Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman. They are, moreover, men of singular moderation—men who cannot be charged with holding lax notions on the questions of Church government, discipline, and ceremonies. Had the condemnation proceeded from some of the extreme opponents of the Tracts, no moral effect would have been produced; but coming from the Oxford Board—a Board composed of men whose principles are known to be sound, and yet moderate, it will undoubtedly open the eyes of many persons to the errors of those publications.

We apprehend that many of those persons who have protested, and have called for a specification of the charges, were present at the delivery of the sermon; consequently they must be well aware of its character. They must have noticed those statements, against which objections were raised, and which have been pronounced erroneous. We cannot, therefore, help thinking that the call for the specification of the passages—a practice not sanctioned by any precedent—is only intended to cast, as it were, a shield over Dr. Pusey. Rumour states that the Doctor's views on the Eucharist, as put forth in the sermon, were nearly allied to, if not identical with, those of the Church of Rome on the same subject. Supposing, however, that they were not precisely the same with those of Rome; yet the Board was justified in its course, if they were such as are condemned by the Anglican Church. That they were of this description, we have never heard even a doubt expressed. The protesters do not pretend to allege that the sermon was sound; they

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merely dwell on the fact, that he was condemned without being informed of the particular passages against which the censure was directed. In reply to this line of argument, we would remark, that Dr. Pusey may publish his sermon, in order that the public may judge for themselves. We venture to affirm that the publication of the sermon will fully justify the Vice-Chancellor and the Board. Justice will be awarded to Dr. Pusey by the public. If the sermon be sound—if it contain nothing which can be interpreted to militate against the Articles of the Church of England, the public will, we are sure, consider the condemnation of Dr. Pusey as unjust. If, however, it shall appear that doctrines are advanced which are at variance with those of the Anglican Church, the Oxford Board will be justified. And if the sermon be unsound, where is the need of a specification of passages? It is too well known, in Oxford at least, that it was unsound—that Dr. Pusey overstepped the bounds—that he travelled very near to the region of Popery,—and that the interposition of the proper authority was absolutely necessary.

Sincerely do we hope that Dr. Pusey himself—a man whose talents and sincerity we respect—may see his error and acknowledge it. We feel, however, that the Oxford Board deserves the support of the public; and that the whole proceedings were not only justifiable, but absolutely necessary.

DISSENTERS AND THE UNIVERSITIES.

Another attempt has been made to break down those fences by which our Universities are preserved from confusion and from error. Mr. Christie introduced the subject into the House of Commons, concluding with a motion, that all restrictions should be removed, in order that Dissenters, and Roman Catholics, and Infidels might be admitted into our ancient seats of learning. The motion was negatived even in the lower house. Had it passed the Commons, it must have been rejected in the Lords; but we are thankful that the effort was nipped in the bud, and that Mr. Christie was not permitted to introduce a bill.

It appears to us extraordinary, that the scheme should be considered practicable by any man, as long as there is a national Church in existence. There are certain national institutions which must be connected with the national Church. Remove the Church, and these establishments may be thrown open. But if religion is in any way to be taught in our Universities, or even recognized, it must be according to that form which is received by the nation as a nation. As long, therefore,

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as the people of this country are resolved to support the Church, the Universities and public schools must be open only to those who can conform to that Church. Nor ought Dissenters to be dissatisfied. They can adopt their own plans—no one will interfere with them, for their liberty is perfect; but they cannot with reason expect that religion should be placed in abeyance in our Universities just for the purpose of admitting them to their privileges.

Let us take a view of the confusion which must of necessity ensue on the adoption of such a motion as Mr. Christie's. We are now taking it for granted that religion is not to be banished from the Universities, but that it is to be regarded by all the members. In every College there is a chapel for the purpose of divine service. Is this chapel to be frequented? We apprehend that no one will go so far as to abolish worship in the College chapel altogether. Then comes the question, what mode of worship shall be adopted? Probably Mr. Christie and the supporters of the scheme would reply, we have no wish to abolish the worship of the chapel—we only wish that Dissenters, and any who object, should not be expected to attend. Be it so. But we see two most serious objections—*first*, in after times, some members of the College might argue, why have you, who are in communion with the Church of England, any more right to the use of the chapel than ourselves? And why should the worship be conducted in our College chapel according to the views of the Church of England? Here would be a source of discord. But, *secondly*, supposing such a bill to pass, Dissenters and others would not be required to attend the College chapel. Would they be expected to attend some other form of worship, or would they be excused from attendance altogether? In either case, how many evils would result? If it were deemed necessary for all to attend public worship in some form or other, then it would be necessary to have other chapels. Or suppose it be said that the College chapel might be used at a different time by the Dissenters? We reply, that the Roman Catholics also would have a claim, since they and the Dissenters could not worship together. And supposing that the matters were so arranged, how would the various bodies of Dissenters adjust their respective differences, so as to unite together in one mode of worship? In our opinion the thing would be impracticable. Then with respect to the other supposition, namely, that attendance on public worship should be optional. We cannot conceive that any persons, who are anxious for the welfare of our youth, could adopt so strange a view. And what must be the effect in the University? Our remarks have been made

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in reference to College chapels; but they will apply also to attendance at the University Church. The truth is, the scheme is not practicable: and sure we are, that a British Parliament will never adopt it while a national Church is maintained.

The scheme also would be ruinous to the learning and literature of the land. It would open the door to confusion and disorder; and while numbers would never enter those seats of learning under such circumstances, others who did enter would spend their time in disputes and quarrels respecting religion, politics, and the various questions which are necessarily agitated when men of different creeds associate together. Some one remarked, in the recent debate, that it would be better for Dissenters to turn their attention to the improvement of their own places of education. We are of this opinion. Not long since, we remember, that it was actually stated in a *Dissenting Review*, that Homerton and some other academy, the name of which we do not now recollect, were far superior to Oxford and Cambridge, and that the learning of the individuals who adorn the English Universities was not to be compared with that of the Dissenting schools. Now surely Dissenters may remain satisfied with such advantages, without being anxious to secure the inferior ones of the two Universities. But perhaps they imagine that an infusion of Dissent would exalt them to the standard of Homerton!

Undoubtedly attempts will be made, year after year, to open Oxford and Cambridge to all parties; but, until other radical changes are introduced into our institutions, we do not expect that they will be successful. Nor are we fearful of other changes. On the contrary, we believe that the good sense of the English people will check the spirit of innovation which was let loose some years ago. The cause, for instance, advocated by Mr. Christie, has retrograded, rather than advanced, during the last few years; and we are inclined to think that it will retrograde still further.

THE WEEKLY OFFERTORY.

A step, we think, has been gained towards the restoration of the weekly offertory, in the recent proceedings of the Bishop of London respecting China. Our readers are aware that a collection was made throughout the diocese, in order to assist in planting the Church in that distant land. In most cases, we believe, the offerings were collected from seat to seat during the reading of the offertory. We know not whether the practice

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was general, but we know that it was adopted in many churches. The amount thus collected will be devoted to the purpose already specified. Happy shall we be to find this practice followed by other prelates in their respective dioceses. We hope to see a general collection throughout the country for the same object. But objections have been most unaccountably and most unreasonably raised to the mode of collecting from pew to pew. Though the alms of communicants are thus received, many persons object to this method for a general collection. We call the objection unreasonable, nor can we believe that any valid objection can be offered. Surely no one would object, because it is more difficult to avoid giving, than when a plate is held at the church door. We trust that none of the objectors are influenced by such a feeling; but we cannot but express our belief, that the conduct of some persons appears very much to countenance the supposition.

An outcry, too, was raised, even in the *Times* newspaper among others, that the Bishop was about to enforce the weekly offertory. Suppose his lordship were to do so, would there be anything heretical in the practice, or terrible in its consequences? The Church enjoins it—why then should the individuals, who wish to restore the practice, be branded as innovators? But in this instance, as in many others, the Bishop was misrepresented. Like every sound Churchman, he wishes for its restoration; but he did not enjoin it. During his recent confirmations he took occasion to address some observations on the subject to the clergy. These, it appears, were misunderstood; and his lordship has now addressed an explanatory letter to the clergy of London and its vicinity. The Bishop states, that the matter must be left to the clergy themselves—that he did not enjoin the practice, but that he should be rejoiced if the Church were in such a state as to justify its general adoption. Then, with respect to charity sermons, his lordship recommended, though he did not enjoin, that the collection should be made from pew to pew while the sentences were read—a practice which he deemed more becoming than to make it during the singing of a hymn. Very reasonably, the Bishop expresses his surprise at the opposition of certain laymen. Our opinion is, that the laity would do nothing were they not secretly backed by some of the clergy. After all, is there anything so obnoxious in the recommendations of the Bishop of London as to induce clergymen or laymen to speak and act as if the Church were likely to be endangered?

Our readers are aware of the reflections, the severe and un-

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charitable reflections, which have been cast upon the Bishop of London in consequence of his Charge. In a preceding article it is stated that the Bishop of Calcutta has reprinted the Charge in India, because he considered it to be a powerful antidote to the erroneous opinions of the *Tracts for the Times.* At the close of the letter addressed to the clergy, the Bishop of London alludes to the misrepresentations of his views on this subject; and he distinctly states that few persons have protested against the views of *the Tracts more distinctly or emphatically* than himself. We have previously made the very same remark. We stated that we considered the Charge to be a most powerful defence of the truth against those publications. His lordship has now put forth the same statement. But will the persons who hesitate not to misrepresent any individual, whose opinions on all points do not square with their own, cease to calumniate the Bishop of London? We have no such expectation; but we rejoice to think that truth must eventually prevail, and that already the eyes of many are open to see the misrepresentations of some of those publications, in which men and things are exhibited in such false colours.

THE SEES OF BANGOR AND ST. ASAPH.

An attempt was made in Parliament to prevent the execution of the scheme for the union of these two sees; a scheme which was recommended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The attempt was unsuccessful, but we are not discouraged. The strong feeling which has been manifested throughout the country will, we are inclined to hope, lead her Majesty's Government to re-consider the recommendation of the Commissioners. Whatever may be done, we trust that Wales will not be deprived of one of her bishops. It appears that the great difficulty in the way is the necessity of sending a bishop to Manchester; but we feel assured that this obstacle may be overcome. In the recent debate the proposal of the Commissioners was supported by several of our prelates. At the same time we see nothing in their speeches to lead to the conclusion that they would not spare Wales if Manchester could be provided for. We are therefore inclined to hope, that before the next session of Parliament some arrangement may be made, by which both objects —namely, the security of the Welch sees, and a provision for Manchester, may be attained. We trust that during the recess some of the bishops will give their attention to the subject, with a view to an amicable settlement in the ensuing session.

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We strongly recommend on this subject, "A Letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury on the Ecclesiastical Commission, with especial reference to the projected Suppression of a Bishopric in North Wales. By R. W. Huntley, M.A." Mr. Huntley's object is to show, that in such a matter the voice of the Church should be ascertained through the medium of Convocation. When the Convocation assembled in 1841, the upper house sent down to the lower an address to the Queen, containing a clause which recognized and approved the Ecclesiastical Commission. This clause was struck out by the lower house, and the address, in its amended form, was accepted by the upper, and presented to her Majesty. As the suppression of the see in Wales is grounded on the recommendation of the Commission, Mr. Huntley argues, that the Convocation has, by rejecting the clause in question, expressed its disapproval of the Commission. Before, therefore, the recommendation respecting Wales is carried into effect, he thinks that the Convocation should be permitted to speak. At present that assembly is not permitted to do more than address the crown; but the writer of the letter is of opinion that no such step should be taken, except with the concurrence of the Church, and that consequently the Synod should be permitted to act. In our next number we hope to resume the consideration of this important subject, in connexion with Mr. Huntley's letter.

SOCIETIES.

It gives us much pleasure to find that the various societies connected with the Church of England are in a flourishing condition. We have occupied already the space usually devoted to an Ecclesiastical Report, or we had intended to have dwelt a little on the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Propagation Society, the National Society, and the Church Building Society. There are other questions, too, of very great importance, which must be reserved for consideration in our next. We allude especially to the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, and the decision on the Braintree Church-rate case. These will be discussed in our next number.

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General Literature.

Tracts for the Last Days. Nos. 1 to 20. London: Painter.

When the publication of these Tracts began, which was no longer ago than the commencement of the present year, we shortly expressed a favourable opinion of the first numbers which appeared, as bringing subjects of the greatest importance under our notice, and so handling them as to present much food for deep thought, and requiring very deliberate and attentive consideration. This opinion has not been changed by the Tracts which have since appeared, though they have come out in so rapid a succession that we have upwards of twenty of them in less than six months. It seems evident, from the depth of thought on the wide range of subjects handled inthe Tracts, that the matter has been long considered; and it would seem, from the variety of style, as well as from the quick publication, that many persons are engaged in preparing them: yet there is an unity of plan and connectedness of purpose, which lead to the inference that they are under the superintendence of some one individual. We have no right to pry into other men's motives for concealment, and we remember the old story of an impertinent stranger wanting to know what one of the old philosophers carried under his cloak—"I carry it there in order that you may not know," was the reply of the wise man. For our own parts we see nothing in these Tracts which any man might not very safely avow, and we see a great deal which most men might be very proud to own, and much which it may be profitable to men of all parties in the Church to ponder, and apply each to their own case and circumstances. Yet, looked at as compositions, these Tracts are very unequal in matter as well as in style; and they require a good deal of sifting and adjusting. So that we would willingly have delayed our further notice, until we could take more time to analyze them, were it not that the subjects are so important as to require an immediate notice, and that if they come out with the same railway speed, our quarterly vehicle will never overtake them. We cannot say that we approve of the practice of putting the discussions of deep points of doctrine into the form of Tracts. It seems to us irreverent towards such sacred subjects, and we think of the feeling of incongruity which would arise from seeing any of St. Paul's epistles printed as three-penny tracts. And in the very style there is an occasional flippancy and irreverence, induced probably by this form of publication, which mars the effect which they are intended to produce, and might otherwise accomplish. A lively and familiar style is becoming in a newspaper or in a political tract, but does not so well comport with religious discussions as the grave, measured, and even ponderous style which is associated in our minds with these weighty subjects. With this exception, and which only applies to some of the Tracts, the style of these writers is remarkably clear—we seldom have any doubt of their meaning—there are no round-about pedan-

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tic forms of expression to eke out a vague idea; and it may be that many of the writers are laymen, and if so, it is far better that they should write in a style which is natural, and to which they are accustomed, than that they should affect a scholastic style, and become constrained and obscure.

But laymen especially should remember, that when they are engaged in a work so sacred as religious discussions, any approach to levity or jocularity breaks the solemn spell, instantly destroys the effect of their argument upon the minds of their readers, and they write in vain. Sidney Smith never has written, never will write, anything to carry weight with the Church; and in this series a joke at page 203 has spoiled the whole Tract.

The publication of this series of Tracts has avowedly originated in the discontinuance of the Oxford *Tracts for the Times.* But "the writers of these have no connexion with the writers of the *Tracts for the Times;*" and the object aimed at in these "will be the statement of Catholic truth; by which expression is meant, truth which it equally concerns every part of the Catholic Church—Greek, Roman, and Protestant—to consider. Men will not be urged to return to ancient practices, however good and necessary, without first understanding and feeling the necessity for them; whilst they will be encouraged to adopt them when once their appropriateness is felt."—*Address.*

The writers of these Tracts seem to know better what they are about than the Oxford writers did at the commencement of their series; though they take a far wider range, and seem to aim at far higher things. Our doubt is, whether they are not taking too wide a range, and aiming at impracticable things—at least, for thepresent impracticable; and, having taken too high a standard, whether they are justifiable in condemning all things which fall short of this confessedly abstract and ideal perfection. From the abstract and theoretic form in which the argument is put, it was difficult to discover, from the first numbers of these Tracts, at what the writers of them were aiming, or whether they had in view any practical end whatsoever. But now we are able pretty clearly to discern what their purpose is, and also the way by which they think that it may be attained. Of the first fifteen of these Tracts, nine have the same heading—"The One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church," and are continuations of the same subject; and from these, taken together, we may discover the system upon which these writers proceed.

It was not till the ninetieth number of the Oxford Tracts that the system advocated by the writers of those fully developed itself; and it was evident then that in the earlier numbers they had either suppressed their opinions as too startling to be made known without first preparing men's minds for the announcement; or, as we rather think to have been the case, they had not matured their system, and had not themselves perceived the consequences which would necessarily ensue—whether in the place where it would ultimately land them, or in the position which others would then be constrained to take towards them.

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We now perceive that the systems held by the writers of the former and of the present Tracts are wholly dissimilar; and that they have nothing in common, save the name, and the endeavour to arrive at what they call Catholic truth; for it is evident that the thing sought for is different, the place in which they expect to find it is different, and the means used for ascertaining it are altogether different. So that we think it is a mistake in the present writers to suppose, as they appear to do in their preliminary address, that those who have gone along with the former system may now take another step in advance with them: they must turn right about, and retrace their steps, and begin another system, *de novo*, in order to assimilate or go on together. The Oxford writers assumed that all Catholic truth was contained in the Church, meaning thereby the visible Church, or the Church upon earth; and they sought for its elements in such traditions and practices as had prevailed so generally in the best ages of the Church, as to be a probable representation of the abiding faith and practice of the one Catholic Church of all generations, from which they assumed that God had never withdrawn his Spirit, and in which, therefore, true faith had always abidden: resting these assumptions upon the promise made to the Church, that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;" and upon the promise to the first disciples, "Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

The present writers assume that Catholic truth is only to be found in the word of God, of which the Church may be the exponent, but this only imperfectly—an imperfection needing to be rectified, enlarged, and harmonized by a standard more fixed and sure than anything known among visible things, viz., the abstract idea of a Church, in the unalterable purpose of God, as this may be inferred from his declaration in Scripture. These writers take, therefore, a far more extensive view of Catholic truth, and limit not its meaning to what might be found in the Church, even if that Church were perfect; but, including the ordinary senses of the word as implying the worship and service of God, and the blessing of individuals, they regard it as passing beyond these immediate and present objects, as being the kingdom of heaven, and as bringing glory to God as well as blessing to man. They make this abstraction consequently their standard, and bring the existing Churches of all ages to the test of this higher standard, instead of endeavouring to form a standard from the practices of the best Churches of past or present times.

And whereas the Oxford writers expected to be able to realize their idea *now*, by mutual concession among existing Churches, and by an amalgamation of the best things which have been retained by them all from the beginning; it is evident that the present writers look not for the immediate realization of their idea of a Church —they find it not in past ages; they find no change for the better in the present generation; and they evidently look for some other dispensation, or some other interposition of God, for the establishment of that polity which they are looking for—meaning thereby not simply a Church, but the kingdom of heaven.

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This difference of object contemplated, and of place where the expectations are to be realized, affects all the details of the respective systems; for those who look to visible things only, as the end of the Church, may well regard the first ages as preparatory for the presently existent Church. But those who contemplate a higher and more perfect Church than has ever yet appeared, must regard the existing Church as one whole, preparatory of that future and higher thing. And thus, on the first supposition, the miraculous endowments of the first ages, with the machinery of apostles and prophets for establishing the Church, might not seem necessary for the continuance of the Church after it had been established; and the power necessary for governing it might devolve upon successors of the apostles, enlightened and sustained by the ordinary, and not the extraordinary, operations of the Holy Ghost. But, on the second supposition, a continuance of the first endowments, and first machinery, throughout all succeeding generations, must be insisted on, if not even an enlargement of power expected, in order to raise the Church to that standing of truth and holiness which is its calling, but has never yet been attained. Accordingly it is argued, in these Tracts, that the Church cannot dispense with any of the gifts which God at any time gave, without coming short of that point of perfection which he has set before her:—

"It is commonly said that these gifts were temporary; by which word *temporary* is meant, that they were given to accomplish an end which has been already attained; and for a time only, which has already expired. But the Scripture declares, that the objects destined to be accomplished by them have not been attained, and therefore the time for which they were given cannot have expired; for the saints are not yet perfected, and never can be but by these means."—*Tract* vi., p. 81.

The exalted claims thus made by these writers, on behalf of the Church, enlist all their sympathies on the side of the High Church party, to whatever denomination belonging, and seem to have given them a perfect antipathy to the Low Church party, and to have rendered them insensible to the truths contended for by them, as the right of private judgment, &c.; truths which ought not to be neglected or undervalued. But so far does their antipathy proceed, that Tract xviii. is entitled "Evangelicalism the Apostasy of the Last Days;" and all the evils of Radicalism, whether in its political or religious form, are ascribed to *spiritual lawlessness*—of which they say, "There can be little doubt that it had its origin at the Reformation" (p. 260). The proof of this is attempted by historical facts, and with the same degree of plausibility as in the Oxford Tracts; but both fail, inasmuch as the origin of *the Reformation itself* is then unaccountable, and as the lawlessness has pervaded the *Papal* as entirely as the *Reformed* States, and is at the present moment far more rampant in Papal Ireland than in Protestant England. Besides, the Church of England affords a practical refutation of the hypothesis, wherein the Reformation itself stands embodied, and

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yet lawlessness is counteracted. We ascribe the Reformation to the overstraining of High Church principles, and thank God for the blessings which have descended to us in consequence of that reaction; and to it even these writers are indebted for the freedom with which they are allowed to canvass and discuss topics such as these.

But it is evident that the writers of these Tracts look with a more favourable eye upon the Papal than upon any other branch of the Catholic Church, notwithstanding the Papal is that branch which most entirely contravenes their abstract idea of a Church, by overriding the Scripture from whence that idea is derived; and notwithstanding also the many hard and ugly epithets which are applied by them to the Church of Rome. The whole Roman system is an anticipation of the kingdom of heaven—the present system rests upon the assumption that it is still future. And we must say, moreover, that harsh terms occur much too often in these Tracts, and so lose their point, and give gratuitous offence. One of the most revolting offences, one of the most pernicious vices of this lawless age, is the prevalence of anonymous slander and indiscriminate abuse. Against this spirit every anonymous writer should guard, and in his whole conduct practically protest. The honourable man, who writes anonymously, should avoid everything which may, however remotely or indirectly, countenance this spirit of detraction; and the Christian, who may desire to shrink from publicity, should take care that he does not by his conduct afford any shelter or immunity to the skulking slanderer and the moral assassin.

The Papal preferences to which we allude, are chiefly apparent in those Tracts which speak of the subjects of difference between the Greek, Roman, and Protestant branches of the Catholic Church. In these we do not think that equal justice is done to the three, from the first and the last being regarded through a Roman medium; and this, not as a Romanist would do, if he got emancipated into liberty, having experienced *the evils* of the Roman system as well as *its good;* but as a theorist who may construct a system, and say how things *ought to work*, when they do, in fact, work very differently. We do not affect to conceal our own preferences for the Church of England, and are quite content to bear the imputation of looking at these questions through this medium, happy if we can attain such enlarged, yet accurate views of Catholic truth as those we find embodied in the writings of the Anglican Fathers. The Church of England appears to us as steering a middle course in doctrine, between the opposite extremes; and towards other Churches to have been liberal, maintaining her own rights, not meddling with those of other Churches, nor much troubling herself with what others are doing, beyond the help which she may derive from them for the better ordering of her own affairs. To strengthen her own defences, to ward off dangers from without, and to guard against the insidious workings of corruptions which may arise within—these are her proper cares: to these she must devote herself.

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In this point of view, both the Oxford Tracts and the present series have their uses, and the latter we think of greater use than the former. Such writings tend to check sectarianism, to which we are all prone; and tend to produce a respect for others, by showing us the importance of the truths for which they are contending. Sectarianism may exist in large bodies as well as in small. The Churches of Rome and Greece are decidedly sectarian, and the Anglican, and every national Church, is continually tempted to become so. Witnessing for certain predominant truths is the characteristic of each national Church; and to do this, without contradicting or obscuring other and equally important truths this is the difficulty. This witness must be borne by each Church, in emulation, rather than in rivalry, of the others—with hearty acknowledgment of whatever good there is in any, and in mutual dependence upon each other, as belonging to the same mystical body, under one Head in the heavens, as the One Catholic Church of Christ.

The Life of Robert Pollok, Author of "The Course of Time." By his Brother, DAVID POLLOK, A.M. With Selections from his Manuscripts. London: Blackwood and Sons. 1843.

THIS interesting volume contains an account of a man who was cut off in the flower of his youth, and respecting whom the public will be glad to learn as many particulars as possible—of an author whose memory will not be forgotten while the English language endures. The history of Robert Pollok is a melancholy one. At the early age of twenty-nine, with a prospect before him of great usefulness, he was called away from earth to heaven. His brother's account of his journey from Edinburgh to London, from London to Southampton, and of his closing moments in a cottage near the latter place, is especially interesting. Indeed, the whole volume will be read with much pleasure by all those who have been interested in "The Course of Time." His remains were deposited in a village churchyard two miles from Southampton, and near the sea. Over his grave is engraven—"The grave of Robert Pollok, A.M., author of 'The Course of Time.' His immortal poem is his monument. Erected by the admirers of his genius."

At the close of the volume is a selection of poems from his manuscript Remains. These will be read with peculiar interest. It appears from "The Life," that a large mass of manuscript documents, both in verse and prose, is in the hands of his brother. We would suggest that a volume of "Remains" might be selected worthy of publication.

Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. By JOHN KITTO. Part III. Edinburgh: Black.

THIS work is on the plan of the "Pictorial Bible." The illustrations are numerous, and neatly executed. A large mass of materials will be found collected; and to general readers, who are unable to procure more voluminous works, this volume will be interesting and useful.

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Two Treatises on the Church. The first by THOMAS JACKSON, D.D. The second by ROBERT SANDERSON, D.D. To which is added a Letter of Bishop Cosin. Edited, with Introductory Remarks, by WILLIAM GOODE, M.A. London: Hatchard and Son. 1843.

THE name of the very ingenious and laborious author of the "Divine Rule of Faith" is doubtless familiar to all our readers. The errors of that school, which passes under the designation of *Tractarian*, have never been assailed by an antagonist armed with weapons so carefully selected and tempered, and arrayed in armour so diligently proved. A weak opponent helps his adversary—it was so with the early progress of the Oxford writers; they were cried down, instead of being argued down. Well meaning but incompetent persons raised a dust and clamour that bewildered and annoyed, without convincing or vanquishing—

"And Prejudice stood up to swear all true."

Mr. Goode is an opponent of a very different description. He has a reason to give for the faith that is in him—he has learning not inferior to that which he combats, and he compensates a deficiency in sophism by the majestic sufficiency of *truth*. We thank him for the republication of the treatises which compose the present volume. The Church is the key-stone of the Tractarian theology; suffer this key-stone to be laid according to the design of Dr. Pusey, and the edifice of doctrine soon rises in all its harmony and splendour. Dr. Jackson, whose treatise occupies the first place, is an unimpeachable witness, having been characterized by Dr. Pusey himself, as "one of the best and greatest minds our Church has nurtured." It is thus that Jackson speaks of this Church—he calls it "a true and real body, consisting of many parts, all really, though mystically and spiritually, united into one Head, and by their real union with one Head, all are really and truly united amongst themselves." Upon this definition Mr. Goode observes:—"In the Tractarian view the prime question is, what constitutes a man a member of the Church? In Dr. Jackson, what unites a man to Christ, and constitutes him a member of Christ's body? According to Tractarian notions, a man becomes united to Christ only by becoming a member of the Church. According to Dr. Jackson, a man becomes a true and real member of the Church only by being united to Christ. The attention of the Tractarian, therefore, is directed to the determination of the nature and constitution of the visible Church, as it existed in primitive times, and the forms and ceremonies necessary for a regular and orderly introduction to it; and having laid down an exclusive rule of Church government and discipline, he affirms that those only who have submitted to this rule form Christ's body, and are united to him as his Church. The attention of Dr. Jackson, having respect to the primitive order of Church government and discipline, is, nevertheless, *in the first place*, directed to those spiritual requisites which, according to Scripture, produce union with Christ, and make men members of his body; and by the existence of these characteristics he determines who constitute the true Church of Christ.

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Hence, with him, the one holy Catholic Church, which we believe in the creed, is the aggregate of those who are spiritually united to Christ by a living faith."

The authority of Sanderson, the acutest of reasoners, the profoundest of thinkers, is properly brought to strengthen and confirm the argument of Jackson. Oh! that spear must be like a weaver's beam, darted by a gigantic hand, which is to pierce the shields of these champions of the faith, thus led down from their "high and lettered retreats," into the field of theological controversy. The letter of Bishop Cosin worthily concludes the volume. It illustrates the view which he took of the position of the foreign Reformed Churches, and the character of their orders.

Puseyism, or Anglo-Catholicism briefly considered in connexion with the Doctrine of the Church of Rome. By a Member of the Protestant Reformed Church of England. London: Lee. 1843.

We object to the title of this pamphlet for the same reason that we have objected to a somewhat similar title of another work, namely, that it makes *Puseyism* identical with *Anglo-Catholicism*. Because the writers of the *Tracts* choose to call themselves *Anglo-Catholics*, surely we are not to give up our own claims to the title, nor yet to concede to those individuals, a designation which they have assumed, but which belongs to all sound members of the Anglican Church.

Four Letters to the Right Reverend Connop Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's, on the Claims of the Dioceses of Wales to augmentation out of the general fund at the disposal of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. By Cambrensis. 1843.

The author's aim is to establish the claims of the dioceses of Wales to a portion of the fund for the augmentation of poor livings. There can be no doubt that Wales contains a very large proportion of small benefices; and we believe that the Commissioners will not overlook that portion of the country. To those who are interested in this question we recommend the perusal of this pamphlet. It pleads the cause of Wales ably, and it will be read with much interest.

Foxe's Book of Martyrs. Edited by the Rev. John Cumming, M.A. Parts XXIII. XXIV. London: Virtue.

This is little more than a reprint of the text of Foxe, the Martyrologist; but when the work is completed, it will be interesting to a large class of readers, in consequence of its numerous embellishments, which are well executed. We are glad to see John Foxe in various garbs; and the very attempt of Mr. Virtue proves that the Martyrologist is in favour with the people; we would only suggest that the name should be properly written—that is, *Foxe*, not *Fox*.

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Anglo-Catholicism not Apostolical; being an Inquiry into the Scriptural Authority of the Leading Doctrines advocated in "The Tracts for the Times," and other publications of the Anglo-Catholic School. By WILLIAM LINDSAY ALEXANDER, M.A. Edinburgh: Black.

WE must complain of the title of this book, for we cannot agree that *Anglo-Catholicism is not Apostolical.* The doctrines, and discipline, and government are truly apostolical. But the writer explains his meaning in the preface. He there limits the expression *Anglo-Catholicism* to the peculiar views of the *Tracts for the Times:* consequently, with such an explanation, we can adopt it. Still we consider the author to have been unfortunate in his choice of a title. Why, for instance, should he limit the application of a word, which is claimed by all sound members of the Anglican Church? They deem themselves to be *Anglo-Catholics.* But having stated our objection to the title, and pointed out its application by the author, we most readily add, that there is much in this volume which deserves to be well and seriously pondered. The preface is moderately written. The author does not deal in mere declamations against the authors of the *Tracts for the Times,* as is too frequently the case with many of their opponents. On the contrary, he admits "the talent, learning, and apparent sincerity" of the writers. His main object is to show that the peculiar views of the *Tracts* were not received by the Church in the early ages. He has manifested a most conciliating and Christian spirit in his management of the argument; while, on many points, he has fully established his position against the *Tracts.* On some points, indeed, we cannot concur with the writer, especially in his views of the apostolical succession, the nature of the Christian ministry, and some other topics nearly allied. We look upon these as blemishes in a work otherwise calculated to be very useful at the present juncture.

The Last Days, their near Approach and Perilous Character; including a New Interpretation of the Seven Vials, the Battle of Armageddon, and the Coming of the Son of Man. By the Author of "Downfall of Popery." London: Ward. 1843.

WE cannot be expected to offer an opinion on the various questions discussed in the present volume. They are questions on which the public mind is much divided; though almost all, who have paid attention to the subject, agree in thinking that important events are on the eve of being developed. But though we cannot venture to express an opinion on the topics embraced in the work, we can state that much moderation is displayed by the author. Into the actual views we profess not to enter, for amidst such a variety of conflicting opinions we may well be excused for not giving expression to our own. At the same time the inquiry is one of great interest; and when modestly conducted, we have no objection to the study. Many works on prophecy are so dogmatically written, and the spirit evinced is so contrary to the Gospel, that we feel the more pleasure in perusing the present volume.

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An Additional Supplement to the Literary Policy of the Church of Rome, exhibited in an account of the Damnatory Catalogues, or Indexes, &c. Second Edition. 1830. By the Rev. Joseph Mendham, M.A. London: Duncan and Malcolm. 1843.

Mr. Mendham has long been known by his learned labours, especially in connexion with the practice of the Church of Rome respecting her Indexes. It has been the policy of that Church to prevent the reading of the Scriptures by the people; and not only so, but she has also prohibited the use of other works which were calculated to open the ears of her members to the truth. There was no other method of accomplishing the end, than that of publishing a list of such books as were to be prohibited, as well as an enumeration of passages from other works which might be read under the specified restrictions. Some works, therefore, are altogether prohibited, while others are to be read only in parts. Some years ago Mr. Mendham presented to the public a most elaborate and learned account of all the works of this character, which, from the earliest period, have been authoritatively put forth by the Church of Rome. To this very important volume the present pamphlet is an additional supplement.

We beg to refer our readers to that learned work: it contains more information on this subject than is to be found in any other production. Mr. Mendham gives a minute description of the various Indexes, and he generally describes them from a personal inspection. It is curious to trace the progress of Rome's "literary policy;" and this may be done by any one who peruses Mr. Mendham's work. To those who possess the volume, this pamphlet will prove a most acceptable addition. Mr. Mendham is so well qualified for the discussion of this subject, that we are always glad to find him prosecuting his labours and researches in a field which must be regarded as peculiarly his own. Few writers of the present day have done greater service to the Church.

History of the Sandwich Islands, &c. By James Jackson Jarves, Member of the American Oriental Society. London: Moxon.

Our readers will obtain an insight into the character and objects of this volume by learning the motives of the author in composing it. He attempted, to adopt while we abbreviate his sentiments, to trace the courses and results of the "antagonistic efforts of the several influences which have been brought to accelerate or impede" the progress of Christianity in that interesting cluster of islands, which Captain Cook, in honour of the then first Lord of the Admiralty, designated the Sandwich Islands. The author has the advantage, not enjoyed by many historians, of personal acquaintance with the country and people described. He landed at Oahu in 1837; he remained in the island nearly four years—the most valuable fruits, indeed, of that residence are not contained in the present volume. His sketches of life and manners in these remote regions, of their natural phenomena, and of the great volcanic eruption of 1840,

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together with a full account of the mightiest of craters, as he calls it—the gigantic *Lua Pele*, or *Kilavea* in *Hawaii*—all these subjects of amusement and instruction the writer reserves for a future and separate volume, if the reception of the present should indicate any popular interest in the fortunes of the nation to whose history it is directed. It remains to be added, that the writer is an American, and that he appears, during his residence in the Sandwich Islands, to have edited a weekly paper at Honolulu.

The volume is divided into twelve chapters, and commencing with a brief outline of the physical features of the Hawaiian Archipelago, with their prominent characteristics and capabilities, the author proceeds to communicate some information respecting the early history of these islands—their manners and customs—until, after touching upon the European visits, which seem to have been made to the Hawaiian islands two centuries before Cook, he arrives at that period in their history which is marked by the arrival of that celebrated navigator. From this time the stream of history begins to flow. It is a little and a troubled stream, but its course leads the philosophic investigator among some of the most interesting scenery of the moral world. It is obviously out of our power to follow this stream; but we think that the writer of the present volume will not be found an inefficient guide. He has strong prejudices, and he is an American. The former exception will explain the enthusiasm with which he exalts the labours and the virtues of the American missionaries; and the latter will account for several inelegancies, and, as they sound to an English ear, provincialisms, which occur in these pages. The narrative of Cook's proceedings deserves an attentive perusal; and the progress of the Roman Catholic mission will also be examined with interest.

The Perils of the Nation: an Appeal to the Legislature, the Clergy, and the Higher and Middle Classes. London: Seeley. 1843.

We cannot enter upon the various topics which are discussed in this volume, for they are so numerous and so important that it would be impossible to discuss them in a cursory notice. The title will at once point the reader to some of those grave questions which force themselves upon the notice of Christian men at the present moment. The author treats the subjects with great solemnity. He is evidently aware of the dangers with which, as a nation, we are threatened. It will be seen that he addresses various classes of the community, and, among others, the bishops and the clergy. We have some doubts on this point. We cannot quite reconcile ourselves to the idea of an anonymous author lecturing the bishops. Our hope is, that all our prelates are anxious to discharge their duties as in the presence of God. Still the work is full of very important reflections and suggestions, and few persons can read it without reaping considerable benefit. There are many, indeed, to whom this volume might be exceedingly useful, in leading them to ponder over the state of the nation and the Church.

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The Gospel Narrative of the Holy Week Harmonized, with Reflections. By the Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS, late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London. 1843.

THIS very pleasing volume is divided into four parts. 1. The Approach to Jerusalem. 2. The Teaching in the Temple. 3. The Discourse on the Mount of Olives. 4. The Last Supper. Each of these chief divisions embracing many sectional subdivisions. Thus, for example, under the part which is entitled "The Approach to Jerusalem," we are presented with very interesting descriptions of the supper at Bethany, Christ weeping over Jerusalem, the cursing of the fig-tree, &c. None of our readers can require to be reminded of the peculiar sanctity with which the closing days of our Lord's ministry upon earth were ever regarded by the early Christians. The whole week was devoted to the strictest fasting and humiliation; and several of the heathen emperors marked their veneration for it, by causing all law-suits to cease, tribunal doors to be shut, and prisoners to be set free. Our Church employs all the means in her power to perpetuate this feeling of reverence and love; there is, therefore, something peculiarly solemn and touching in the subject which Mr. Williams has selected for his narrative.

The title of the book explains, in some measure, its character. It is a harmonized history of a passage in the life of Jesus Christ, with reflections; the records of the Evangelists are contrasted—one ray of holy light is brought to shine upon another—and the path of the student receives considerable illumination from these different beams of the same sun of inspiration thus converging upon one object. Bishop Hall, in his "Contemplations," and Bishop Taylor, in his "Life of Jesus," afford the most celebrated examples of biographical narrative, embellished and applied. Mr. Williams is not an unworthy disciple—he has something of Hall's sweetness and picturesqueness of description, and something of Taylor's happiness of adapted illustration upon some points of doctrine, as well as of practice. The predilections of Mr. Williams lead him into opinions which we deem to be dangerous; but they are not prominently or unpleasingly brought forward in this present volume. Passages of gentle wisdom and of unaffected pathos are frequently to be met with, and we were much pleased with the following remarks, in allusion to the *cursing of the fig-tree*:—

"We may well suppose that the thoughts which must have filled our Lord's mind on this morning, while proceeding to Jerusalem and the Temple, must have been such as nothing could explain to his disciples, no human language could give utterance to. He spake, therefore, to his disciples, then, as he does to us all now, and at all times, not so much by word of mouth, written or spoken, as by the daily occurrences and the order of nature, and by natural objects. For even now many are the lessons beyond all power of language which he would teach us; and does so by events that occur about our path, and the silent language of nature blooming and withering as he wills. For it is with reference to this divine instruction they impart that it is said of the visible creation, 'they

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have neither speech nor language, but their voices are heard among them.' In the same manner, then, also did he make Nature herself speak to his disciples; but it was as it were in a manner beyond nature, the more particularly to fix their regard. For deeds with Christ are parables, and parables are often deeds, or but the account of his deeds."

There is a little obscurity in the last expression that might have been easily avoided. We should have been happy, had we time and opportunity, to have referred our readers to several other very pleasing illustrations of this author's graceful style and devotional earnestness. Of that school of theologians of which Mr. Williams is a distinguished member, we have, on previous occasions, delivered our fearless and deliberate opinion, and with this precautionary remark we bid him farewell.

The Life of St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch. No. I. London: Clarke.

THIS little tract forms one of an intended series of Lives of the Fathers and Saints. We are not aware whether more numbers have been published; but we trust that the series will be continued. The present number contains the "Life of Ignatius." We are convinced that the history of the early fathers and saints has not been sufficiently studied by the members of our Church. Even among the clergy there is a sad lack of knowledge on this subject. And if the clergy are only partially informed, what must be the state of the people generally? This attempt, therefore, is calculated to be very useful in directing the minds of the public to a very neglected branch of study and reading. This number is admirably suited to the young. All the particulars respecting this saint and martyr are detailed in a manner that cannot fail to arrest the attention and touch the heart.

The Estatica of Youghal compared with the Wonders of the Tyrol: in a Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury. By the Rev. J. ALDWORTH, Rector of Youghal, Ireland. London: Dalton. 1843.

IN our last number we devoted a separate article to the exposure of these Romish impositions; and we are glad to see Mr. Aldworth's careful and well-digested compilation of unquestionable documentary evidence, "which do credit to the Protestants of Youghal, in laying bare the gross fraud and blasphemy of the Romish priests;" which quackery the Popish bishop at length admitted was "no miracle."

A Treatise on the State of the Soul, with reference to the Dead to this Mortal Life; interspersed with some useful Reflections. London: Painter. 1843.

THIS pamphlet is marked by deep thought and reflection. The subject is an important one, and the author enters upon it with much seriousness. It is a topic on which, though all are concerned, few meditate with much ability. The author has performed his task well.

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An Attempt to Determine the Sense of the Book of Common Prayer on the Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration: with a Sermon on the Office and Duties of Sponsors. By the Rev. J. H. GREEN ARMYTAGE, M.A. London: Seeley. 1843.

WITHOUT pledging ourselves to all the statements contained in this small volume, we can nevertheless recommend it to our readers, as containing much grave argument on a very important subject. The course adopted by the author appears to be a middle one. His reasoning is entitled to consideration; and the sermon on the "Duties of Sponsors" should be weighed well by those who undertake that important office. Probably the present volume will be viewed as presenting a somewhat new view of this much agitated question. At all events, the author has well reflected on the subject; and his views are put forth with much modesty.

The Holy Bible; accompanied throughout with a brief Hermeneutic and Exegetical Commentary and Revised Version. By the Rev. T. J. HUSSEY, D.D., Rector of Hayes, Kent. Parts I., II., III., IV. London: Colburn.

THIS is really an important work. Dr. Hussey gives the authorized text, and also a careful revision of the authorized version, in a separate column, in which the commentary is exhibited in *italic* characters, with a short but very important paraphrase for the elucidation of the text. We can only say that the author deserves every encouragement; and we cannot but entertain the hope that his labours will be rewarded by a very large circulation.

The Works of William Jay, collected and revised by himself. Vol. VI. *The Christian Contemplated, in a Course of Lectures.* London: Bartlett. 1843.

MR. JAY is a Dissenter, but he has long been known as a practical writer of considerable eminence. We, of course, cannot agree with him on various questions which are handled in his writings; but on almost all those subjects which are strictly of a practical character we consider him to be not merely sound, but one of the most useful writers of the day. We are happy also to add, that most of his writings are of this nature; and perhaps the present work, "The Christian Contemplated," is one of the most practical of all his practical works. It was published many years ago; but the author has now embodied it in this collected edition.

The British Church, and other Poems. By the Rev. D. J. WAUGH, A.B. London: Seeley. 1843.

THE principles of this unpretending volume are such as to commend it to all who love the Church of their fathers; while the poetry will be found to be of considerable merit. In the preface the author very modestly states his object in the composition of the volume. We recommend the book to the perusal of our readers, feeling assured that it will be read with interest.

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How shall we "Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?" By James Craigie Robertson, B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Pickering. 1843.

We regard this volume as a very interesting and valuable commentary upon those matters of ritual observance to which the attention of the clergy and the laity has been recently directed with so much earnestness. It embraces a general view of the daily service, of the ornaments of the Church and the ministers, of the offertory, of the eucharistic elements, of sermons, &c. The observations of the writer are characterized by a temperance and a candour which are deserving of very high commendation; and the production of his authorities communicates an importance to the argument, which it would be absurd to attribute to the common theological disquisitions of the day. The reader will form an idea of Mr. Robertson's mode of argument, if we condense a few of his observations respecting the performance of daily service. Looking at the practice of those eminent men who belonged to the class of parochial clergy, we find Hooker, on fasting-days, retiring into the church, and locking himself up many hours. Herbert read service morning and evening in Bemerton Chapel; and during the two visits which he made weekly to Salisbury Cathedral, his absence was supplied by his curate from Fulston. Now, Fulston was the *parish church*, and unless we adopt what Mr. Robertson calls the very improbable supposition that the curate read each service twice a day on these occasions, making *four* distinct services, we are obliged to conclude, that upon these occasions, when the church of *Bemerton* was open, the church of Fulston was *closed*. That Sanderson, while incumbent of Boothby Pagnell, used daily service, has been inferred by Bishop Mant, upon a very uncertain allusion of Walton. Hammond had prayers in his church twice on holy-days and their eves, and on Saturdays; once on other days. Heylyn read prayers in the church of Arlesford every morning. Bull took his family to church on holy-days, and tried to bring his people to observe Good Friday by having "a sermon besides the service of the church." Kettlewell had prayers both on holy-days and their eves; and also upon Saturdays in the afternoon. Now it is to be remembered, that the practice of these eminent persons is advanced by their biographers, "as something uncommon, and especially deserving of our admiration;" and it cannot, therefore, be received as any indication whatever of the religious temper of the times. The other topics which distinguish the present "theological movement," as it is called, are treated with similar clearness and impartiality With reference to the practice which the Bishop of London censured in his last Charge, of some clergymen adorning their altars with *flowers*, it may be noted that Ferrar decorated his church with flowers; and if he is tolerated as a model for one observance or ceremony, it seems not immediately obvious why he should not be imitated in others. The employment of evergreens at Christmas is universal. We can recommend Mr. Robertson's book to all candid and sincere enquirers.

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1. *A Companion for the Sick Room;* being a compendium of Christian Faith and Practice, chiefly compiled from the Writings of Divines of the Holy Catholic Church. London: Burns.
2. *Brief Thoughts on the Things of God and the Soul.* By EDWARD DALTON, Secretary to the Protestant Association. London: Wright and Co.
3. *Pastoral Letters to the Inhabitants of Stoke Gifford.* By EDWARD PARKER, Vicar. London: L. and G. Seeley.

SELECTIONS of passages from those writers who flourished in the golden ages of theology and eloquence will always receive a warm and an affectionate salutation from us, when they appear to have been made with a discriminating taste, even in a puro and earnest spirit of devotion. In this compendium for the "sick room," we meet with many beautiful thoughts and consolatory reflections from the works of Barrow, Hooker, Pearson, Beveridge, Taylor, Leighton, Sutton, and others. The benefit resulting from the perusal and digestion of such passages must, under God's grace, be great and effective. May we all lay them to our hearts, not only in our sickness, but in our strength; and while we bless God's holy name for all his *servants departed this life in his faith and fear, may we beseech him to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of his heavenly kingdom.*

The peculiarity of these "Thoughts" of Mr. Dalton is, that they are written in *words of one syllable;* for what reason, or from what motive he has subjected himself to so much trouble, we are not informed, and have no right to enquire. The thoughts themselves are earnest, and sometimes forcible; and the necessary simplicity of language ought to recommend them to the young and the imperfectly educated. It is, however, proper to observe, that the author seems to have indulged in a Socratic irony, when he entitled his book "Brief Thoughts"—the brevity being confined to the *words.* Surely a thought, reading like a quotation from a sermon, and extending over three or four pages, cannot, with any accuracy, be called *brief.*

Mr. Edward Parker, being detained from his pastoral duties by severe and prolonged indisposition, addressed these "Letters" to his parishioners, with the humble hope that they might, to some extent, compensate for the want of pastoral intercourse, and help to keep in memory what he had preached to them. Of a writer who feels and declares that the earthly house of his tabernacle is fast dissolving, and must "shortly be put off," criticism presumes not to speak; but we confess that we read with extreme pain and sorrow such passages as the following:—"The glaring absurdities and demi-popish fooleries of an Irving, a Pusey, and those other small fry, who, by obscuring or clouding revelation, are causing many to fall from their steadfastness." No scholar *could* write, and no Christian *ought* to write in such language as this. Are we still obliged to say to their successors, as our blessed Lord said to the apostles themselves—"*Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of!*"

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The Pastor Chief; or, the Escape of the Vaudois. A Tale of the Seventeenth Century. London: Cunningham and Mortimer.

THIS is one of those delightful publications which re-produce historical facts in a new and popular form; and we predict that it will be read with universal interest. Many will be anxious to peruse it for the sake of the cause which it advocates, and others for the entertainment which a well wrought tale, founded on the events of real life, never fails to afford. The hero is Henri Arnaud, the celebrated Vaudois pastor and chieftain, whose "*Rentrée Glorieuse des Vaudois*" has long been a prohibited book in the *Index Expurgatorius* of Rome, and of which but few copies are extant. We are glad, therefore, to see the subject of its pages revived at this particular time, when the enmities and artifices of Rome against Protestantism require to be exposed, as being on the increase every day. The heroine is Henri's daughter, and such a heroine has seldom figured in the pages either of romance or history.

We wish this book had been sent into the world in the shape of a single volume, like many other productions of its class, and that it had been published at a low price. In that case its sale would ere long have been as great as that of some of the other "religious" tales, which are now found on every table. The actual condition of the Protestant Church of the Vaudois, which is becoming more and more alarming, wants to be brought under public notice; and these historical tales, which, in describing the past dangers of a persecuted community, represent many of its present perils, are vehicles of communication in which the public take delight, and are well calculated to excite attention and sympathy.

One extract from the "Pastor Chief" will suffice to exhibit its style and merits.

"*Marie Arnaud condemned to the rack, to force her to betray the intentions of the Vaudois.*

"It might, perhaps, be the momentary excitement that enabled Marie to advance so steadily to the place of torment. Had a longer respite been allowed, there would have been time for reflection, to show the full horrors of her situation, and awaken the weakness which the confusion of the surrounding multitude, and the enthusiastic feelings which fired her bosom, stifled for a time. As it was, with an unfailing step, and a demeanour which awed and astonished the spectators, she approached the fatal spot; and when there, on that dark and awful platform, the prince, who had watched her with involuntary interest, exclaimed to one of the assistant priests, 'Save, oh, save her! She is of too high a caste to suffer such ignominy in vain. On my own peril, I venture to allow her yet a few moments of hesitation to repent, and escape that unavailing agony—offer her advice, persuade, convince the proud intellect which will not be moved from its high resolve by fear, and induce her to save herself.'

"The priest heard and wondered, but yet obeyed." (Vol. ii., p. 258).

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"And then once more was she addressed with persuasions, which placed, alas! in colours all too bright, the happiness, the freedom, which, but for her own obstinacy, might yet be hers; and, on the other hand, the weight of bitter suffering, and perhaps an ignominious concession, forced from her by irresistible agony, aggravated by her own inward feelings of growing terror and uncertainty.

"This was the hour of trial; she felt it, and also that the worst result of a firm resolve had been far easier to endure; and again Marie took refuge in prayer.

"It was a deeply interesting moment to the bystanders. There stood the wily priest, like the tempter of old, pouring out joys she had no right now to look back upon, and enlisting even her holiest affections in aid of his solicitations; and there was she, listening, alas! with too willing an ear, her cheek varying with the changing hues of every fleeting emotion; her eye sometimes glistening with the swelling tear, sometimes flashing with indignation. But she was silent; no murmured sound of assent or conviction declared her real sentiments, and the spectators might yet doubt her decision, when pressing yet closer his persuasion, the priest urged 'her father's claims, her father's life and happiness dependent on her existence.' Then only Marie broke her imperturbable silence, and with a groan amounting almost to a shriek of anguish, exclaimed, 'My father, oh! my dear father!' But she checked herself, and in an instant after, raising her eyes with a far different expression to the priest, whispered—'Old man! if thou hadst a child—but alas, alas! no; if thou hadst, thou couldst not now tempt me to shame my own parent! But forbear, forbear, for the sake of our mutual Creator! and do thou help me, Almighty One!' From that instant she changed not; listened not, but to each reiterated question, replied, 'The rack, the rack; oh! sooner that than this!'" (Vol ii., pp. 259, 260).

The Rector's Note-Book: Anah, the Jewess. By Mrs. JANE K. STANFORD, Authoress of "The Stoic," &c. &c. London: Hatchard and Son. 1843.

WE have been deeply interested in this *narrative*, for so we must term it, although it is confessedly a tale. There is a freshness pervading it which rivets the attention from the commencement to the close. The story is a very simple one. A young Jewish lady, by the gentle and persuasive arguments and exemplary life of a "devoted rector," is led, on deliberate conviction, to renounce the errors of Judaism and to embrace Christianity. The development of the plot is natural; and the arguments (which our fair readers must not be deterred from perusing and weighing) are not only well put, but are such as would almost necessarily arise out of the circumstances of the parties who are introduced. This is one of the few works of fiction which we can recommend to our readers, and especially to those who take an interest in the spiritual welfare of the Jews.

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The Inferno of Dante Alighieri, Translated in the Terza Rima of the original, with Notes and an Appendix. By JOHN DAYMAN, M.A., Rector of Skelton, and late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London: Painter. 1843.

THE student, who, standing upon the shore of some mighty and far-spreading sea, beholds wave after wave dissolving in foam and bubble against the rock, which for many a century of years had braved the battle of the waters—that student, we think, in this spectacle, sees an emblem of the decay and of the duration of literature. Wave after wave of talent and fancy dissolves in froth and vapour, while the majestic creations of genius lift their unshaken heads above the surge and the tempest of time. Age seems only to consolidate their strength, and every year is but another link to bind them still firmer to the very foundations of the world of imagination and beauty. "The stream of time, which is continually washing the dissoluble fabrics of other poets, passes without injury by the adamant" of these famous brethren of the intellect. Homer, Virgil, Æschylus, among the ancients—Dante, Shakspeare, Milton, among the moderns—are striking and admirable illustrations of our remark. But of all the poets who have surprised and dazzled the world, Dante has awakened the deepest interest, and called forth the most untiring diligence. The inscriptions upon his wonderful chamber of imagery have worn down the watches of exploring eyes. The interest which the great Florentine excites in our minds is, indeed, different from that which is experienced in regard to Tasso or Ariosto, or our own Shakspeare and Spenser. Of our illustrious poets, Milton seems to bear to Dante the closest resemblance. The interest which Dante kindles is, we think, an interest of awe and wonder, and even of reverence; we do not feel our hearts glow towards him with the yearning of affection, as to Spenser or to Tasso. He is not, like the gentle Shakspeare, a *loveable* man. He does not seem to have possessed that extraordinary *sympathy*, uttering itself in

"The still sad music of humanity,"

which won for Shakspeare, from his contemporaries, the touching and expressive epithet of "*sweet* Shakspeare." How different the *humour* of Dante and Shakspeare! How the Florentine would have scowled upon Falstaff! But that power which true genius always possesses of awaking correspondent feelings in the minds of others, that feeling Dante undoubtedly possessed in all its vigour; "like a precious stone that casts its brilliant hues over every object that it approaches," so his imagination diffuses its dark and melancholy splendour in whatsoever direction it turns. We are acquainted with the works of no writer which leave so strong an impression upon the mind of the *general* power of the writer's intellectual organization: you feel that you are gazing on the lineaments of a statesman, a warrior, or an orator; and it is under this aspect of general power that the genius of Dante ought, we think, to be considered and estimated. What Johnson, in one of his hazardous paradoxes, ascribed of *genius* collectively, was unquestionably true

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of Dante in particular; he could have walked to the east, as well as the west, if he had chosen to set out in that direction.

The present translation of the "Inferno," by Mr. Dayman, is another evidence of that universal interest which, we have already said, is awakened by Dante. We apprehend, however, that Mr. Dayman is in error, in supposing his own to be the first attempt which has been made to present Dante to the English reader in the *terza rima* of his own choice; nor can we at all appreciate or approve Mr. Dayman's sense of justice to himself and others, which induced him so rigidly to abstain from any acquaintance with preceding English versions of the Commediæ. Even of Mr. Cary's translation he is obliged to speak from report. This is not the plan which Pope adopted in his translation of the "Iliad," or Dryden of "Virgil," or Gifford of "Juvenal;" and it is equally destitute of expediency and reason. It is desirable to know the faults of our predecessors, that we may escape them. Of the translation now before us the events seem to be considerable; and the rugged and austere dignity of the original is frequently transferred with much success. Take the opening lines of the poem:—

"Midway the journey of our life along,
I found me in a gloomy woodland dell,
The right road all confounded with the wrong.
Ay me! how hard a thing it were to tell
How rough and stern and savage showed the wood,
Which yet remembered, yet is terrible!
Hardly were death more bitter. But the good
Which, I therein discovered to unfold
Aright, will I of other things prelude
Encountered there. Yet ill by me were told
How first I entered, so entombed in sleep
My senses lay, what hour I ceased to hold
The way of truth: till pausing 'neath a steep,
The barrier of that melancholy glen
Whose horrors made my quivering flesh to creep,
His beamy shoulders to mine upward ken
Displayed the clothing of that planet sphere
Which surely guides the feet of other men,
Whate'er their track. Now calmer lay the fear
Which froze my ponded heart's blood round the core,
That livelong night of agony so drear;
And like to him that, struggling late for shore
With gasped breath, now on the perilous surge
Turneth him round, and fixedly doth pore,
So turned my soul, though terror-spurred to urge
Her onward flight, and viewed the dark defile
Which left none living in its fatal gurge."

The following passage is extremely well versified:—

"Semiramis is she, by ancient fame
The successor of Vinus, and the wife;
Her land the Soldan's heritage became.

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Next her, the self-destroy'd, who paid with life
Her broken fealty to Subræus' ghost;
Cleopatra next, of vile allurements rife.
Helen I saw, the ten long years who cost
Revolving ills: and Thetis' son, who died
Still struggling with his lover till all was lost.
Paris and Tristan—thousand shades beside
To name aught his guiding finger taught,
Lovers whom love did them from life divide.
Still my wise teacher naming each, I caught
The dyte of dames and cavaliers antique,
Me pity vanquished and astounding thought."

Mr. Dayman has moved with as much ease as could be expected amid the intricate machinery of the stanza which he has employed —a stanza peculiarly difficult of impression by the sweeter features of poetic thought. We think the translator has succeeded best in the sterner and more familiar portions of his task. His version of the beautiful episode of Frances di Rimini is deficient in grace and beauty. Upon the whole we must confess, that while Mr. Dayman's version reflects more of the marked physiognomy of Dante, the translation of Mr. Cary preserves more of its animation and expression; and while the Italian scholar may admire the first, the general reader will, we imagine, turn with the liveliest interest to the second.

Sermons. By JOHN CAWOOD, M.A., of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford; and Perpetual Curate of Bewdley, Worcestershire. Two vols. 8vo. London: Hamilton and Co.

MR. CAWOOD has long been known to the public by a very valuable little work, entitled "The Church of England and Dissent," as well as by several very able single sermons, which were preached on particular occasions. In this little work on Dissent, Mr. James's statements are examined and confuted in a manner calculated to arrest the attention, and to expose the weakness of the Dissenting system. We are, therefore, very glad to meet with an old friend in a somewhat new character. The present volumes are of such excellence, that they cannot fail to commend themselves to the judgment of all right-minded and reflective persons. Undoubtedly the present is an age of sermons. The press teems with them, both singly and in volumes; and ordinarily we should discourage their publication. But there are exceptions to every rule. For example, we are always rejoiced to meet with a new volume from Mr. Melvill. There are also others whose publications we hail with pleasure; but no work, we are convinced, will prove more generally useful, or more acceptable to readers of sermons, than these volumes of Mr. Cawood.

They are of a very high order. Of course a large variety of subjects is introduced; and it would be impossible, within the compass of this notice, to give extracts. We shall always meet the author with pleasure, and we are quite sure that the readers of the present volumes will welcome his appearance.

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A Metrical Version of the Book of Psalms, composed for Private Meditation or Public Worship. By FRANCIS SKURRAY, B.D. London: Pickering.

MR. SKURRAY must take his place among that numerous company of Psalm versifiers to whom we can only award the praise of meaning well. We do not profess to have read every translation in this volume; but so far as we have examined it, we have discovered none of that poetic colour and fire of thought which the subject so eminently requires. The fact is, that the prose version of the Psalms in our Prayer Books is infinitely more poetical than this metrical translation of Mr. Skurray. Take the first passages that occur to us:—

"And he shall be like a tree planted by the water side, that will bring forth his fruit in due season."	"Whose foliage quivers o'er the stream, Fann'd by the breezes, and whose root *Protrudes* its branches to the beam, Which ripens blossoms into fruit."

In what poetical writer did Mr. Skurray ever find it said that the root of a tree *protruded* its branches? Again, how the simple pathos of the original is diluted and swallowed up in this paraphrase:—

"I am weary of crying; my throat is dry, my sight faileth me, for waiting so long upon my God."	"Weary of tears, I cannot cry, My tongue is mute, my throat is dry; And dizziness confounds my sight, From waiting on my soul's delight."

This is not transposing prose into poetry, but changing poetry into prose. Mr. Skurray may, however, comfort himself with recollecting that he has only failed where men of the highest talent have failed before him. We verily believe that Addison was the only English writer who could have produced a harmonious, natural, and devotional version of the Psalms in metre; he had a poetic *eye* as well as a poetic *ear;* he could see the charm of a picture, and transfer it. It is almost impossible that he could have obliterated any picturesque feature of this beautiful allegory, as Mr. Skurray has done:—

"Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine upon the walls of thine house; thy children like the olive branches round about thy table."	"Thy wife shall be as is the vine, That boasts of fruit upon the wall; Thy children shall around thee twine, Like olive wreaths that deck thy hall."

Appended to the version of the Psalms are some original compositions upon sacred subjects; but they are pervaded by the same prosaic lethargy. Surely no writer, however enamoured of his own compositions, can suppose that such a couplet as this belongs to poetry:—

"Let not that earthly vulture care,
Obtrude its visitations there."

Nor do we think that the idiom of our language will permit even a poet to say of the gate of the heavenly Jerusalem, that—

"Angels stand to *sentinel* the way."

We may appear to have spoken severely of Mr. Skurray's attempt on rhyme, but we are sorry to see a writer, who might probably promote the cause of piety in his *prose*, doing anything but advance the cause of psalmody in his *verse*.

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The Life of William Wilberforce. By his Sons, ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, B.A., and SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, M.A. New edition, abridged. London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley.

WHEN the life of Mr. Wilberforce, in all its length and breadth, first appeared, we rendered that respectful attention to it which the memory of a good, and if a *good* then a *great* man, so unquestionably deserved. We contemplated Mr. Wilberforce in relation to his time and his contemporaries, and having composed, so to speak, a historical picture, we endeavoured to indicate to our readers some features in the intellectual and moral physiognomy of those illustrious persons who occupy so prominent a place in the history of the close of the eighteenth and the commencement of the nineteenth century. Among the portraits thus brought together it is impossible, we think, for the most negligent spectator not to be struck with the sweet expressions of Christian meekness, and earnest charity, and warm devotion which illuminates the inward features of Wilberforce. In the tumult of party and the virulence of polemics, it is, indeed, delightful to behold one face shining with light from heaven —to hear one voice referring every human event to the providential government of a Divine Creator and Preserver, looking down from his everlasting throne upon "all sorts and conditions of men." We hailed the "Life of Mr. Wilberforce" for its *subject:* this work itself disappointed our expectations. It was elaborate, without embracing a satisfactory view or analogy of the life and character of him whom it professed to estimate; and it was minute, without reflecting his manner, his feelings, his thoughts, or his infirmities. The "Life of Wilberforce" was exactly the book to be *abridged:* there was a succulence in it which required to be *compressed.* The editors, we suppose, were not insensible to the popular wish, and accordingly, in the present thick volume of five hundred and sixty pages, we are presented with all that was interesting and important in the five volumes through which the original narrative was extended. The spirit of the biography has gained strength in proportion as the weaker element, with which it was rinsed, had evaporated. The name of Wilberforce is already written upon the heart of his country. Of the life of such a man no person ought to be ignorant; and the present memoir supplies all the information that we can hope to receive.

A Sermon preached at Ripon Cathedral, Jan. 8, 1843, *at the Ordination of the Lord Bishop of Ripon.* By the Rev. J. W. WHITESIDE, A.M. London: Whittaker. 1843.

THIS sermon was published at the request of the individuals ordained on this occasion. The subjects discussed are, "The Christian Minister's Call, his Duties and Encouragements." The text is 1 Tim. iv. 15, 16. In describing the minister's call, the author states that the episcopacy is of divine origin, and that the position is proved by holy Scripture and Catholic antiquity. We recommend the sermon as containing a condensed view of the arguments on this important question. Its tone and spirit are admirable.

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A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Three Dioceses of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, at the Primary Metropolitical Visitation, in the Autumn of the year 1842 *and the Spring of* 1843. By DANIEL, Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India. London: Seeley.

THIS is a very important document. It presents, perhaps, the most complete picture of the state of the Church in India that has for a long period been submitted to the British public. As Metropolitan, the Bishop of Calcutta exercises a jurisdiction over the Indian dioceses similar to that of our archbishops in England and Ireland. The Charge was delivered at various places in all the dioceses. But besides the Charge, as it was delivered, there is a vast body of *notes*, and also an introduction, addressed to the Bishops of Madras and Bombay. In the introduction the Bishop alludes to the *Tracts for the Times* at considerable length; but, after condemning their errors, he expresses his belief that they will not prevail, and that the people will not renounce their Protestant principles. It was in India, several months since, that the Bishop of Calcutta so expressed himself. But how are his views confirmed by recent events! The tide is now set in directly against the *Tracts*, and parties who once favoured them are now shaping their course differently. We fully concur with his lordship that the system will not continue.

It is gratifying to find the progress of truth in India so extensive. The Bishop gives most valuable details of the state of missions, as well as of religion in general. His lordship's avowal of his views on the question of Episcopal government is most valuable at the present moment; while his censures of the sect called the "Plymouth Brethren" will tend very materially to open the eyes of the people to their grievous errors. "I cannot conceal my judgment (says the Bishop, speaking of this sect), that they manifest the most deplorable ignorance, conceit, and presumption. They overturn at once all order, all churches, all sacraments, all means of grace—the very perpetuity of the moral law itself; under the name of the Spirit, they deify self; claiming the Bible as their only rule, they substitute their ignorant perversions of its meaning." This picture is quite correct; and we rejoice that it has been decreed by such a skilful hand. In the Charge, and especially in the appendix, the Bishop enters fully into the errors of the *Tracts for the Times*. These portions will be perused with much interest, as indeed will be the entire Charge.

The Union Version of the Psalms, in various Metres. Aylott.

THIS unassuming little volume is not intended to supersede the versions, or selections from versions of Psalms, now generally introduced into our churches; but it will be found both an elegant and a pleasing companion for the closet. And it is no small recommendation of this "Union Version," that nearly the whole of the Psalms here versified or imitated are the productions of clerical and lay members of the Church of England; and among them we recognize the productions of Addison, Dr. Woodforde, Merrick, Charles Wesley, Goode, and Tollet. The volume is very neatly printed; and, what is no mean recommendation, it is a cheap one. We *wish* it an extensive circulation.

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An Essay on the Relation in which the Moral Precepts of the Old and New Testaments stand to each other. To which was adjudged the Hulsean Prize for the year 1842. By JOHN DAVIES, B.A., Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Curate of St. Giles in the Fields, London. Cambridge: Deighton. One vol., 8vo. 1843.

IT may not be known to some of our readers that, about seventy years since, the Rev. John Hulse, of Elworth, in the county of Chester, founded a prize, now amounting to about one hundred pounds yearly, payable out of his estates, unto such learned and ingenious persons in the University of Cambridge, under the degree of Master of Arts, as should compose for the current year the best dissertation, in the English language, on the Evidences in general, or on the Prophecies or Miracles in particular, *or any other particular argument, whether the same be direct or collateral proofs of the Christian religion, in order to evince its truth and excellence.* The trustees are the Vice-Chancellor, and the Masters of Trinity and St. John's, and the subject proposed by them for the year 1842 was the following:—"What is the Relation in which the Moral Precepts of the Old and New Testament stand to each other?" We presume that, in selecting this very important subject for discussion, the trustees acted under the general words we have placed in *italics*, since it does not belong either to the *evidences* of Christianity, to the *prophecies*, or to the *miracles:* but it does fall under the general clause of "any other particular argument"—in order to evince the truth and excellence of Christianity.

Mr. Davies has produced an essay of great power and value, and to him was adjudged the Hulsean prize of last year. We cannot, of course, pronounce any opinion on the essays of his competitors —but they must indeed have been admirable, before they could have equalled the one now before us. Mr. Davies has arrived at the logical and Christian conclusion, that the relation subsisting between the moral precepts of the Old and New Testaments is one of substantial identity, connected, on the part of Christianity, with an ampler extent and fulness; by an argument the most clear, precise, and well sustained. He has investigated the origin and nature of law; pointed out the distinction between positive and moral precepts; discussed the nature of the Jewish and Christian dispensations, as revelations of divine truth; proved the substantial identity of the two dispensations as systems of moral precepts; laid open the fact of the greater fulness and extent of Christian morality; compared the principles and motives of morality under the Jewish and Christian dispensations; and presented the objects or ultimate ends of moral actions under them both. He has thus demonstrated that these two dispensations are but successive expansions of one great system; the rising of the light from the dawn of day, to the noontide brightness; the flow of the stream from the fountain head, to the breadth of the majestic river. Such essays as this deserve success, and we heartily desire for Mr. Davies the success he deserves.

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Caste and Slavery in the American Church. By a CHURCHMAN. New York and London: Wiley and Putnam. 1843.

IT appears from this pamphlet, that a man of colour was refused admission into the Theological Seminary. The reasons for refusal were not assigned, but it subsequently appeared that he was rejected simply because he was a man of colour. It is stated, too, that some of the trustees admitted that they acted from dread of popular prejudice. The writer of this pamphlet, therefore, demands that the true reason should be stated. The circumstance, indeed, presents a fearful picture of American feeling on the question of slavery. Grateful indeed should we be to find them unanimously coming forward for its abolition. All parties are alike implicated; and it must strike grief into the hearts of Englishmen to know that slavery still exists in America—the land which boasts so much of freedom. Would that they might copy the example of the mother country! It appears from this pamphlet, that in some cases *coloured persons* are not permitted to be interred in the same burial-ground with the *whites*.

The History of the Church of Scotland, from the Reformation to the present time. By THOMAS STEPHEN, Med. Lib., King's College, London. Part I. London: Lendrum.

THE first part of this work brings the history of the Scottish Church down to its establishment in the year 1560; and judging from the specimen before us, it will give a minute and candid account of the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland. It is written with temper and calmness, and bespeaks considerable research and industry in the compilation of facts. The part contains seven sheets of letter-press, and a fine engraving of Cardinal Beaton; and each part will contain a portrait of some of the principal personages mentioned in the work. We shall watch its progress.

Mesmerism the Gift of God; in Reply to "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism:" a Sermon said to be preached by the Rev. Hugh M'Neile. In a Letter to a Friend, by a Beneficed Clergyman. London: Painter.

THIS pamphlet is cleverly written, and certainly places Mr. M'Neile in a dilemma. It is not our intention to go into the subject matter of the Letter, but we would advise those who may have read the sermon to read the remarks of "A Beneficed Clergyman."

Although we have devoted an extra sheet to this number of the *Church of England Quarterly Review*, we find it impossible to notice all the books and pamphlets we have received. Two engravings from Mr. Boys, one the whole-length portrait of Sir Robert Peel, and the other a full-length portrait of the Duke of Wellington, as Master of the Trinity Corporation, which deserve a more extended notice than we can afford them at this time, are reserved for our next publication.

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POSTSCRIPTUM.

London, 27th June, 1843.

It is not expected by the public that a *Quarterly* periodical should resemble a daily, or even weekly newspaper, conducting the history of passing events to the period of its publication. Hence, on ordinary occasions, the political articles of the *Church of England Quarterly Review* speak of facts as they stand about the middle of the month prior to the first day of that which succeeds, and on which that periodical appears. The discussions of Quarterly literature are generally of such a nature as not to necessitate any special references to *new phases* in the events or plans under consideration, since principles, and not agents, are ordinarily the subjects of investigation and development. But there are exceptions to every rule, and one has just now occurred which compels us to deviate from our habitual custom.

The professedly Church and Conservative Government of this country has yielded to faction, clamour, and schism, and has withdrawn the Educational Clauses of the Factory Bill. This is an event big with the most important results, as well as with the most fearful admissions. They have *not* been withdrawn in deference to the expression of Church opinion, that the concessions they embodied were opposed to the just and necessary influence of the Protestant Church of these realms. They have *not* been withdrawn to substitute for them some other measure more Episcopal in its character, and more in harmony with the "Church *and* State" nature of our Constitution. They have *not* been withdrawn in deference to any expressed opinion of even a large *minority* in either House of Parliament, or because, after a most deliberate and protracted discussion, the votes were so nearly equal, that a withdrawal of the project would not be regarded as an evidence of defeat, but only as a project of conciliation, preparatory to a future effort, and to a somewhat modified bill. There has been no discussion. The merits of the clauses were not developed; the objections to them were not stated. The clauses were not with-

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drawn because county meetings had been held all over the land, and because the clergy and laity, the nobility and gentry, or the farmers, manufacturers, merchants, and yeomanry assembled at such meetings and petitioned against them. They were *not* withdrawn because, in large and influential towns, the local magistrates and public authorities had represented them as likely to engender strife, or to diminish the power, popularity, or permanence of the Government. They were *not* withdrawn out of respect to the opinions and sensibilities, the prejudices or mistakes of the habitual supporters of Conservative principles, and of a Protestant Conservative Government. So far from this being the case, those who took the lead in the uproar which has been raised in the "vestry" rooms of conventicles, or at the tea-tables of Dissenting teachers, were, with the sole exception of a few of the more respectable portions of the Wesleyans, all men connected with political associations, with "Anti-Corn Law League" agitations, and with men of the Whig-Radical party, who assisted, by their orations or by their pennies, the Manchester Convention, and who either urged on the Chartists, or pitied and pleaded for them. Yet the Educational Clauses *have been* withdrawn. Now, that there may be no possible mistake respecting the motives which led to the abandonment in question, we shall proceed to quote the very words of Sir James Graham, when he adopted this line of conduct. After having referred to what he had stated on the introduction of the bill, he continued—

"I stated distinctly, what it is now my duty to repeat, that the success of the measure, in my estimation, and I framed it in reference to that consideration, was mainly dependent upon its being received generally throughout the country as a measure of concord and *concession*. I endeavoured so to frame it, I have so regarded it, and I can consider it in no other light after the best examination I can bestow upon the subject. After its first introduction it was quite clear that the great body of the Dissenters in this country had insuperable objections to the measure in its original form. By the permission of the house I was allowed to propose certain modifications in the original form of the measure, which I hoped might have met and obviated the objections stated on the part of the Dissenting body generally to the measure. In that hope I am bound to say I have been entirely disappointed. Those objections have not been removed by the modifications which have been submitted to the house; *the opposition to the measure remains*

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unabated. On the part of the Church there has been a willingness, in the hope of obtaining that concord and concession to which I have already referred, to make some considerable sacrifices. There has been acquiescence on the part of the Church, in the hope of obtaining concord and peace; but there has not been any very cordial support of the measure. What, then, is the duty of the Government under such circumstances? I cannot conceal from myself that the great and formidable evil which this measure was intended to counteract has not been removed. *The statement of my noble friend the member for Dorsetshire, with respect to the unhappy ignorance in which a large portion of the population in the manufacturing districts is involved, remains unshaken and the evil unabated.* The measure I introduced was intended to meet that evil, and overcome it. *Private exertions, without the aid of legislative support, having been found insufficient for that object, I, on the part of the Government, was anxious to give public and legislative aid to those individual exertions;* but I repeat my assertion, that unless there could have been obtained general concord and co-operation in the mode of effecting this great object, even if we had succeeded in carrying this measure through the legislature, its only effect would have been to increase religious discord and dissension, to embitter many of the evils which we were most anxious to remedy, and to aggravate, instead of diminishing, the public danger arising from the present state of affairs."

So the clauses were withdrawn—the Factory Bill, without the clauses, has been postponed: the Government has distinctively stated that it has no other measure to propose; it has refused to apply for additional educational grants for the Church schools and for the National Society; and although it has admitted the existence of a mass of misery, ignorance, and vice, juvenile depravity, and crimes, sufficient to call down the vengeance of Almighty God upon this land, yet that same Government is apparently satisfied with having obtained peace at the sacrifice of the most solemn obligations, and with having signed a treaty, not of amity (for that is impossible), but of a cessation of hostilities, with the agents of faction, clamour, and schism.

A treaty thus entered into is an evidence of cowardice on the one hand, and of victory on the other. The enemies of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Great Britain have triumphed over that Church—over its clergy, its schools, its system of teaching, its formularies, its doctrines, principles, and its union with the State. They have done so by adopting, in all its length and breadth—reckless alike of means and of agents—a system of intimidation. They have done so by causing the most heart-

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less and unprincipled juggleries to be resorted to, in order to obtain signatures to petitions. To the ignorant they have said—"The movers in this measure are Papists and Puseyites; and if you do not sign this petition, the Pope will educate your children." To the Sunday-school teachers they have said—"If this bill passes you will no more enjoy the luxury of doing good; and these *blessed* children, whom you love to instruct in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, will be removed from your care." To the masters and mistresses of Lancasterian schools they have said—"If this bill shall pass you will lose your places; the schools will be shut up; none but masters and mistresses selected by the clergy will be allowed to instruct the children of the poor; the Church is in the hands of the Puseyites; and the Puseyites will, in a very short time, take over the children and the schools to the Church of Rome." To pious and conscientious people they said—"The instruction proposed to be given will be of a mere formalist character; there will be no instruction as to the sinfulness of the human heart—the depravity of our fallen nature—the mercy of God in Christ Jesus—the doctrine of the atonement—the necessity for a new birth—the cardinal doctrine of justification by faith without the deeds of the law—the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit—and the all-sufficiency of the Scriptures without the aid of tradition or antiquity." Alas! the pious have been deceived; the cajoling scheme of the united schismatics has been believed in; and parchments have been signed by tens of thousands of persons who knew no more—*i. e.*, as far as personal examination and investigation were concerned—what the bill against the petition really was than the Emperor of China is acquainted with the proceedings of the Independents at Highbury College!!

The Dissenters are not less astonished at their success, than they are delighted at their triumph. But it is the triumph of fraud the most organized, of misrepresentation the most unprincipled, and of the union of cunning with violence, and of hypocrisy with enthusiasm. The efforts which were so made are thus described by one of the societies which represents the "movement party." It states that it has "observed with soul-cheering complacency, the wide spreading, active, unslumbering,

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self-denying, and unparalleled exertions, that have been made by ministers and laymen, by youthful enthusiasts, and by the *hoary and the wise*, by the Deputies, the Freedom Society, and religionists of every name throughout England and Wales." And then follows a description of the sacrifices of principle and conviction they have all made, in order to hunt down the Educational Clauses; for what other fair interpretation can be given to the following passage? "Who (*i. e.*, the united opponents to the bill before spoken of) have suspended strife, forgotten existing rivalries, and united with ardent zeal and generous combination in an undaunted, unintimidable resistance, worthy of the descendants of the old Nonconformists and Puritan fathers, and of the British name, and which shall present to their children, and children's children, and *to future times*, lessons never to be forgotten of the essential importance of constant jealousy and unslumbering vigilance, as to all legislative measures that may even *remotely* encroach on existing rights," &c. &c.

This is the opposition which has succeeded! This is the character of the confederation which has so alarmed the Secretary of State for the Home Department and all his coadjutors, as to induce them to authorize Sir James Graham to admit, in his place in the House of Commons, that the Church of England Conservative Administration of Sir Robert Peel had been signally defeated.

It is this fact, and the thoughts to which it leads, as well as the apprehension and conviction of the results which *must* follow, which has induced us to add to our present number this POSTSCRIPTUM. And let not this mournful fact of the withdrawal of the Church Educational Clauses, in deference to faction, clamour, and schism, be thrown away upon any one of us. It is not at a moment when three hundred respectably dressed farmers in Carmarthenshire head, on horseback, thousands of the Welsh mountaineers, and attack the county town—it is not at a moment when the whole of South Wales is agitated by a spirit of the most lawless and desperate character—it is not at a moment when the Churchmen of North Wales are indignant at the attempt which is persisted in to unite the sees of Bangor

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and St. Asaph—it is not at a moment when Scotland is convulsed from one extremity to the other, by the most serious schism in her Presbyterian Church which has ever yet happened —it is not at a moment when priests and levellers have raised the flag of rebellion in Ireland, and cry "War to the Saxons!" at the tops of their voices in parties of 100,000 to 500,000 each band—it is not at a moment when illicit distillation has so much increased in Ireland, that the fiscal measure of last year has to be repealed this Session, because it has become an intolerable injury and nuisance—it is not at a moment when Brazil, Portugal, and France are all at the same time refusing to enter into commercial treaties with us, and are hoping to effect our downfall by their refusal—it is not at a moment when even in Spain, multitudes of conspiracies are organized, to overthrow our commercial interests there; and when in America the cry is raised of "We must help the repeal agitation in Ireland"—it is not at such a moment as this, when the strongest, and stoutest, and most patriotic hearts quail for the prospects of this mighty empire, that a PROTESTANT CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT *can afford thus to yield to a factious and unprincipled minority!* YET IT HAS DONE SO; and it is apparently less alarmed at its own weakness, than are the united Dissenters by their own audacity. The latter have already called for votes of the public money for the purposes of education, and have expressed "their sincere and candid disposition to approve even of legislative interposition and Parliamentary grants for the accomplishment of the object of *national* education." In fact, they are alarmed at their own position—terrified at their own success; and, like O'Connell in Ireland, feel and know that they are placed in a position of inextricable difficulty. At such moments as these, and with such remembrances and facts on the one hand, and prospects on the other, let Church Conservatives speak out before it is too late, and insist, in a voice which cannot be mistaken or resisted, that the children of the working classes be neither left in darkness, ignorance, or vice, nor be consigned to the teaching of multiform Dissent, Papistical superstition, or Socialist immorality.

W. E. Painter, *Church and State Gazette* Office, 342, Strand.

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THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Quarterly Review.

OCTOBER, MDCCCXLIII.

ART. I.—*The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent.* A Sermon preached before the University in the Cathedral Church of Christ, in Oxford, on the Fourth Sunday after Easter. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Parker. 1843.

2. *Tracts for the Times, No.* 90. Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles. Parker.

IN every controversy there is so much to be said on both sides, that persons who have had any experience in such warfare endeavour to bring the subject of contention within as narrow limits as possible, and confine it to points which are decisive; since, by fixing the attention exclusively on these primary considerations, we may hope to determine these; and if we do this, the secondary and minor considerations must follow the fate of these, and may be reckoned on as a matter of course.

In the controversy which has arisen at Oxford, and has spread through all the land, in consequence of the publication of the *Tracts for the Times*, we have long desired to see the question brought to a more simple issue—both for the sake of the contending parties, who seemed hardly to know what it was about which they were contending; and also, and much more, for the sake of the Church, which has been harassed and perplexed by unintelligible disputes, on the most important subjects, between men equally eminent and estimable; and which, moreover, was in the greatest peril of losing, by these contentions, some of her holiest members, all of whom she was bound to cherish and endeavour to retain, as men who, from station

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and talent, ought to continue as her pride, and among her brightest ornaments. But, whether arising from the variety of subjects, or from the different views taken of the same subject by different individuals, or from a systematic reserve on all points, like that which on some points they have avowed and justified; from whatever cause proceeding, we never could find points on which issue was fairly joined between the contending parties, and where we could say, without any hesitation, *here* is indisputable Catholic *truth*—and *here* is plain palpable mistake, or *heresy*.

Our readers are well aware that we have given the writers of these Tracts credit for good intentions; only lamenting that they should have put forth opinions, on the gravest matters, rashly formed and unguardedly expressed, not being themselves aware of the theological bearings of the questions, and still less aware of the consequences which would inevitably follow from the general adoption of their opinions. This, however grievous, is to be regarded as mistake, so long as it is simple ignorance; but when those who are competent to pronounce authoritatively on such questions, shall have declared any of these opinions to be unsound, the wilful persisting in such opinions, after such decision, will be worse than mistake, and will be nothing short of heresy.

We have, however, at length obtained the means of bringing the question to a point, and that we think a decisive point, both as it regards the Church of England, and in its connection with Catholic truth; and this, not by selections which we might make from the great mass of anonymous writing, which has appeared in the form of Tracts. These we should not be warranted in fixing upon any individual, and if we could, might not be justified in holding the whole party responsible for the opinions of one or two of the writers of the Tracts. But the recognized heads of the party are now before us in their avowed publications; and issue is joined on grounds chosen by them respectively—Dr. PUSEY and Mr. NEWMAN have expressed themselves plainly and openly, and their doctrines have been declared to be erroneous by the Bishop of Oxford and the Vice-Chancellor.

The *official* competency of the Bishop of Oxford and of the Vice-Chancellor to decide on the doctrines of the Tracts, no one, we presume, would dispute; and the writers of the Tracts have so far acknowledged it as to discontinue their publication. But their whole conduct shows, also, that these gentlemen doubt the *real* competency of those who have thus decided against them; and think themselves to be in the right, and their ecclesiastical superiors to be in error, in this matter. They have remon-

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strated with the Vice-Chancellor; they have furnished Dr. Pusey with notes to append to the publication of his sermon, and manifestly adhere to their opinions, as if there were some higher tribunal in the Church, whose judgment they ought to await; and almost looking to public opinion for a verdict contrary to the judgment of the Church, instead of acknowledging their errors, retracting their opinions, and doing what in them lies to make amends for their faults. It is to this their honest conviction, that they are in the right, we shall now address ourselves; more especially as it is the only view of the question which will enable us to deal with it as mistake, and to point out the errors *seriatim;* we should otherwise be obliged to treat it as heresy, which would be a necessity as painful to us as we are sure it would be to these holy men, who think themselves pre-eminently orthodox, and have devoted themselves entirely to the investigation of Catholic truth.

No right-minded person can read the preface to Dr. Pusey's sermon without feeling for him; and it is evident that he believes himself to be a sufferer for the truth's sake. He also assumes that he has been at more pains to ascertain what is the truth, than they have who differ from him; and he thinks that he holds these doctrines in perfect consistency with the formularies of the Church of England. It is this abiding consciousness in Dr. Pusey that alone renders tolerable the very offensive form of self-complacency which his preface takes; and we should, but for this extenuation, be constrained to deal with the passages—in which he speaks of his opponents in the same breath with "Jews, Pagans, Arians, and each class of heretics as they arose," while he thinks his own doctrines to be "the truth of God, cast out and spoken against, and trodden under foot of many"—as indications of a contemptuous spirit in Dr. Pusey, which could only provoke contempt. And on the most favourable view of these expressions, they show that our difficulty is great in dealing with such a case; for the ear must be stopped, the heart must be fortified by such a consciousness, against everything which runs counter to it. We must, however, examine on what foundation this confidence is based, that we may see how far it can warrant Dr. Pusey in holding to opinions which have been condemned by his ecclesiastical superiors; and this we must do for the sake of the Church, even though what we write should fall powerless on understandings which are pre-occupied by these opinions.

Dr. Pusey himself informs us what are the grounds of his confidence in the truth of his statements, saying—

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"I lived for the time in holy Scripture, and its deepest expositors, the fathers; and was careful to use rather their language than my own, lest, on so high a subject, I should seem to speak over boldly."

And also—

"Once more to repeat my meaning; in order to relieve any difficulties which might be entertained by pious minds, *trained in an opposed and defective system of teaching*, before whom the sermon may now be brought. My own views were cast in the mould of the minds of Bishop Andrewes, and Archbishop Bramhall, which I regarded as the type of the teaching of our Church."

And he says that—

"The notes were put together with the view at once of showing those who were to pronounce upon the sermon, that I had not used high language of my own mind, and that they might not unconsciously blame the fathers, while they thought they were blaming myself only."

And these notes did not save the sermon from condemnation, simply because the Vice-Chancellor understood the fathers one way—Dr. Pusey understood them another way.

For it does not appear that Dr. Pusey is in possession of any peculiar method of ascertaining the truth—any talismanic power not also possessed by the Vice-Chancellor, and every learned man, and by every private individual, in the measure and degree of each. He formed his opinions much in the usual way; by studying Scripture, with the help of the best expositors he could find, endeavouring to cast his own views in the mould of thought of the most eminent individuals he knew of in his own Church. But what is there in this which entitles Dr. Pusey to claim any superiority over those "before whom the sermon may now be brought?" Have we not the Scriptures and the fathers; yea, even the writings of Andrewes and Bramhall? What right has Dr. Pusey to assume, that those pious persons who differ from him have necessarily been "trained in an opposed and defective system of teaching?" He ought not to hazard such imputations; he ought to show in what respects their system is defective as compared with his own; and, as the question at present stands, we can only regard it as between the private opinions of Dr. Pusey and the private opinions which he disputes. For Dr. Pusey does not seem to regard the judgment of a Bishop or Vice-Chancellor as anything more than their private opinion. It is necessary to insist on this point, because it enables us to detect the fallacy upon which this whole system rests, in its being continually assumed, that where many coincide in private opinion, this constitutes Catholic truth: and it is the more necessary, inasmuch as those who maintain this system

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have been most loud in denouncing the Reformers for taking this very course—for exercising the right of private judgment, and encouraging others to do the same. We would point to a parallel case, in a Church where private judgment is not allowed—in the Church of Rome. One of the most eminent bishops of that communion had written a book containing questionable doctrines; and when his superiors had decided that those doctrines were erroneous, what was the conduct of Fenelon? Did he appeal to some other tribunal against his ecclesiastical superiors? Did he print and circulate his book, that private persons might call in question the decision of the Church? Did he assume that those who differed from him had been trained in a defective system? Quite the contrary. He so entirely doubted his own judgment, and so entirely acquiesced in the judgment of the Church, that he burnt his book, and stopped its circulation as far as he was able. This was consistency in one who belonged to a Church wherein private judgment is not allowed; and those who denounce the exercise of private judgment should ask themselves whether they are prepared to go such lengths as these? Their acts tell us that they are not, and we have too good an opinion of their honesty to doubt their *owning* what they have already *done*.

And not only, in the present instance, is the publication of Dr. Pusey's sermon an appeal to public opinion against the judgment of the Church, but the whole course of proceedings, from the very commencement of the Oxford movement to the present time, is an appeal to private judgment, in advance of, or contrary to, the doctrines and practice of their Church; in advance of, as they themselves avow—contrary to, as we shall presently show; but in either case equally violating their own professions of Catholic unity. The Church knows no legitimate organ of public instruction save the pulpit—no legitimate public teachers save the clergy, who themselves have received their training in the Church establishments of our land; who are admitted, as duly qualified for their respective charges, and superintended or further instructed, when occasion requires, by the bishops in their several dioceses. Is it to these that Dr. Pusey refers as trained in an opposed and defective system of teaching? If so, the publication of anonymous tracts—some written by laymen, none under Church control or Church responsibility—would not be a right way of supplying the defect in the teaching of the Church. And tracts written by clergymen on doctrinal points, or on matters of instruction which properly belong to the pulpit, may, by publication, be regarded as an intrusion of the novelties which they contain upon the con-

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gregations of other clergymen; and when published anonymously, men are under the temptation of promulgating novelties more crude than they would dare to publish with a name affixed.

The same reliance upon private judgment which we see in the men—and which appears in this mode of publication—infects the statements, arguments, and conclusions which we find throughout all the writings of the authors of the *Tracts for the Times*. They have searched, each one for himself, the remains of the fathers. Each one has undertaken the search in furtherance of his own notions; each has been drawn to those fathers, and those passages in their writings, which are most in accordance with his own notions; and no wonder, therefore, that abundance of isolated sentences turn up which seem to be in favour of the principles which led to the search; principles we should hardly call them, in a theological sense, but rudiments, or mere first principles, rather than solid foundations. And most of the writings to which reference is made are such as were written for particular occasions, so not expressed in that guarded manner which the same men would adopt when writing *ex cathedrâ*, and under the solemn conviction that the eye of the whole Church was upon them. The same father appears to speak very differently on different occasions; and as, unfortunately, he is not at hand to reconcile the difference, we seldom take the trouble required to do him justice, but use that meaning which suits our purpose, regardless of its want of harmony with other expressions in the same father's writings—or, what is worse, regardless of declarations of the Catholic Church, in her authoritative statements.

Nay, more: not only have they neglected the precaution of thoroughly imbuing their own spirits with the Catholic doctrines of their own Church, and of the orthodox Church of all ages, before they began their private search of the writings of the fathers; not only been guilty of the further neglect of not checking and controlling the private opinions of each particular father, by continual reference to Church records, such as creeds and decisions of councils, in which public acts alone the collective opinions of the Church are to be found; but they even bring these, the public acts of the Church, under the control, and submit them to the crude judgment, of every private individual. They tamper even with the tests and standards of our faith!—tamper with the Articles of their own Church, with the definitions of faith which they have pledged themselves, in the most solemn manner, to receive in the literal sense of the words. We have not the most distant intention of imputing dishonesty,

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or even insincerity, to these men; we are only pointing out, as fully as we can, the mistaken and erroneous principles upon which they are proceeding. But we have no doubt that such principles tend to produce insincerity and dishonesty in others; therefore we do most strongly protest against them. For what is the gist of Tract 90? It is an endeavour to show that every one is at liberty to exercise his private judgment upon the Articles, and may attach to them any latitude of meaning which his own ingenuity can suggest—the more *loose* and *indefinite* the meaning, being the greater proof that he is of a *Catholic spirit!* Truly, we think it would be a much more simple expedient to throw them aside altogether; for if such an use was *intended* to be made of them, it would be difficult to find *any reason* for having drawn them up at all.

On the contrary, we maintain that creeds, articles, and confessions are the definition of the faith of the Church; and being thus the standards by which all doctrine must be tried, it is above all things necessary that these standards should be kept in the strictest purity and integrity. The Scripture is, of course, the foundation of the faith of the Church, to which nothing can be added, from which nothing may be taken away; but the standards embody, as articles of faith, the doctrines which the Catholic Church has deduced from Scripture. They record the interpretation of the Church; they teach us what the orthodox Church has held on all important points, and especially on those points which have been impugned by heretics. Heretics have generally appealed to Scripture, and many of them even to the standards; but then they have put their own private interpretations upon the words, and have rejected the plain and orthodox meaning. And to throw these standards open to the loose interpretation which the convenience or folly of private individuals may devise, as is now proposed, what is it but opening the flood-gates to heresy in the first place, and then to launch every man upon the wide sea of conjecture, without chart to guide him or compass to steer by?

It is now become quite evident that the writers of the *Tracts for the Times* have not been sufficiently aware of the true value and legitimate use of the works of the fathers, and still less aware of the caution and due preparation which are necessary in order to make a proper use of those remains of antiquity; or even to peruse them at all with safety. We may very advantageously study the fathers as witnesses for the practice of the Church at the times during which they lived, and in their several countries. We may find in them information concerning the doctrines which were most especially insisted on, to meet the

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particular errors which troubled the Church in their several ages. We may profitably use these remains, in short, for all purposes of Church history, and for illustrating or exemplifying the points of theology, when we are *well grounded* in systematic theology. But *theology itself* we must already have acquired; we must carry it with us in studying the fathers, that we may not be misled by partial views in single men, when we think that we are following primitive antiquity.

Theology begins with the knowledge of God, who can only be known by revelation, and of this revelation the Church is the expositor. The full exposition of the truth has been forced upon the Church by the many forms of error which have arisen, and that often in the bosom of the Church. For it has been frequently remarked that all the most formidable heresies have been introduced by some one of weight and authority in the Church, or some one who appeared exemplary in holiness, or learning, or zeal. And it is not in the writings of the fathers that we learn theology, but in union with the Church, which has derived its faith from Christ and the apostles, and has defined and perpetuated it in creeds and accredited documents. The early Church had the sacraments and other means of grace, and held communion with God in simplicity of faith which may provoke the vain regrets of after ages; for they lived before some of the most important points in theology had arisen—but these having arisen, must be entertained, and must be held in accordance with the faith of the orthodox. Many of the fathers lived before the questions concerning the personal subsistence of the Lord Jesus Christ, or the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, had been raised; and therefore before the exact and authoritative decisions of the Church had been, on these points, pronounced. The writings of such fathers as lived thus early must be consulted in the light of these subsequent decisions of the Church, in coming to which decisions these very writings, and sometimes the very men themselves, had been consulted and had taken part.

Every simple soul which believes in the presence of God in the various ordinances of the Church, does by simple faith realize His presence and receive the blessing; of this there is no question. And in the highest act of worship, and at the table of the Lord, all pious persons are agreed that we do feed on the body and blood of the Lord. The *fact* is not the question. All are agreed on the fact; it is only on the *mode* of receiving it, and the real *nature* of the sacramental thing which we receive, that the questions have arisen; and such questions can only be settled by theology. All are agreed that Christ is

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sacramentally present, and feeds his people with the body and blood; but the mode of his presence, and whether it be corporally or symbolically, can only be determined by considering what is the nature of him who is thus affirmed to be present. The nature of the Lord himself, and what he is *personally*, must determine the nature of the body and blood in the sacrament, and *how* he is there present.

And it should be observed, as a fact confirmatory of this view of the question, that we do not find the early Church ever entering upon the enquiry *how* the Lord is present in the sacrament. That He is there present they assume, and they enter largely into the enquiry touching *what* He *personally* is; and their determinations on this point are precisely defined in the creeds and acts of councils. But the *mode* of his presence in the sacrament is not at all touched upon in these creeds—forms no distinct article of faith; since it does, in fact, follow, as a matter of course, from a right understanding of his personal subsistence. From time to time, private opinions had been formed by certain of the fathers, concerning the person of our Lord—his Godhead, his Manhood, his one Person, his two Natures. And according as these private opinions assumed importance, attracted partizans, or verged towards heresy, councils were summoned. In these councils they determined the true sense of Scripture on these points, and fixed, by common consent, the best form of expressing their common understanding of these doctrines of Scripture. And the orthodox Catholic doctrine being thus ascertained, it was embodied in a permanent record, or creed, or confession, that it might be delivered to all the Church, and transmitted to future generations.

The "judicious" Hooker also, in approaching the question of the sacraments, as means ordained to make us partakers of God in Christ, and of life through Christ, begins by showing, that—

1. "God is in Christ by the personal incarnation of the Son, who is very God."

2. "The misinterpretations which heresy hath made of the manner how God and man are united in one Christ."

3. "That by the union of the one with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neither gain nor loss of essential properties to either."

4. "What Christ hath obtained according to the flesh by the union of his flesh with Deity."

And having determined these points concerning the personal subsistence of our Lord, Hooker applies the principles thus determined to ascertain the consequential and dependent subsistences—of Christ in the sacraments, and especially in that which imparts to us the body and blood of the Lord; and of Christ in

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the Church, which is called his body. For as the union between God and man, which subsists in the person of Christ, is the most intimate which is possible; if, in this closest union there is no mingling of the natures; much less is there any approach towards such a mingling in the sacraments; or in us, the members of his mystical body. Our readers should look to the four chapters in Hooker (v. 50 to 54), the argument of which he sums up in the following words:—

"As God hath in Christ unspeakably glorified the nobler, so likewise the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily substance of man. Where also that must again be remembered, which we noted before, concerning the degrees of the influence of Deity proportionable unto his own purposes, intents, and counsels. For in this respect his body, which by natural condition was corruptible, wanted the gift of everlasting immunity from death, passion, and dissolution, till God, which gave it to be slain for sin, had for righteousness sake restored it to life, with certainty of endless continuance. Yea, in this respect, the very glorified body of Christ retained in it the scars and marks of former mortality. But shall we say, that in heaven his glorious body, by virtue of the same cause, hath now power to present itself in all places, and to be everywhere at once present? We nothing doubt but God hath many ways, above the reach of our capacities, exalted that body which it hath pleased him to make his own—that body wherewith he hath saved the world—that body which hath been and is the root of eternal life; the instrument wherewith Deity worketh, the sacrifice which taketh away sin, the price which hath ransomed souls from death, the leader of the whole army of bodies that shall rise again. For though it had a beginning from us, yet God hath given it vital efficacy; heaven hath endowed it with celestial power—that virtue it hath from above, in regard whereof all the angels of heaven adore it. Notwithstanding, a body it still continueth, a body consubstantial with our bodies—a body of the same, both nature and measure, which it had on earth. To gather, therefore, into one sum, all that hath hitherto been spoken touching this point; there are but four things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ—his deity, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of the one from the other, being joined in one. Four principal heresies there are which have in these things withstood the truth—*Arians*, by bending themselves against the deity of Christ; *Apollinarians*, by maiming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to his human nature; *Nestorians*, by rending Christ asunder, and dividing him into two persons; the followers of *Eutyches*, by confounding in his person those natures which they should distinguish. Against these there have been four most famous ancient general councils—the council of *Nice*, to define against *Arians*; against *Apollinarians*, the council of *Constantinople*; the council of *Ephesus* against *Nestorians*; against *Eutychians*, the *Chalcedon* council. In four words, αληθως, τελεως, αδιαρετως, ασυγχυτως—truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly: the first applied to his being God; the second to his being man; the third to his being

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of both, one; and the fourth to his still continuing, in that one, both: we may freely, by way of abridgment, comprise whatsoever antiquity hath at large handled, either in declaration of Christian belief, or in refutation of the aforesaid heresies. Within the compass of which four heads I may truly affirm, that all heresies which touch the person of Christ (whether they have risen in these latter days, or in any age heretofore) may be with great facility brought to confine themselves. We conclude, therefore, that to save the world, it was of necessity the Son of God should be thus incarnate, and that God should be so in Christ, as hath been declared."—*Hooker's Ecc. Pol.* v. 54.

Christ is the foundation, the life, the strength, the head of the Church, in the most absolute and literal way in which we can assert or understand these attributes in him. And the Church is his body, one with him, of his flesh and of his bone, in the most absolute and literal way in which such relationships can be predicated of any *two* parties, of any bodies which are not *identical*—not brought into the oneness of personal union. Of Christ himself we may make these assertions in all fulness *even now*, for he actually is the all in all to the Church, and he is already become that which he ever shall be. But the Church hath not yet attained her final glory, and until that time we cannot make these assertions as actual facts of the Church, seeing all the members of the body are not yet prepared, and they cannot appear as the body of the Lord until the resurrection: it is scattered over the earth in part; it is partly asleep in Jesus; and he, the head of the body, is on the throne of heaven, waiting the time prophesied of, and prepared for, from the beginning. When the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore our hope, as well as our conversation, is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself.

The Church, in its ungathered condition, and in order to the calling together and perfecting of all the scattered members of the body, hath various ordinances and means of grace provided for and adapted to these ends; all of them coming from Christ, all bearing witness of him, all leading to him as their object and end. And these are declared to be given for the whole time state of the Church:—

"Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ: that we be no more children, tossed to and

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fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine.....But, speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ." (Eph. iv. 14).

Not children, not stunted, or immature members of the body; but men, members of manly proportion and strength in the Lord.

But it is evident that ordinances which are provided by God to accomplish a certain purpose must have such continual reference thereto, that the knowledge of the end and purpose is the surest way of attaining a knowledge of the nature of the ordinances themselves. Christ, who is the chief ordinance for making God known, is the source and end of all the ordinances of the Church, and the knowledge of him will best make known the nature of these his ordinances. And as it was not for himself, or of himself, that Christ wrought, but by the Holy Ghost, and for the glory of the Father; so all things are wrought in the Church by the Holy Ghost, and are done, not merely for the salvation of men and for the good of the Church, but for the ulterior end, which was also the primal purpose of God—for revealing God in man, as his image and likeness; and for thus making known to principalities and powers in heavenly places, the manifold wisdom of God.

This being so, our true way of knowing the nature and end of all ordinances is to refer them to Christ, and study them in him, to whom they all are subsidiary; and we shall then immediately perceive that they are also subsidiary to us—subsidiary and in order to our being perfected—to our becoming conformable to the image of God, as revealed in Christ Jesus. And we shall then find that the ordinances *themselves* are not the chief thing, but that *the effect* which they have upon us is the chief thing—the making *us* members of *his body*—the filling us continually with his life and strength—the fashioning all, as members of one Church, for that place which we shall finally occupy in the kingdom of heaven. And of these ordinances it may be said, as of the first ordinance of God at creation—"the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath."

In thus meditating upon the two sacraments, of baptism and the supper of the Lord, we should first think of their respective purposes, or what each is intended to accomplish for the Church? and secondly, of their nature, or how they attain their ends and accomplish their purpose? And this we may do apart from the other and the higher element, namely, worship; which last is a spiritual, not an intellectual act; and it is common to every part of the service of God's house, though rising higher and higher, in proportion as we approach nearer and nearer to God, and most so when we draw near to his table in the holy communion.

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The Supper of the Lord is a stupendous mystery—a mystery of faith; yea, the measure of the faith of a Church, which determines whether it has full faith in the Lord or not. For this is peculiarly the sacrament concerning him, in his living and abiding presence with the Church. By baptism we are brought into the Church, receiving in that sacrament the remission of all our sins, and the full benefits of the death and resurrection of Christ Jesus in that renewal of spirit by the Holy Ghost which regeneration implies. But in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper it is implied that we already have life; for we come, then, to feed upon his body and blood, to strengthen, and enlarge, and perfect that new being which we received at baptism; that as members of one body we may grow together in the communion of saints; each, in his place, being empowered to receive and use aright the manifold gifts and graces of Christ; and all attaining our stature of manhood or perfection in him. The difference between the two sacraments is well explained in the Church Catechism: where in baptism each one is declared to be "made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven;" and that the Lord's Supper is ordained for "the continual *remembrance* of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby..... that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.....for the strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine.....And that those who come to this sacrament should examine themselves whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life, and have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death, and are in charity with all men." In all these particulars it is implied that those who come in a right spirit to this second sacrament, are standing in the full faith of the benefits conferred on them by the first sacrament—are standing in the blood of Christ, and in the remission of sins, and in newness of life. It is implied that they are not repeating, otherwise than by way of *remembrance*, the sacrifice of the death of Christ; that it is an *eucharistic* offering, and not a sacrifice *for sin*, that they are presenting. And that they are not expecting the second sacrament to be an iteration of the first, any more than the one sacrifice of Christ can be iterated; and still less regarding it as any eking out, by a more full and perfect ordinance, a work supposed to be imperfectly accomplished through a preceding ordinance. All the ordinances of God are equally perfect, and they are all specific—each has its own place, and

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its own peculiar purpose; they are not interchangeable. And it would introduce confusion as great as that which pervades the Romanist theology, to interchange an ordinance like baptism, which can be but once administered, and which introduces us into the Church, with an ordinance like the communion, of perpetual recurrence, and the last and highest to which the Church on earth can attain.

In the institution of the holy communion Christ has said, "Take, eat, this is my body." And he had before said, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, ye have no life in you." Hooker understands the former as implying, that *after* we have eaten the bread it becomes the body of our Lord; and the latter as implying, that except *we have* the life already, we cannot eat the flesh of the Son of man; that it is not declared that eating the flesh gives the life, but in order to receive it as the flesh of Christ we must already have received life from him, and that in baptism.*

But it should be remembered that our Lord seems to have left his meaning intentionally broad and undefined, and it is not the course of wisdom or piety to narrow the meaning of his words. And the Holy Ghost is given to the Church in order to bring to remembrance the things which were spoken by Christ, rather than to explain them. And as our Lord, in these declarations, spake more to the faith than to the understanding of his hearers, so it is probable that this will ever be a mystery to be received in faith, rather than a doctrine capable of accurate definition in all its bearings. Yet, as it is important to

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* "The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament. And with this the very order of our Saviour's words agreeth—first, *Take, eat;* then, *This is my body which was broken for you.* First, *Drink ye all of this;* then followeth, *This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.* I see not which way it should be gathered, by the words of Christ, when and where the bread is his body, or the cup is his blood; but only in the very heart and soul of him which receiveth them." (V. 67, 6). These words, which *immediately* follow one of Dr. Pusey's extracts, are most unaccountably omitted by him. (p. 37). "The grace which we have by the holy eucharist doth not begin, but continue life. No man, therefore, receiveth this sacrament before baptism, because no dead thing is capable of nourishment. That which groweth must of necessity first live. If our bodies did not daily waste, food to restore them were a thing superfluous. And it may be that the grace of baptism would serve to eternal life, were it not that the state of our spiritual being is daily so much hindered and impaired after baptism. In that life, therefore, where neither body nor soul can decay, our souls shall as little require this sacrament, as our bodies corporal nourishment. But as long as the days of our warfare last, during the time that we are subject to diminution and capable of augmentation in grace, the words of our Lord and Saviour Christ will remain forceable, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.*" (V. 67, 1).

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the sacramental character of this mystery that all the essential forms, and all the material elements, ordained at its first institution, should be retained; since it is on these that faith lays hold to apprehend the mystery, and without these faith cannot get a true and real standing; we may and must discuss and determine concerning those external things, which infold each particular mystery of our faith, distinguishing it from other mysteries, and indicating its own peculiar character. For faith in a mystery is not only believing that the divine presence is there, but *there* in such a sense as to accomplish the purpose for which the mystery was ordained—the nature of that purpose being indicated by the things used, and the forms and acts gone through with, by those who take part in the service.

This highest service and greatest mystery of the Christian Church is, by confession of all, sacrificial and eucharistic; and of it all alike confess that bread and wine are the earthly ingredients, the body and blood of the Lord is the heavenly food received. "We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle." (Heb. xiii. 10). The only questions of moment therefore are, in what respect is it a sacrificial act, and in what sense do we receive the body and blood of our Lord? If men were agreed on these points, everything else would fall into its proper place.

Before the incarnation, all sacrifices prefigured the work of Christ in the most literal manner, by the pouring out the blood of the victim upon the earth in token of Christ's death; consuming all sin-offerings wholly in token of his perfect sacrifice (Heb. xiii. 11), and of his ascension into heaven (Heb ix. 24, x. 12); and by offering part, and feasting on part of other sacrifices, in token of Christ's being the sustentation and joy of his people, as well as their redemption and their life. But Christ being come, and having offered a sacrifice once for all, when he offered up himself, and by that one sacrifice for sins having perfected for ever them that are sanctified, it became necesssary to show in the sacrificial forms continued after Christ's coming, that He, the end of the former sacrifices, was come, and had done that part of the work which certain kinds of sacrifices exclusively, and certain parts of every sacrifice, had typified; and that He is still fulfilling other parts of the same work, represented by those sacrifices which are still continued in the Christian Church. Sacrifice, abstractedly considered, does not indispensably require the death of a victim and its consumption on an altar—sacrifice is the medium, and the priest the mediator, in our approaches to God; and we being sinners, a victim was required to make atonement, which atonement being made by Him who is

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both the Sacrifice and the High Priest, gives to all those who are really members of the body of Christ Jesus a standing of acceptance through him. But some visible token, act of acknowledgment, or continual memorial of him, to whom we owe our reconciliation and acceptance, is still necessary in our approaches to God; and therefore the eucharist, which is this memorial, has been well regarded as a sacrifice, and has been appropriately named the "unbloody sacrifice;" a memorial of the blood shed for the remission of sins, but not a repetition of the shedding of blood.

In the Mosaic law there were three great classes of sacrifice. 1. Sin-offerings, which were holocausts, wholly burnt with fire, and no portion to be eaten. 2. Thank-offerings, parts of which were burnt with fire, and the remainder eaten. 3. Offerings of a mixed kind, like the frankincense and shew-bread, in which the frankincense was wholly burnt and the bread wholly eaten: which classes we may call sin-offerings, eucharistic-offerings, and oblations to God. And man is the same under the New Testament as under the Old, and may no more approach unto God without a sacrifice and a priest *now* than *then*. But the difference lies in the fact, that the New Testament *stands* in the blood of Christ; our one complete and perfect sin-offering is *already* presented and accepted *in him;* and believing in him we have no more need for offerings *for sin*. Man, in the sight of God, is regarded in three aspects only—first, as under condemnation for sin, and needing a sin-offering; secondly, as being reconciled, and being able to offer eucharistically, and to receive blessings from God; thirdly, bringing oblations, and dispensing the blessing of God to others who are not present—being enjoined to do good and to communicate, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. Under the law the different kinds of sacrifice could not be mingled or confounded; and under the Gospel the same distinctions should be preserved. If the sin-offering had not been rightly offered, or was not wholly consumed, the sin for which it was offered would not be purged away; and the worshippers would not be allowed to come within the holy place with eucharistic-offerings, or oblations; and the great sin-offering of the day of atonement was burnt without the camp. (Heb. xiii. 11). In like manner, as Christ, at the beginning of the Christian dispensation, died once for all, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice for sin; so we, at the entrance of our Christian course, lay hold, each one in baptism, of that sacrifice, not to be again repeated, because the one sacrifice was complete, and its completeness is implied in every other ordinance of the Church. So also if we take the passover for our illustration:

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they slew the lamb, they sprinkled its blood, they consumed its remains with fire; and then began the feast of unleavened bread, following the termination of that sacrifice which especially typified the Lamb of God. But we, in the Lord's Supper, have no lamb as they had, and even as the disciples had at the institution; we are passed beyond that part of the sacrifice typified by the lamb; ours is an "unbloody sacrifice," consequent upon redemption by the blood of the Lamb—a feast consequent upon an already accepted sacrifice. "Christ, our passover, is sacrificed for us, therefore let us keep the feast.....with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." With *fasting* the sin-offerings were always associated—the eucharist is a Christian feast.

In all the ordinances of the Church there are distinctions of significance and operation, which are dependent upon the material things which God has chosen to make the *media*, or channels, for imparting his blessings. In baptism, water is the medium; but the Holy Ghost, for regeneration, is the blessing to be imparted. But man can no more choose the medium, than he can command the blessing. God has appointed the first—he has promised the second; and coming in faith, we honour him in both respects, and may confidently expect the blessing. If in unbelief we omit the right use of the things which God has appointed, we shall assuredly fail of the blessing, for God will not so nullify his own appointments as to give the same blessing through another channel. And if we foolishly imagine that we can find out other things, and make them Church ordinances, and obtain through them some other blessings, or some fuller measure of the same, this is an evident proof that we are not rightly using the ordinances which we already have, and are adding symbols at the very best, and symbols of other kinds of service, to the realities of Christian worship—but too probably merely indulging the fancy, and forgetting worship altogether. Christian worship is a spiritual act, and every part of it transacted in the Holy Spirit; and He will only use and bless things which God has appointed—not such things as man has devised, or may seem appropriate in man's judgment. The ordinances of the Church are not the Church, and still less are they Christ, the Head of the Church. The ordinances have no life or power in themselves, though used by Christ as channels for imparting life and blessing to the Church. In assuming that any inanimate things are used as ordinances, we assume that there are living beings to impart and to receive the blessing, above and below the channels through which the blessing descends. Christ is the source—the living One above—

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from whom the blessing proceeds. Men—the living members of his body on earth—are those that receive the blessing. Between these living, personal beings, the impersonal thing, the ordinance, intervenes—the *it* which forms the channel of communication between eartha nd heaven—between Him, the Head of the Church, who sitteth on the throne of God, and us, the members of his body, who are fashioning in the lower parts of the earth. It is at once evident that this communication is by the living and life-giving agency of the Holy Ghost, who was promised to the Church for the very purpose of receiving of the things of Christ and imparting them unto us, and who is the life and strength of every ordinance. But the Holy Ghost is especially distinguished from Christ in this very particular, that the second person of the Trinity was *impersonated* in the creature thing which he apprehended, so that God and man were united in one person; whereas the third person of the Trinity operates *through* the creature thing, either by influence on another thing, or by indwelling as in a temple, never by that impersonation, incorporation or inseparable union of two distinct natures which *incarnation* implies.

Men mistake in every way when they begin to study the ordinances abstractly, or as isolated things, without considering them as ordinances of Christ, and first studying them in Him. Dwelling exclusively upon an ordinance is sure to lead to some exaggeration, which will begin by turning the attention away from *Christ* and from *ourselves*—from the *beginning* and the *end* of all ordinances; and will ultimately distort them, so as neither to refer nor apply to Christ or his people. And thus, while some have deified the ordinances, and made them objects of idolatry, others, considering them to be bare signs and memorials, have made them altogether void and useless, or, at best, merely a ministration to sentiment or imagination, instead of regarding them as channels of grace, and the ordained means for preparing the body of Christ for the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven.

The highest exaltation to which any creature thing has attained is the glory of that body which the Lord Jesus Christ took of the Virgin Mary, and in which he now sitteth at the right hand of God. This body *in its substance* differs not from the body of his mother; it is only altered *in its condition* by being raised from the dead and glorified. That its substance is not changed, has been demonstrated in two ways—first, by our Lord, while yet on earth, having been actually vested with this "excellent glory" on the mount of transfiguration, and laying it aside again, and appearing the same man of sorrows as before; and, secondly, by his appearing after the resurrection,

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for forty days, in his body of humiliation without the glory—in that very body which had been nailed to the cross, and had been buried in the tomb, presenting himself to be handled and felt by men; having temporarily appeared in a *glorious* condition on the mount *before the resurrection*, and temporarily appeared in a condition of *humiliation after the resurrection;* demonstrating that in these four conditions it was one and the selfsame body. And the same truth shall be proved by the analogous change which our sinful and vile bodies shall undergo at the resurrection; when this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and those who are *in spirit* one with him now, shall *in body also* be fashioned like unto his glorious body. It doth not yet *appear* in us what *we shall be;* "but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him, and shall see him as he is."

The act of condescension in Christ Jesus consists in the Son of God becoming incarnate *at all;* the *kind of thing* with which he united himself, or what its condition was, are of scarcely any importance in comparison with the thought of the infinite and eternal *God* uniting himself personally with *any creature thing.* For as the distinction between God and the creature is, that God is essentially unlimited, and creatures essentially limited, the personal union of the two natures necessarily carries with it personal limitation, as he was truly Man; yet unlimited holiness, wisdom, and power, as he was truly God. In him dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. He, the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person—he, the eternal Word, was made flesh; and we thereby could behold the glory of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. But thus made flesh, the eternal Wisdom, in the person of the Son, did undertake a work, which, without despoiling him of Godhead, subjected him to the local limitations of manhood—that infinitude might be imparted to that which he accomplished for our salvation; that the mercy of God might be shown to be infinite in the gift, and the merit and efficacy of the Redeemer infinite also; that we might thus have perfect confidence in the all-sufficiency of the atonement, and the omnipotence of him that made it.

But in the person of the God-man the two natures were necessarily *distinct,* for they are not capable of amalgamation: yet he, having omniscience and the other attributes of Godhead, was bound by the laws of space, which are inseparable from manhood, and could not be in two places at one time; wheresoever, he, the Godman, was, there alone, and nowhere else, was he at that time. He, the Christ, was born of the virgin, and lay in the manger, and was baptized in Jordan; and upon him

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there the Holy Ghost descended, and the Father over him declared, "*This* is my well-beloved Son." And he, the God-man, hung upon the cross, and was not then in heaven; he went into hades, and was not then on the cross; he arose from hades; he ascended into heaven; he is now on the right hand of God, and is personally and corporeally present nowhere else. According as he had said to his disciples, "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; again I leave the world, and go to the Father." And as he had just before said, "It is expedient for you that I *go away;* for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come; but if I depart, I will *send* him *unto you.*" (John xvi. 7).

It was expedient for them, and for the work appointed to them, of building the Church. For, bound by the unalterable law of that physical necessity, which his having come under the conditions of incarnation would, as a matter of course, imply; if the Lord had remained upon earth, he could have been only *in one place* at a time; yet the work of gathering and preparing a Church *from all nations* of the earth required his presence with them *everywhere*, and *whensoever* they had work to do; God must be with them in such sense, and with such adaptation to the wants of man, as was then revealed in Christ Jesus himself. Accordingly our Lord told them, that by his going away *another Comforter* would come; another like himself in all respects save those to which *incarnation* was necessary, and, therefore, one *not limited in place by the conditions of incarnation*; a Comforter who should bring and apply to them, to us, to the whole Catholic Church, at all times and in all places, the benefits resulting from the incarnation; and not personally limited to one place by personal union with the creature, as was the incarnate Son, yet being the Spirit of Christ, proceeding from the Father and the Son, should possess the ubiquity of the Father and the human appliances of the Son—the Spirit of life, unction, and grace, which simultaneously animates, and informs, and fructifies the whole body of Christ, and every member thereof.

The Church itself, and the ordinances by which it is constituted and sustained, can only be rightly understood by an attentive consideration of the distinct subsistences and diverse opetions of the persons of the blessed Trinity. And in this consideration the person of the Son, as the revealer of the Father, and the foundation and chief corner-stone of the Church, must have the first place; more especially, too, as in the order of time the work of redemption, through his incarnation, was prior to the bestowal of the Holy Ghost; and so preceded those sacraments and ordinances which derive all their efficacy and importance from their being channels to us of the Holy Spirit. And it is

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worthy of remark, that in the history of the Church we find that all the earlier controversies which arose had regard to the person of Christ, the God-man, of two natures in one person subsisting; and by much the largest part of each creed is taken up in defining what is the true doctrine concerning him. The first Nicene Creed pronounced nothing further concerning the third person than, "I believe in the Holy Ghost;" and said not a word concerning Church or sacraments. The next great controversy arose concerning the person of the Holy Spirit, and led to the separation between the eastern and western divisions of the Church. And the later controversies have been those concerning sacraments and ordinances; and it is on differences concerning these last that the separations now subsisting chiefly rest—the separation of Romanists from Protestants, and Protestants amongst themselves.

The truth concerning the incarnation, and the distinction between the two natures in the one person of Christ, could never have been discovered by reason alone, not even after the fact had come into manifestation in him; and trusting to reason has been the bane of Neologians, and Unitarians, and Socinians, in all their various shades. But making the word of God our text, and Christ Jesus the living fulfilment and expounder of revelation, reason properly comes in to preserve consistency throughout the whole of the word of God; and finding it declared continually that all things were created by Christ and for him, we discover in his person the clue to guide us through the whole mystery of the purpose of God; in creating matter at all, and in using it as he has done for the making himself known, through men, and sacraments, and ordinances, and bringing the incomprehensible God in contact with material things, in such a way, that through them we are even able to apprehend God.

From the whole of Scripture, and especially from the writings of St. Paul, it is evident, that to apprehend that for which we have been apprehended of Christ Jesus (Phil. iii. 12), is the highest calling of man—is the mark and prize, the attainment of which is our perfection. The place of meeting between God and man is our spirit. It is not by the reason, and still less by the sense, that we apprehend Christ Jesus, and are apprehended of him; but it is by the spirit—the highest part of man; and He holds communion with us there by the Holy Spirit. Man has power over his spirit, as over the mind or the body, and is responsible for keeping each of these faculties in its proper place. The man who does so is the spiritual man, and him God will lead more and more into the knowledge of the truth; the man who neglects the spiritual part of his being becomes more and

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more carnal, and however knowing or intellectual he may be, is yet no better than the natural man spoken of by St. Paul, who receiveth not the things of the Spirit, nor can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. Christ, the second Adam, is the quickening Spirit—the Lord and Author of the *new* creation, as of the *old*; and as, to the accomplishment of the incarnation, the Father and the Son operated through the Holy Ghost, for that most wonderful union of Godhead and manhood; in that, Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary; so, to the accomplishment of the next, and almost equally wonderful mystery of regeneration, by which the mystical body of Christ is prepared, the Father and the Son operate likewise by the Holy Ghost. So that in reference to this He is called in the Nicene Creed, "the Lord and Giver of life;" and our reunion to the Father, whereby we become sons of God, and our incorporation into the Church, whereby we become members of the body of Christ, although consequences of the death of Christ, and pre-supposing his finished work, without which these blessings could not have come to us, are yet always ascribed in Scripture, and in the orthodox creeds and confessions, to the Holy Spirit alone—to *the other Comforter* promised to the Church, and promised to abide for ever.

This is everywhere implied throughout the apostolic writings, and argued out at large in many places; as, for instance, in the eighth chapter of Romans, where it is written—

"They that are in the flesh cannot please God. But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the *Spirit of God* dwell in you. Now if any man have not the *Spirit of Christ*, he is none of his. And if *Christ* be in you, the body is *dead* because of sin; but the spirit is *life*, because of righteousness. But if the *Spirit of him* that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by *his Spirit* that *dwelleth in you*.....For as many as are led by the *Spirit of God*, they are the *sons of God*.....And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and *joint-heirs with Christ*: if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also *glorified together*. For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed *in us*. For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for *the manifestation of the sons of God*. And not only they, but ourselves also, which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, *the redemption of the body*."

So, then, the Spirit of God dwelling in us is the great point *now*; this is to have Christ, this is "Christ in us, the hope of glory." (Col i. 27). And this is not life *to the body*, but death; the spirit only being quickened. But a time is coming when

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the body also shall be quickened, when those who are now made sons of God in spirit, shall become heirs, joint-heirs with Christ. And this shall be the manifestation of the sons of God, the adoption brought to pass *in the resurrection*, and our hope realized in being *glorified* together with Christ. And the formal and orderly procession of the Church through the various stages which Christ himself passed through is often declared with equal clearness. Such as in the Epistle to the Colossians:—

"As ye have, therefore, received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him: rooted and built up in him, and stablished in the faith as ye have been taught.....buried with him in baptism, wherein also you are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead.....If ye, then, be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory."

St. Paul is rapt in spirit whenever he speaks of this great mystery of godliness—God manifest in the flesh; and he calls it the mystery which hath been hid from ages and from generations, but now is made manifest to the saints; being the mystery of God, and the Father, and Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. St. Paul regards a knowledge of Christ Jesus as the indispensable preliminary to all other knowledge of divine things; and he tells the Corinthians that he was resolved to know nothing among them save Jesus Christ, and him crucified, because they supposed themselves wise in so many things, though they knew not this one thing needful. But truth compels us to say that Dr. Pusey has not followed the example of St. Paul; has not regarded the whole mystery of godliness as so wrapt up in Christ Jesus as to become intelligible in all its parts in proportion as we attain to the knowledge of him; but has sought to know him through the study of the sacraments, instead of first knowing him, and letting the sacraments follow: and follow, not only in the taxis belonging to them, as *things* secondary to *persons*, but in their proper order among things, as subsidiary to Christ and his body personal, and also to his body mystical, which is the Church.

Incorrect views of the creation, and disregard of the high and holy purposes which God designs to effect through created matter in the kingdom of heaven, have been the source and occasion of a long train of error, affecting both the present and future condition of the Church. Some, who esteem it a mark

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of spirituality to hold all material things in utter contempt, imagine the kingdom of heaven to consist of disembodied spirits, and so make void and useless any resurrection of the body. Others, under the semblance of holding *all things* to be *sacramental*, equally make void the doctrine of the resurrection—which is the time of *restitution of all things*, and for which restitution all things wait. And this second error does as inevitably destroy and frustrate the legitimate use of material things as did the first error; and adds the further sin of making them, not only useless in the right place, but objects of idolatry by being put into a wrong place. And both these errors lead to utter confusion in all respects; to the confounding of all times—past, present, and future; to the confounding the symbolical, the spiritual, and the heavenly dispensations; to the confounding material with spiritual things; and what is far worse than all these, to a misunderstanding of the purpose of incarnation, and so to the confounding of the divine and human natures in the person of our Lord.

These errors are scarcely worthy of deliberate refutation when they appear in a crude and disjointed form, as isolated statements, or rash assertions of ignorant and vulgar men. But as such things have been asserted, and have been wrought into a system, and deliberately argued out, by men of high standing in the schools, and of great influence in the Church, it is neither right nor safe to pass them by without notice, or to think that such things can be said by such men without effect—without sapping the faith of all who come within the reach of such influence, unless they are warned beforehand, and well grounded in the opposite principles of truth.

In any system wrought out by clever men there is a consistency and coherence among all its parts, and this is sometimes thought to be an evidence of its truth; forgetting that there may be consistency in error, as well as harmony in truth. Reverent men must find a place in their system for things which are very explicitly declared in the word of God, and make or feign a place if they cannot find one. To those who have not considered the mystery of creation, and incarnation, and resurrection, as necessary stages for bringing out one purpose—the manifestation of God in the flesh; and many reverent men there are who have not attained to the knowledge of this mystery; and to all who consider the kingdom of heaven as already begun in the invisible world, or in the visible Church; to all these there are large portions of the word of God which cannot but be very perplexing. Such are all those passages which speak of the angels of heaven as not only rejoicing with, and joining in

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the songs of the Church, but as even themselves learning more of what God is by means of the Church than what they knew before. Such also are all those passages which speak in such glorious terms of the heavenly Jerusalem and the paradise of God; and having exhausted human language, imply that still more glorious things remain, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive. The spiritualizers make short work with the difficulty, treating all these expressions as figurative, and leaving it open to every one to set his imagination at work to make what he can of ideal things. But with Dr. Pusey and his followers the difficulty is continually felt, because their system is one which rejects figure, and makes all things to be present realities. Nothing therefore remains for them but the adoption of the practice of the Romanists, and cumulating in the visible Church all that belongs to the resurrection and to the kingdom of heaven; for which purpose they are constrained to exaggerate in a most preposterous manner present existing realities, and after all draw largely on the ideal, and so fall into the very same region of imagination as the spiritualizers, though professing direct opposition.

The fundamental statement of Dr. Pusey, concerning the place which the second sacrament has in the Church, seems to us quite correct:—

"The chief object of the holy eucharist, as conveyed by type or prophecy, by the very elements chosen, or by the words of our Lord, is the support and enlargement of life, and that in him." (p. 4).

And in speaking of the types it is that the confusion in Dr. Pusey's mind begins to appear, and the error gradually slips in. The tree of life is correctly stated to be "given as a nourishment of immortality;" and the bread and wine of Melchizedec, and the "commemorative sacrifice" of the paschal lamb, are also correct. But in the manna the error begins to appear, which, being truly declared to have "represented Him as coming down from heaven to give life unto the world," is stated to be, *in the same sense*, "the food of *angels* and the holy hosts of heaven." And then it is immediately inferred, that when we now partake of the Lord's Supper in the Church, it is the promised feast of the kingdom of heaven; that now "he drinketh anew with his disciples in his Father's kingdom;" and that now all that is written in the Psalms and Proverbs, and the Song of Solomon, concerning the kingdom of heaven, is fulfilled:—

"In all these varied symbols, strength, renewed life, growth, refreshment, gladness, likeness to the angels, immortality, are the gifts set

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forth: they are gifts as to the redeemed of the Lord placed anew in the paradise of his Church, admitted into his sanctuary, joying in his presence, growing before him, filled with the river of his joy, feasting with him; yea, himself feasting in them, as in them he hungereth." (p. 6).

The profound stupidity of a mistake sometimes makes it hard to believe and difficult to expose; and the jumble of type and antitype, of natural and sacramental things, of earth and heaven, which now begins to appear, is hard to believe of any Oxford Professor—of any head of a party, and is difficult to expose in greater absurdity than its naked statement. Because Christ has declared that the manna typified Him, therefore Dr. Pusey infers that whatever may be asserted of Him may be asserted of the manna, and that the blessings which we derive from communion with Him sacramentally through the bread and wine, are also imparted to the angels and hosts of heaven through manna. It is marvellous that Dr. Pusey does not perceive that his supposition proves too much. For if we should grant that the angels feed on manna, and are thereby made partakers of the body of the Lord, and that *before he himself had taken a body;* then we must further grant that the children of Israel, who certainly did eat of the manna for forty years, were also made partakers of the body of the Lord, and this before the incarnation, and they themselves being all the while a people who did err in their hearts, and to whom the Lord had sworn in his wrath that they should not enter into his rest. Moreover, is Dr. Pusey prepared to consider all the types in the same way? He should do so in consistency. Our Lord, in discoursing with Nicodemus, has told us that the brazen serpent represented him. Yet, because the people had made it an object of idolatry, the good Hezekiah dashed it to pieces, and called it Nehushtan. (2 Kings xviii. 4).

And the error grows and enlarges as the sermon proceeds; so that not only the angels—or living beings *without material bodies*—are supposed to partake of the *body* of the Lord; but inanimate things also—matter which has *no life*—is supposed to be endowed with inherent vitality, and imparting this to other things in wider and wider circles, till all things in heaven and in earth are gathered into Christ, and the whole creation become his one body—the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. This is what we gather from such passages as these:—

"Holy Scripture hints, that the blessed angels, who never fell, shall, in some way to us unknown, gain by the mystery of the incarnation, being, *with us*, gathered together under one Head, our incarnate Lord, *into his one body*, the fulness of Him who filleth all in all. Certainly, Scripture seems to imply, that although he took not the nature of angels, but of man, yet *all created beings*, thrones, and dominions,

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and principalities, and powers, shall, if one may reverently say it, *be more filled with God*, when, this his body being perfected, there shall be no check or hindrance to the full effluence of his divine nature, circulating through the whole body, into which he shall have knit things in heaven and things in earth, the innumerable company of angels, and the just made perfect; and the whole glorified Church shall be clothed and radiant with him, the Sun of Righteousness." (p. 10).

The only intelligible sense which this passage conveys is something akin to the old poetic idea, that the universe is one vast creature, "whose body nature is, and God the soul:" an idea only tolerable in the writings of a poet and a heathen, and such as ought to have no place in theology or Christianity. Strange theology it is which supposes "checks and hindrances to the effluence of the divine nature;" strange Christianity it is which "knits things in heaven and earth" thus indiscriminately into the one body of our incarnate Lord, and clothes them thus with the Sun of Righteousness. But this is not all, Dr. Pusey further proceeds:—

"And of this we have the germs or first beginnings now. This is the order of the mystery of the incarnation, that the Eternal Word so took our flesh into himself as to impart *to it* his own *inherent life;* so then we, partaking of it, that life is transmitted on to us also, and not to our souls only, but our bodies also, since we become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone; and he who is wholly life is imparted to us wholly. The life which he is, *spreads around*, first giving its own vitality to that sinless flesh which he united indissolubly with himself, and in it encircling and vivifying our whole nature, and then through that *bread*, which is *his flesh*, finding an entrance to us *individually*, penetrating us, soul, and body, and spirit, and irradiating and transforming into his own light and life." (p. 12).

And then, after some quotations, he adds:—

"Yet such is *undoubted Catholic teaching*, and the most literal import of holy Scripture, and the mystery of the sacrament, that the Eternal Word, who is God, having taken to him our flesh and joined it indissolubly with himself, and so, where his flesh is, there he is, and we receiving it, receive him, and receiving him, are joined on to him *through his flesh to the Father*, and he dwelling in us, dwell in him, and with him in God. 'I (saith he) in the Father, and ye in me, and I in you.' This is the perfection after which all the rational creation groans; this for which the Church, which hath the first-fruits of the Spirit, groaneth within herself; yea, this for which our Lord himself tarrieth, that his yet imperfect members advancing onwards in him, and the whole multitude of the redeemed being gathered into the one body, his whole body should, in him, be perfected in *the unity of the Father*. And so is he also, as Man, truly the Mediator between God and man, in that being as God, one with the Father, as Man, one with us, we truly are

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in him who is truly in the Father. He, by the truth of the sacrament, dwelleth in us, in whom, by nature, all the fulness of the Godhead dwelleth; and lowest is joined on with highest, earth with heaven, corruption with incorruption, man with God." (p. 15).

We do not stop to point out the looseness of thought and verbal inaccuracy of this whole passage, in speaking of our being joined on to the Father, and being perfected in the unity of the Father, when it is evident that God is meant in both places; nor of the many senses in which the word *body* is used, and the vague idea conveyed by "the whole multitude of the redeemed," and so forth. For our higher and more important task is to direct our readers' attention to the assertion that this is *undoubted Catholic teaching;* an assertion which Dr. Pusey thinks is indisputable, but which we not only dispute, but are endeavouring to disprove, and that in the very passages quoted by Dr. Pusey.

Any man going to the writings of the fathers may find countenance for any opinion which has ever been held by good and holy men in the Church; and the most opposite opinions may be attributed to the same father, if we look only at extracts, made for particular purposes, and under strong opposite prepossessions. Such extracts falsify Catholic teaching; and no mere extracts—no *catena* of detached passages, ever can fairly represent to us what Catholic teaching was. It is the mind and spirit of their teaching that we have to study—to put ourselves in their place for a time in order to catch their spirit, and to suppose them living now in our places in order to conceive how they would act in such a situation. To pronounce concerning Catholic teaching, we must be in the mind and spirit of the Catholic Church, and not satisfy ourselves with the mere recital of words which have been used by this or that individual among the fathers.

The one point in which the mind and spirit of the orthodox Church has been most shown, and by attention to which we best ascertain undoubted Catholic teaching, and bring it into unity, is their referring everything directly and wholly to God as the agent, and that a personal God, and a God totally distinct in nature, or essence, or subsistence from any creature; so that by no union, however intimate, can it be possible to annihilate the essential distinction between the nature and attributes of God, and of every creature, whether spiritual or corporeal. This is a point which Dr. Pusey has failed of apprehending—no doubt unconsciously failed, but failed he has; and from this defect all his writings give us the same painful impression which the writings of the modern Romanists impart. They excite a suspicion that the writers are unconsciously snared in some subtle form of

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idolatry, and are giving to *things* that reverence and worship which is due to God alone. Dr. Pusey would deny it, and so would the Romanists, and quibble between *dulia* and *latria;* but upon the great majority of their followers the effect is nothing short of idolatry.

When the Catholic doctrine concerning God, as above, beyond, and separate from creation—Godhead so distinct as to be utterly immiscible with any creature existence, whether human or angelic, is firmly impressed upon the mind, and so habitual as never to be absent from any thought of God; many forms of expression may be used for the exaltation of material and natural things, which, taken by themselves, and not interpreted by this ruling idea in the mind of him who used the words, would convey a false impression, and be capable of a meaning quite opposed to the intention of the writer. Dr. Pusey has said, in a note to p. 11—

"The thoughtful study of these chapters of Hooker on the connection of the sacraments with the incarnation of our blessed Lord, would do much, in pious minds, to remove existing difficulties in the reception of the truth."

And we say the same; but we say, that the truth which they would then receive would be widely different from the opinions entertained by Dr. Pusey; and in support of which he refers them to Hooker. In the very passage there quoted from Hooker, Dr. Pusey has mistaken his meaning, for it does actually refute the passage in Dr. Pusey's sermon which it is brought forward to support. For while Dr. Pusey asserts that life is derived to us through that flesh which Christ united to himself, imparting to it "his own inherent life, and in it encircling and vivifying our whole nature, and then, through that bread which is his flesh, finding an entrance to us individually," Hooker is engaged in arguing that the three persons of the blessed Trinity are engaged in every work which is done towards man, and each in a peculiar sense. "Whatsoever God doth work, the hands of all three Persons are jointly and equally in it." And Hooker most truly and unequivocally declares that the union of Godhead and Manhood in Christ is *totally unlike* our union with Christ or with the Father:—

"For in that he is Man, he receiveth life from the Father as from the fountain of that ever-living Deity, which in the person of the Word hath combined itself with Manhood, and doth thereunto impart such life as *to no other creature besides him is communicated*.....Wherefore *God is not so in any, nor any so in God*, as Christ; whether we consider him as the personal Word of God, or as the natural Son of Man."

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Hooker then shows that—

"Life, as all other gifts and benefits, groweth originally from the Father, and cometh not to us but by the Son; nor by the Son to any of us in particular, but through the Spirit."

And then, in the context which precedes Dr. Pusey's extract, it is shown how Christ, the second Adam, is the quickening Spirit to the Church, namely, by the Holy Ghost, who is the Spirit of Christ:—

"Seeing, therefore, that Christ is in us as a quickening Spirit, the first degree of communion with Christ must needs consist in the participation of his Spirit."

We find it very hard to believe that Dr. Pusey himself has given the thoughtful study which he recommends to this section of Hooker; since it seems to us incapable of any other interpretation, than one hostile to Dr. Pusey's opinions. But the extracts from Hooker, in the appendix, which appear to have been made by some friend, or humble admirer, seem open to the charge of something more than misapprehension; they seem very like a determinate *suppressio veri*. In the first extract (p. 37) the impression intended to be conveyed would have been *entirely altered*, if the very next words of Hooker had been quoted, viz., "The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for *in the sacrament*, but *in the worthy receiver* of the sacrament." And so in all the other extracts from Hooker, the very next words, in each instance, give a turn to the sense unfavourable to Dr. Pusey's opinions; and the act of thus stopping short, and suppressing what is unfavourable, we can scarcely reconcile with honesty.

The other principal authority referred to by Dr. Pusey, in support of his opinions, is St. Cyril, of whom we should remember, that although he was thé strenuous opponent of Nestorius, yet so also was Eutyches, and in that very council of Ephesus wherein Cyril presided: and that Cyril has always been considered as verging towards that very heresy into which Eutyches actually fell. Concerning which Hooker observes:—

"But forasmuch as St. Cyril, the chiefest of those two hundred bishops assembled in the council of Ephesus, where the heresy of Nestorius was condemned, had, in his writings against the Arians, avouched that the Word or Wisdom of God hath but one nature, which is eternal, and whereunto he assumed flesh.....Again, forasmuch as the same Cyril had given instance in the body and the soul of man, no further than only to enforce by example against Nestorius, that a visible and an invisible, a mortal and an immortal substance, may, united, make *one person*; the words of Cyril were, in process of time, so

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taken as though it had been his drift to teach, that even as in us the body and the soul, so in Christ, God and man make but *one nature*. Of which error, six hundred any thirty fathers in the council of Chalcedon condemned Eutyches. For as Nestorius teaching rightly, that God and man are distinct natures, did thereupon mis-infer, that in Christ those natures can by no conjunction make one person; so Eutyches, of sound belief as touching their true personal copulation, became unsound by denying the difference which still continueth between the one and the other nature. We must, therefore, keep warily a middle course, shunning both that distraction of Persons wherein Nestorius went awry, and also this latter confusion of natures which deceived Eutyches. These natures, from the moment of their first combination, have been, and are for ever inseparable. For even when his soul forsook the tabernacle of the body, his Deity forsook neither body nor soul. If it had, then could we not truly hold, either that the person of Christ was buried, or that the person of Christ did raise up itself from the dead.....The sequel of which conjunction of natures in the person of Christ is no abolishment of natural properties appertaining to either substance, no transition or transmigration thereof out of one substance into another. Finally, no such mutual infusion as really causeth the same natural operations or properties to be made common unto both substances; but whatsoever is natural to Deity, the same remaineth in Christ uncommunicated unto his manhood, and whatsoever is natural to manhood; his Deity thereof is uncapable."—*Hooker*, v. 52, 53.

We might in like manner go through all the other authorities referred to by Dr. Pusey, and show that those which are of any value have been misunderstood by him, and did not therefore prove his doctrine to be "undoubted Catholic teaching," even if this were the right way to ascertain it. But when we enquire what is meant by these high-sounding phrases, of undoubted Catholic teaching, and so forth, we find it is only the private judgment of Dr. Pusey on certain passages which he has culled from the fathers, which all, of course, seem to him to look one way, and which he pronounces to be Catholic teaching. And what is there in all this which Dr. Goode or Mr. Garbett may not also do, and with equal confidence assert that they have thereby shown the opposite doctrines to be undoubted Catholic teaching. No individual, however learned, however honest, can assure himself in this way. No *individual* is competent to pronounce on what is or is not Catholic teaching; it is only from *collective* or *Church judgments*, as contained in Church documents, that Catholic doctrine or Catholic teaching can be ascertained. And we may rest assured, that on vital points like these there have been in past ages authoritative decisions, if we seek for them in the right quarter. It is not in the familiar and occasional writings of the fathers, written for the time, under a particular impression, or against some prevalent notion, that Catholic truth will be found; and we, reading them under such different

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impressions, might fail of finding it if there. Catholic truth is to be sought for in the decisions of councils, and the creeds and confessions which embody those decisions, and were drawn up to meet, not suppositious evils or speculative errors, but false doctrines which had arisen, and which the assembled fathers unanimously declared to be subversive of the truth, and contrary to Catholic teaching. Now if there be meaning in words, Dr. Pusey, in asserting that Christ "hath mingled the nature of his own flesh with his eternal nature" (p. 13), has identified his doctrine with that of Eutyches, which doctrine was condemned as heretical by the fourth general council held at Chalcedon, A.D. 451. The mingling of the natures in the person of Christ is moreover one of the forms of error expressly guarded against in the Athanasian Creed, which declares that Christ was perfect God and perfect Man in one person—"one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person." And the Church of England, through the Bishop of Oxford and the Vice-Chancellor, has spoken in unison with Catholic antiquity, and pronounced against the doctrines inculcated in the Tracts and Dr. Pusey's Sermon.

Though the doctrines contained in Mr. Newman's Tract, No. 90, are the same as those of Dr. Pusey's Sermon, where it treats on the same points, yet the Tract embraces so many other subjects, and is an example of so different an application of the same erroneous principles, as to require a distinct and somewhat different mode of examination. The Sermon was a misapplication of private judgment, in the vain endeavour to ascertain, by such insufficient means, Catholic doctrine in a wrong direction, and in places where it is not to be found: the Tract is an abuse of private judgment, in the mischievous endeavour to destroy Catholic doctrine, by perverting the meaning of those writings in which alone the collective judgment of the Church is expressed; and where especially, and above all things, it is necessary to protest against the tampering of any individual with the charter deeds of the Church, and to resist to the utmost innovations which steal upon us, masked with the pretence of reverence for antiquity.

Although Dr. Pusey's is the last of the publications, it is the first of the Tracts, in which the principles which have been acted on from the beginning of this series of publications came into manifestation; and, therefore, it is the first which has brought down the heavy judgment of suspension on the writer. But by the help of this Sermon, we now understand many passages in the former Tracts, on the meaning of which we were either utterly in the dark, or which we formerly understood quite erroneously. We could not understand, for instance, what was

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meant by a "Catholic Christian," in contradistinction to a member of any true Church, in such passages as the following:—

"That there are real difficulties to a *Catholic Christian* in the ecclesiastical position of our Church at this day, no one can deny."—*Introd. to Tract* 90.

We now do understand what is meant, and find what *no one can deny*, in the present instance, to be precisely similar in its import to the phrase "*undoubted* Catholic teaching" in Dr. Pusey's case, and that the Catholic Christian is one who has groped out a creed for himself from the writings of the fathers, and does not find it to be quite in accordance with the creed of his Mother Church, though he all the while acknowledges her to be a true Church. Truly such an one must have some "real difficulties." This point no one can deny; but whether he be a *Catholic Christian* is quite another point, and depends upon the solution of another question, viz., whether the creed which he has framed for himself be more orthodox, and contain more truth, than that which he received from the Church; it is the preponderance of *truth* in the respective creeds that determines *which* is the *Catholic Christian.*

Having shown, in Dr. Pusey's case, that he had taken the wrong way in search of Catholic teaching, and so had entirely missed the mark, we need not go over the same ground to show that Mr. Newman, tracking the same solitary bye-paths, only deviated more and more from the Catholic faith, in fancying himself more of a Catholic Christian. The *phrase*, in fact, is absurd, like Roman Catholic, or any other combination of the universal with the particular. No individual is *Catholic*, except as belonging to the *one* Catholic *Church*—this is the *only* Catholic *unit*, and is made up of *all* the faithful *individuals;* not *one* apart from the rest, not *all the rest* to the exclusion of any one. And *faithful* individuals are they who hold the *faith of the Church* —the one faith which that one Church *avows;* not being left to any individuals, to pick it out as they could, from tradition or practice, but having declared it in creeds, and articles, and confessions, to which every member of this one Catholic body was expected to pledge himself.

No generation of the Church has hitherto dispensed with—no individuals have been permitted to cast off these common bonds of unity, which make the Catholic Church one; the creeds have been enlarged, when needful, in order to define articles of faith which had been misunderstood; but the faith itself is one faith, from the time of the apostles to the reformers. Nay, even when the Romanists introduced their innovations in doctrine,

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and magnified practices of the Church into points of faith, they had not the hardihood to reject the ancient determinations of the Church, but retained both the old and the new doctrines, however inconsistent; they did not drop the old creeds, though they added to them new clauses of a very heterogeneous description. It remained for this generation to witness another kind of experiment, which has been tried by Mr. Newman, namely, whether the articles of faith may not be retained, and yet every *diversity* of opinion be tolerated, by encouraging every one who has a whim of his own to put *that interpretation* upon the articles which may bring them into seeming agreement with *his own* opinions, and so Protestants and Romanists may both subscribe the same articles.

The care which was exercised by the early Church, both in ascertaining and guarding the true doctrine, is not enough appreciated by us, because it is not generally known. The Romanists have an interest in concealing it, for it disproves some of their most confident assertions, and would put the stamp of novelty upon doctrines and practices which pass for primitive and apostolical; and the generality of Protestants are afraid, both of Papal frauds, and of giving up the right of private judgment, either in themselves or in the primitive Church. But it is certain that in the early councils every important article of faith was discussed, and guarded from all the heretical tendencies which had at that time appeared, and the orthodox form of expression settled by *common consent*, and embodied in a suitable creed or confession. And, in like manner, the discipline and ceremonies of the Church were brought under review; and where it was thought that it was requisite to enjoin uniformity, the Catholic practice was set down in the canons of the *Universal Church;* which was a collection distinct from the *local* canons of particular Councils or Churches.

From many incidents in the acts of the early councils, it appears that in all their meetings the volume of holy Scripture was placed on one desk, and the volume of canons on another desk, in the midst of the council-room, and each referred to as occasion might require, before coming to their decisions. Ecclesia Christiana duplici Jure olim regebatur, Divino et Canonico. Ac Divinum quidem jus, Codice sacræ Scripturæ; Canonicum verò Codice Canonum continetur. Itaque in Conciliis, illi duo Codices in medio consessus poni solebant, ut ex eorum jure Episcopi inter se dogmata pietatis explorarent, obortas hæreses refutarent, et controversias ad disciplinam ecclesiasticam, sacramque πολιτειαν pertinentes, dirimerent. And Justell, in the preface to the canons of the Universal Church, gives many instances in proof

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of this, and also shows that the volume of canons was a collection, or digest, of all the *general* laws extracted from the canons of *particular* councils, being numbered differently in this general collection from the numbers which they bear in the acts of the several councils which first framed them. And it is put beyond dispute by the edict of Justinian. (Novella. cxxxi. de Confirmatione Codicis Canonum Ecclesiæ Universæ):—

"We sanction and give the force of laws to the sacred ecclesiastical canons which have been drawn up, or confirmed, by the four holy councils—to wit, the Nicene of three hundred and eighteen; the Constantinopolitan, of one hundred and fifty fathers; the first of Ephesus, in which Nestor was condemned; and that of Chalcedon, in which both Nestor and Eutyches were anathematized. For we receive the decrees of these holy councils with the same reverence as the sacred Scriptures, and their canons we keep as laws."

The ecclesiastical code thus made a part of the law of the empire has even received a place in the statute law of England (1 Eliz. I. sec. 36). And Bishop Barlow says of it, "This is a book which, next to the Bible, is the most authentic, and by the Catholic Church the most approved and received book in the world." It should be observed, that canons "confirmed" by these councils are spoken of in this edict, as well as the canons framed by them; which shows that there was a *selection* made from existing canons, some of which were not thus confirmed. And as these councils discriminated between local canons, and those which, when thus *confirmed* by them, became canons of the Universal Church, so we must use the same discrimination in reading ecclesiastical history, and not at once deem a practice to be universal, which we find adverted to in the writings of the fathers, and be slow to account it a practice of the Catholic Church, if we find it not in canons, or authorized documents, of the Catholic Church.

Large portions of the writings of the fathers are fairly entitled to be considered as Church documents, and even as having this Catholic weight. Many of the apologies were adopted by the ancient Church, in the same manner as that of Bishop Jewell was by the Church of England, and thus received a species of Catholic sanction. But some of their writings were addressed to, or adopted by general councils, and read, and approved, and sanctioned by them; and these have, to all intents and purposes, all the weight and authority of canons, or creeds, or any other documents proceeding from the Catholic Church. The causes which gave origin to such documents as these constitute the reasons wherefore we have continual need of them, for understanding aright the controversies of the Church, and ascertaining

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the Catholic doctrine. Heresies arose, new objections to the truth were started, novel interpretations of Scripture were proposed; and in these cases the old and simple definitions of the faith were evaded; and though the faith was the same, it needed to be more strictly defined, and more closely guarded in those points at which the assault was made. But to show that the faith was one, the former creeds were never thrown aside—they were only enlarged, or rendered more precise, as might best suit the case. Of these writings, which were vested with additional authority, and rendered Catholic in being adopted by a general council, we might cite the epistle of Leo I. of Rome, to Flavian of Constantinople, as an instance. A letter this which was written during the Eutychian controversy, and before the meeting of the council of Chalcedon, but which expresses very fully and clearly the orthodox doctrine on this point, and having been read and adopted by the council of Chalcedon, may be regarded as an expression of truly Catholic doctrine—of the doctrine of the Church, both in the East and in the West.

Leo exposes most clearly the source of the Eutychian, and all similar errors, as arising from men searching after hidden truth in a wrong way—from men not going to the prophets, and apostles, and gospels, but to their own imaginations, and so becoming teachers of error, instead of disciples of truth. He asserts that all the truth on this question lies in the three points—of faith in God the Father, God the Son, and the flesh or nature which the Son took. And he shows, that as God and man were the parties to be brought into reconciliation, Christ, the Mediator, must needs be of both natures, and both unchanged and distinct as the parties to be reconciled must ever have been, and ever shall be; which work of mediation and nativity in time, nothing diminished his divine, sempiternal generation, as Son of God: but he devoted his entire self to the restoration of man, who had been deceived, that by his virtue he might overcome death, and the devil, who had the power of death. For we should not have been able to overcome death unless he had taken our nature, and made it his own, whom neither sin could contaminate nor death hold captive.....Saving, therefore, the proprieties of either nature, and bringing the two natures together in one Person, humility was taken up by majesty, infirmity by virtue, mortality by eternity; and so, to satisfy what was due under our condition, an inviolable nature was united to a nature capable of suffering—that, as it was fitting for our recovery, one and the same Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus, both might die by one nature, and might not die by the other. Wherefore, in the entire and perfect nature

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of true manhood the true God was born, complete in his own nature, complete in ours. And ours we call all those things which man received from the Creator, and He undertook to restore.

It was with this line of argument fully before them, and ever present to their thoughts, that all the primitive confessions were drawn up, and all the liturgies and forms of worship were arranged. For if the highest creature thing in existence be our very nature impersonated in the Son of God, and the eternal Word incorporated in it, yet so as not to constitute some third or intermediate kind of subsistence, but still to remain true manhood, unchanged by the union; then is it most infallibly true of every other substance, that it undergoes no change whatsoever, as to its creature properties, by being employed for holy purposes, and in those offices of mediation between Christ and his members, which impart to them his strength, and make them participant of his salvation. Even in the sacraments the elements remain as they were before; although they are employed by Christ to impart the Holy Ghost to the Church, they are still water, and bread, and wine; and such the primitive Church always held them to be, however highly they may extol the sacraments, and the blessings which we receive by a faithful participation of the same.

It was reserved for the Romanists to enact the folly of deifying matter—first, under the term "Transubstantiation," to suppose the elements to be converted into some undefinable *tertium quid*, which is totally unlike anything in heaven or on earth; and then, under the guise of relics, and holy places, and holy things, to make all the best feelings of nature minister only to superstition and idolatry. If matter, in the person of Christ himself, has not lost its own former properties, or acquired any new properties, still less can any other kind of matter, which is only subservient to him in fashioning and conforming members for his mystical body, have undergone any change. But as the primitive Church, making the personal subsistence of Christ the groundwork of their theology, could not fail to come to right conclusions concerning the sacramental questions; so the Romanists, having begun with erroneous notions of the sacraments, especially concerning transubstantiation, warped their theology so as to misapprehend the truth concerning the personal subsistence of our Lord; and then, to produce a semblance of consistency, and as a necessary consequence of the first error, feigned that the Virgin Mary, and other saints, are endued with some better flesh and blood than ours; as if we were not all of one common stock, or these men and women came into existence preternaturally.

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The evil of transubstantiation is, that it fixes the mind upon *the thing*, and so worship is really given to it, and not to God. It is not the name we contend against, but the idol; and this, whether it be in crosses, relics, agni dei, pictures, statues, saints, or angels. God alone is the object of worship. The primitive fathers, giving themselves wholly to God and his worship on the one hand, and disgusted by the heathen abominations on the other, were in less danger than we are of making material objects of idolatry. Yet they delighted most in getting into that frame of worship which lifted their spirits into glorious adoration of the abstract Godhead, wholly apart from terrestrial associations or material forms of any kind—magnifying the name of the Triune God in his incomprehensible unity. The form of thought and expression most frequent with them is that of the seraphic hymn or trisagion—"Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Hosts;" which is therefore found so often repeated in all the early liturgies. Tres sunt, sed una Deitas, una essentia, una glorificatio, unus Deus. Trina repetitio cur? nisi quia Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, sanctitate unum sunt? Non dixit semel, ne Filium sequestraret; non bis, ne Spiritum præteriret; non quater, ne creaturas conjungeret. Et ut ostenderet Trinitatis unam esse Deitatem, cum tertio dixisset, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, addidit singulariter Dominus Deus Sabaoth.

And like as, for understanding the sacraments, we should first contemplate Him to whom they lead, and without reference to whom they will become idolatrous or vain; so, in our acts of worship, we must first think of God, and rise into communion of spirit with him, that his Spirit may fill every act of worship, and inform every symbol and sacrament; or, instead of approaching him *through* these material things, we shall rest *in them* as idols, or turn aside to something else equally offensive to him, and profitless to ourselves. In religious enquiries, as in every inductive process, the only wise, the only safe course is, first to determine the general; but these gentlemen have begun with the particular, and vainly expected thereby to determine the general. Moreover, it is not God's way; he first sent his Son to make himself known, and then, *consequent* upon that revelation, gave ordinances to the Church. It is presumption and folly to expect to come at the truth in any better way; and if a man will travel out of God's way, and will take his own way, we may fear lest his reason, tasked to a degree which God never meant it to bear, and has not made it strong enough to bear, should give way under the unnatural exertion. We can only account for the bad logic and fatuity of some parts of these publications by such an hypothesis as this.

But let us not lose the lessons of instruction which are taught

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by such examples as these—that no piety of the individual, no extent of learning or research, will suffice to keep a man in the Catholic faith, and much less to teach it him. And that the only safety for all, and equally needed by all, is abiding steadfastly in the communion of that Church where we have learnt the truth, and where it abides. And especially, and above all, we should remember that the sacraments of the Church are pre-eminently those things of the Spirit which can be only by the spiritual man discerned. These are the ordinances by which the life and power of the Holy Ghost are brought into the body, to make it his temple. And the most painful part of this system of theology is, that there is scarcely any recognition of the Holy Ghost as *the life* of all forms, but *the dead things* themselves are spoken of as if they were all in all. By Dr. Pusey especially it seems to be distinctly taught that things are endowed, by consecration, with *inherent* vitality; which, if it were so, would be giving them the incommunicable attributes of God —would be giving to *a mere thing* the honour due *only to the Holy Ghost* in that ordinance. Let us fear any, even the most distant approach to this; and let us be content to remain ignorant of such things as are beyond the reach of our understanding —content to receive the fulness of the blessing provided for us by God, without insisting upon first knowing in what precise manner the blessing comes to our hands.

ART. II.—*How shall we Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?* By J. CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A. London: Pickering. 1843.

2. *A Few Thoughts on Church Subjects; viz., Uniformity, Daily Service, Gown and Surplice, Private Dress, Pews, Preaching.* By the Rev. EDWARD SCOBELL, A.M. London: Hatchards.

3. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, at the Visitation in October*, 1842. By CHARLES JAMES, Lord Bishop of London. London: Fellowes.

4. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Guiana, at the Primary Visitation in April*, 1843. By WILLIAM PIERCY, Lord Bishop of Guiana. Demerara: Dodgson.

THE most careless observer of times and circumstances must perceive that a spirit has been excited among the members of the Anglican Church, and especially among her clergy, which had scarcely an existence fifteen or twenty years ago; and which is neither to be stifled by the cry of *Popery*, nor to be directed

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into an improper course by the injudicious proceedings of others. That spirit is a desire to act according to the mind of the Church in all things, as far as that mind can be ascertained. Hence it has come to pass, that a very large proportion of the clergy are anxious to know the intentions of the Church in her rubrical and canonical directions. Hence, too, the large number of works on the subject, from the *shilling* pamphlet to the *ten-and-sixpenny* volume. As a matter of course, various, and even very conflicting opinions are put forth by the parties who have taken up the pen in this important enquiry. But still a right spirit appears to pervade a considerable number of the publications which have already appeared. Not that we would measure the merits of a question by the number of works either against it or in its favour, for we are well aware, that the worse cause has oftentimes the most numerous list of defenders, who wish to make up by noisy declamation what is lacking in argument; but still it is pleasing to reflect, that a proper spirit pervades the majority of the works which have been put forth on this subject.

We need not attempt to disguise the fact, that there are several parties among the clergy, under whom the laity range themselves in this controversy. Probably the following division will embrace the whole clerical body, with perhaps here and there an individual so completely *sui generis* as not to admit of classification. We commence with those who are so far enamoured of the *Tracts for the Times* as to wish to introduce other ceremonies and practices into the worship of the Church, on the plea of their antiquity, though they were deliberately rejected by the Reformers. These gentlemen have a greater reverence for certain authorities prior to the Reformation, than for the Reformers. The tendency, in their case, is to innovate by way of excess; for the introduction of a practice, under the plea of antiquity, which is not authorized by the Church, is as much an innovation as a change or alteration in the services. It is also a reflection on the Reformers, implying that they had acted indiscreetly; and, moreover, it is highly presumptuous, and contrary to all Church order, since private persons have never been permitted to decide on the rites and ceremonies to be adopted. In short, such a proceeding cannot be justified on any ground, and, were such a principle admitted, it would be destructive, not merely of uniformity in worship, but of all order and decorum.

This class, however, is by no means numerous. It does not comprehend even all the advocates of the Tracts, but only some of the more energetic of the party. It is necessary, however, to guard our readers from supposing, that the individuals, against

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whom ambiguous reports are raised, must necessarily be classed with those who would introduce unauthorized practices; for it need scarcely be remarked, that many are branded, by certain portions of the public press as *Tractarians*, who would not transgress the letter of the rubric in a single particular, and who are only anxious to comply with the requirements of the Church. There are parties who are stigmatizing as enemies of the Church all who make a conscience of conformity, as if oaths and declarations were made only to be broken, or as if the laws of the Church were more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Those who thus act, notwithstanding their plea of Churchmanship, are Dissenters within the pale of the Church, and differ only from their brethren without the pale in this—that they are less honest. With such doctrinal views are everything; and they affirm that they are members of the Anglican Church, because they profess to receive her views of doctrine, though they are altogether regardless of her discipline. In the case of laymen, we can quite understand how such persons can remain nominally within the Church: they are never called upon to subscribe to the Prayer Book, and consequently the case has never assumed an important aspect. But we are quite at a loss to understand the principle by which those clergymen are actuated, who are frequently putting forth their views in certain publications—views which set discipline at defiance, and which cannot be honestly entertained while they profess to be clergymen of the Church of England. These are the men who disturb the peace of the Church—men, whose ignorance is only exceeded by their uncharitableness—men, whose *Popery* is scarcely inferior since their dogmas are announced with pretences to infallibility in no way inferior to those of the Roman pontiff. We caution our readers, therefore, against such expressions as "*A leaning to Tractarianism*"—"*We hear, on good authority, that he is a Tractarian*"—or, "*He is an avowed Tractarian.*" Such language is frequently used in certain prints—and on what authority? On nothing more than surmise; or because a man complies with the requirements of the Church, or the directions of his diocesan; or on the authority of some low-minded and ignorant correspondent, a *half-Dissenter*—a man to whom the meeting-house appears equal to the Church, and who consequently calls everything *Tractarianism* which does not square with his own standard. On the authority of such persons the vilest slanders are raised against the most blameless and respectable men, and circulated, too, in channels affecting to be considered the religious portion of the periodical press. Honesty is undoubtedly so far a part of religion, that the latter cannot exist without the

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former; but it is not easy to reconcile such practices as these with either religion or honesty.

The charge of the Bishop of Guiana is an interesting document. It is refreshing to find our bishops pursuing the even tenor of their way in our distant colonies, and also to see the Church prospering under their auspices. It is gratifying, too, to find our colonial prelates resolved to maintain the Church in her integrity. We shall have occasion to refer to the charge as we proceed; but we quote the following passage, as bearing on the question to which we have just alluded. His lordship remarks—

"Believing, as I do, that some of the statements put forth in the *Tracts for the Times*, and which have attracted so much attention in England, have had an injurious tendency, I cannot, nevertheless, concur in those indiscriminate censures which are heaped upon these publications, as if, because they are in error on some, they must necessarily be so on all points. My own observations have made it clear to my own mind, that mischief has arisen from the mode in which some of the opponents of these Tracts have acted in their warfare. For instance, they do not hesitate to stigmatize with a name of reproach many clergymen, who, without reference to the Tracts, have consistently fulfilled their ordination vows, by complying with the requirements of the Church, as expressed in her rubrics and canons. By many persons, whose zeal is greater than their discretion, such individuals have been charged with Popery, for no other reason than this, that they are scrupulous in attending to the injunctions of the Church. With some persons in England, it is a sufficient argument against a practice, that it is recommended in these publications. Such a course is unreasonable, and injurious to the cause of truth." (pp. 16, 17).

Having specified one class of violators of the Church's laws, namely, those who innovate by the way of addition, we take, in the next place, the opposite extreme, or the class comprehending those who would, and do innovate by way of diminution. This, too, is a comparatively small class—small, we mean, when contrasted with the great bulk of the clergy; but, unlike the former, it is a very clamorous and noisy one. It embraces, indeed, those individuals to whom we have referred as traducers of many of the clergy who make a conscience of their oaths. These gentlemen refuse to admit whatever they may chance to dislike. Instead of settling certain important questions before they take upon themselves their ordination vows, they set their vows at defiance, and determine to disregard whatever is displeasing to their own prejudiced minds. They assume that many things are enjoined which cannot be complied with; and having laid down this principle, they apply it to everything which, in their own estimation, is questionable. Because some things,

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through negligence, are fallen into disuse, they venture to reject other things, lest they should offend some tender consciences, or incur the suspicion of *Popery*, or *Tractarianism*. So sensitive are they, that rather than wound the feelings of a *weak* brother, they can sacrifice the solemn vows which they have made at ordination, at induction to a benefice, or when licensed to a curacy. There are seceders from the Church who condemn such individuals as strongly as we do; but the parties themselves allege, that they do not see their way to a separation, or that it is their duty to remain at their posts for the sake of doing good, since the Church would be left in a most melancholy position should she be deserted by all the *good men*; meaning those who entertain the lax notions which we are exposing. Under the plea, therefore, of the Church's welfare, they retain their nominal connexion with the Church, and thus violate her laws and discipline, and scatter to the winds their own solemn obligations. These gentlemen may rest assured, that the Church does not require their assistance; and it might be supposed that by their own principles they have nothing to do with consequences. How they can adopt a principle of expediency, which they so loudly denounce in others, relative to matters of much less importance than the sacred subject of religion, we are totally at a loss to determine.

We have already stated that this class is comparatively small, though very noisy. Were an estimate of their number and importance to be formed from the declarations of certain prints, an uninitiated person would imagine that it embraced within its ample circuit the great bulk of the English clergy. The truth is, the number is undergoing gradual diminution. This circumstance excites the ire of the leaders, and makes them exceedingly clamorous; for they are very much afraid of losing their influence. Some worthy men, too, are caught in the snare; from which, however, they will be delivered, as the views and feelings of the party are developed.

But we shall specify some of the delinquencies of this party, in order that our readers may perceive, that they have no connexion with those minor differences respecting the meaning of certain rubrics, or the revival of some which have been neglected, to which we shall presently direct attention.

Some of the party in question affect superior wisdom. They pretend even that the Reformers, who gave us the Prayer Book, did not intend all the observances of that book to be of perpetual obligation. They go so far as to allege, that *daily service* was one of those things, and that it is superseded by *family prayer*. They know exactly, therefore, what the Reformers would have

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done in our present circumstances; consequently they comply, not with the regulations which have been given to us by the Reformers, and which have again and again been confirmed by the Church, and to which they have solemnly pledged themselves, but with the rules which the Reformers would now give, and which are fully known to the gentlemen in question, whose visual faculties are in no way inferior to the *second sight* of our Scottish neighbours.

We can, however, specify only a few of their proceedings. Some of them omit the *absolution*. This practice is not very common; but still there are some of the *weaker* brethren who cannot away with it, on account of *Popery*. Our readers may say, why not quit the Church? This would not suit the policy of these gentlemen, who, however they may exclaim against Rome, follow the precepts of Rome's most active children, the Jesuits—namely, that *the end justifies the means*. Others drop the Lord's Prayer occasionally, to avoid repetition, and because it is used by the Church of Rome, and is to be found in the *Mass Book*. Thus, for a similar reason, the *Lord's Prayer* is never used in the devotional acts of Dissenters: its use would be formal and Popish. By some the lessons are changed without scruple, one of their own choice being substituted in the room of that appointed by the Church. This practice is very common with a certain party. Indeed, there are few among them who must not plead guilty to the charge. Yet what can be a greater violation of the laws of the Church, and of their own vows, so solemnly made and frequently repeated? The Church does not allow her ministers to choose a lesson; she has done it herself. Some indeed allege, that the rubric appoints a *lesson* from *the Old Testament*, while the *calendar* assigns, in some cases, one from the *Apocryphal books;* and that, therefore, the minister may select one for himself. Supposing this argument or assertion to be worth anything, it must, at all events, bind the parties to the use of every *lesson* appointed from the Old Testament; but the greatest offenders are not perplexed about the Apocryphal books, inasmuch as their churches are not open in the week, on which days alone lessons from those books are appointed, the Church having taken special care to enjoin the reading of the canonical Scripture on Sundays. These parties only change the lessons for Sundays, so that their own argument is beside the question. It is, however, worse than frivolous to talk thus, for the Church is most explicit. She appoints generally a *lesson* from the *Old Testament*, and always on the Sundays; and she refers to her calendar for particulars. If a clergyman can change a lesson in one case, he can do so in

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another. Such discretionary power is not conceded by the Church; and the man who acts as we have described violates his solemn oaths. Others refuse to bow at the name of Jesus, alleging that the act is Popish, though the Church enjoins it, and they have pledged themselves to obey. By others, parts of the occasional services are omitted at pleasure, or the sign of the cross is omitted in baptism, or sponsors are not required, or the font is disused, and sundry other innovations are practised, which to specify would be tedious.

The Bishop of Guiana thus admirably puts the question to which we have alluded:—

"I confess I cannot understand such scruples; for it appears to me a much more weighty affair for an individual to violate his engagements, than to read a chapter from the Apocrypha—a practice settled by the Reformers—men who went to the stake in defence of their principles. I cannot understand how any clergyman can experience any relief from his scruples by irregularities; for whether he reads the Apocryphal lesson or not, or whether he reads the whole of the occasional services, or omits portions, he still declares his assent even to the omissions; consequently, to obtain the relief which he seeks, he ought to quit the Church altogether. The Church, too, is less injured by the secession of men who cannot fulfil their solemn pledges, than by the continuance of those who pursue an irregular course within her pale." (p. 26).

We trust that this charge may be extensively circulated in England. Probably some of our irregular clergymen never considered that they are pledged, as the Bishop of Guiana remarks, even against the omissions of which they are guilty.

But there are enormities perpetrated by some of the preachers of this party which seem opposed to devotion of every kind. We allude to the practice of sitting in the vestry during divine service; and to another equally monstrous, that of arranging and preparing the notes for the sermon while the congregation are offering up the prayers of the Church. Incredible as these practices may seem to some persons, we can assure our readers that they are of not unfrequent occurrence. By some of the individuals the act of *preaching* is viewed as the grand ordinance, while the service is regarded as a mere secondary matter. In short, from the way in which the service is treated, we cannot but conclude that they regard it as an obstacle, which must be overcome in the best way possible, in order that the preacher may enter upon *the important* duty. Thus many *popular preachers* never read the prayers, though they have pledged themselves to do so several times in a year. That duty must be done by another. In this metropolis there are men who rarely join with the congregation in prayer, except in their own *extem-*

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pore effusion before the sermon. Instead of entering the church, they remain in the vestry; and then, forgetting the liturgy and their oaths, they use *extempore prayer* for *ten* or *fifteen* minutes, and afterwards preach an hour; thus depriving themselves of the only argument which charity could divine, namely, that the remaining in the vestry was the consequence of ill health. Certainly no man could plead the want of health, for sitting in the vestry during prayers, who could pray and preach for more than an hour afterwards. Of course their cases are not known to the diocesan, or he would enjoin, that those who did not unite in prayer with the people must not preach.

The other practice is equally reprehensible, and equally common. We have witnessed scenes at which our feelings were outraged. We have seen men, who were about to ascend the pulpit, sit or kneel in the pew during the service, conning over their notes, while the rest of the congregation were engaged in prayer. Nay, still worse, we have witnessed the same sad scene at the communion table! Now, surely a man ought not to attempt *extempore* preaching, if he cannot accomplish it without resorting to such methods as these. Such a man destroys all devotion in those who witness his conduct; and what must be the state of his own heart? What can be his views of the Book of Common Prayer?—what his sense of devotion? He may preach from noon till midnight, but none of those who have witnessed his desecration of the service will believe him to be in earnest.

These are crying sins. Well would it be for the Church if the bishop, as the overseer of the flock, could always be informed of the outrages committed by such of the clergy in these matters. We are aware that the plea of conscientious scruples would be urged; but still it could not for a moment hold good, since all the clergy have sworn to obey the directions of the Church, and consequently, if they have any conscience at all, they must submit, or secede and become Separatists. Such persons could not reasonably complain of being compelled to observe their solemn vows. The clergy, indeed, are the only body who are not constrained, by the most rigorous measures, to fulfil all the engagements into which they may enter. Nor would a bishop be doing more than his duty in enforcing a strict compliance in the matters to which we have alluded. Our readers will observe, that we have hitherto dwelt only on obvious breaches of the order of the Church, such as no one can mistake. There are rubrics that may be termed doubtful, inasmuch as they may admit of more than one interpretation. In such cases no man will be censured for exercising his own judg-

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ment in the construction to be put upon them; but the points which we have specified do not fall under any such definition. They are clear and express; and the persons who violate them are fully aware that they are not doubtful. If, therefore, any man entertain a scruple against conformity in such matters, he is a dishonest man if he does not quit the Church altogether. If he cannot yield obedience to the laws, he is a disloyal subject; so, if he cannot submit to the directions of the Church, he is her enemy, and should retire from her communion. We do most earnestly hope, that in all clear and explicit directions our bishops will enforce the most rigid conformity: for it is our settled conviction, that no other course than that of a strict compliance with the rubrics will enable the clergy to maintain their ground against those who would innovate by way of excess.

Mr. Robertson, notwithstanding certain statements which we shall presently controvert, has some very just observations on the conduct of those persons who set conformity at defiance:—

"And it is impossible to shut our eyes to the existence of a third class; the members of which, however zealous they may be in the discharge of some part of their pastoral functions, appear to act much as if, in ritual matters, they hardly recognized any authority, or held themselves bound by any engagements." (p. 2).

In a note the author refers to a recent charge from the Bishop of St David's.

We have now directed attention to the two extreme parties among the clergy—those who would add to the rites and ceremonies already enjoined, and those who would detract from them, and alter and change the services binding by the express commands of the Church, and their own solemn obligations. Both extremes are equally to be avoided, and both are equally dangerous. We rejoice to think, that the two parties united form but comparatively a small number, when contrasted with the great body of the clergy, who, whatever may be their differences on some doctrinal questions, or even on certain doubtful points of discipline, are still determined to comply with the requirements of the Church, and to abide by their ordination vows. Still, of these two extreme parties, those who would alter and omit the services of the Church are more numerous than those, who would add to the ceremonies enjoined by authority.

Having, therefore, disposed of the two extremes, with neither of which the great body of the clergy have any sympathy; and having declared our judgment respecting those rubrical irregularities which are obvious, we now proceed to the discussion of other points, which are less obvious, and on which even those

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who are anxious to comply with the rubrics may entertain differences of opinion.

In our judgment, there is one fatal error running through the works of Mr. Robertson and Mr. Scobell, which must necessarily render both these gentlemen unsafe guides in rubrical questions. We allude to the opinion, that we are to bend the rubrics to times and circumstances, rather than ourselves comply with their directions. They have not, indeed, used these very words; but that we do not misrepresent their meaning will be obvious to any one who will take the trouble to peruse the works in question. The notion is most dangerous; for were the principle admitted, it might be applied by every private clergyman to cases which neither Mr. Robertson nor Mr. Scobell have contemplated.

As Mr. Scobell's pamphlet appears to have been the text-book with the *Quarterly* reviewer, we shall take up some of its book material statements, with a view to showing their unsoundness. It strikes us that Mr. Scobell sets out with a determination to depreciate, to say the least, the authority of the rubrics, or what is the meaning of the following passage:—

"Not that it should at the same time be lost sight of, that while both the matter and the modes in our Book of Common Prayer are equal *in summo jure*, which cannot, or is not wont to enter much into questions of degree—*magis eminus*, they are very unequal in religious and essential consequences; the one is the living body, the other mere air and gesture; the one is held to be truth itself, which the Church wishes to sustain entire; the other is ceremonial, which might be altered to-morrow, and no harm done."—*Scobell*, p. 2.

Surely Mr. Scobell did not perceive the consequences which flow from this extraordinary position. Any one who reads the passage must conclude, that the author regards all our ceremonies, and even our discipline, as altogether unimportant. Should a clergyman adopt our author's opinion, he would, as a matter of course, consider it perfectly lawful for him to disregard the rubrics, notwithstanding his pledges to strict conformity. We cannot fully express our surprise at this most unguarded statement.

Mr. Scobell appears to argue, that because there are some things which are seldom observed in the present day, and others which are confessedly doubtful, the clergy may exercise their liberty in other matters, though expressly enjoined in the rubrics. The argument, at all events, is an extraordinary one. For example:—

"In a great variety of instances, the officiating minister is allowed a full discretionary power of judgment. We find this to be the case, for

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example, in the selection of the sentences at the beginning of morning and evening prayer; in the choice also of the psalms and canticles after the lessons for the day; of the psalms at the solemnization of matrimony, and the churching of women; in the use of the occasional prayers and thanksgivings, &c.; in the choice of the collect and the epistles and gospels after the Epiphany, &c.; in the prayer for the ruling sovereign after the commandments, and of the exhortations and some other collects of the communion; in the selection of the sentences at the offertory, and of the collects subjoined to the communion service to be said after the offertory, &c.; in deciding how many constitute a convenient number to communicate with the priest, &c.; also in the standing or kneeling at some of the baptismal prayers; in the number of the psalms at the burial service; in a great many points connected with the visitation of the sick; in preaching a sermon, instead of the exhortation, at the end of the marriage service, &c.; in all and each of these several points and opportunities every individual minister has to determine for himself; and we, of course, determine variously." —*Scobell*, p. 5.

Our author proceeds in his list, specifying the liberty to say or sing the creeds, the litany, and the psalms, and certain other points of a similar character, which we need not enumerate. The inference which he draws is this:—

"It is palpable, that the Church contemplated and intended a certain variety in public worship, and absolutely provided for it; and that she does not think an exact resemblance of service, in all its minutiæ, either desirable or necessary to constitute that collective uniformity, which nevertheless she is so anxious to secure." (p. 6).

But we ask Mr. Scobell what this permitted variety has to do with the argument? No one doubts that the Church grants her ministers a discretionary power in certain points; but it would be idle to infer, as this gentleman seems to insinuate, that the express directions of the Church may be violated at the will of an individual clergyman. To us it appears that the argument is entirely beside the question. There is no dispute respecting the discretionary powers granted to the minister in the above instances; but concerning those rules which are decided and explicit. Every clergyman declares that he will conform strictly to all the injunctions of the Book of Common Prayer. What can be more explicit than the words,

"I, A. B., do declare that I will conform to the liturgy of the United Church of England and Ireland, as it is now by law established."

This declaration cannot be observed unless a man complies with the clear directions of the rubrics; but it is no argument in favour of a general non-compliance to assert, that some are fallen into disuse, which appears to be the meaning of Mr. Scobell. The Bishop of London says, "We are no more at liberty

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to vary the mode of performing any part of public worship, than we are to preach doctrines at variance with the articles of religion." This is, we think, obvious.

Mr. Robertson, however, like Mr. Scobell (though the general views of the former are more consistent and more sound than those of the latter), appears to imagine that a strict compliance is not necessary, because there is a variety in the practice of the clergy in certain points. Thus he says:—

"Perhaps most of us have to charge ourselves with having, at some time or other, deviated from the Prayer Book in some of the following particulars:—omitting the performance of daily service; omitting that part of the communion office which is appointed to follow the sermon when there is no administration; celebrating the holy communion without setting two lights on the altar; omitting to give notice of holy-days and fasting-days; allowing the use of metrical psalms in our Churches; wearing gowns in preaching; preaching at times for which no sermon is prescribed; infrequency in public catechizing; using collects in the pulpit before and after sermon; reading the whole of the marriage service at the Lord's table, whereas it ought to be begun in the body of the Church; marrying otherwise than in time of divine service." (p. 5).

Now truly Mr. Robertson pursues a most extraordinary course to establish his position. Admitting that the clergy have been irregular in some points, is this irregularity to be continually persisted in? Is there to be no termination to an improper course? But we must remind Mr. Robertson that he has really magnified the evil. We are surprised, indeed, that any man should have fallen into the error of supposing that *two lights* are enjoined to be placed on the altar. We have no altars in our churches; consequently, when altars were removed, their furniture and ornaments were removed with them. The omission of the *lights*, therefore, is no deviation from the Prayer Book. On the contrary, to place them there would be an innovation.* Neither is the use of metrical psalms a violation of any rubric. On the contrary, the matter is evidently left to the bishop and the clergy. Nor yet can it be proved that preaching

* Nothing can be more explicit than the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth respecting the removal of altars; consequently the lights were removed with them. Even supposing altars to have been retained, it would have been a question whether *the lights* could have been preserved; for the rubric, which is usually pleaded for their use, enjoins only such ornaments as were in use, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of King Edward. If it could be proved even that *lights* were classed among *church ornaments*, it would still be necessary to prove that they were authorized by Act of Parliament in the second year of King Edward, which cannot be proved. On no account, therefore, can it be said that *lights* are enjoined by the rubric. It is a mere assertion that they were authorized by Act of Parliament in King Edward's second year.

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is not to take place except when a sermon is prescribed. In this matter the clergy are only bound to use the Book of Common Prayer before they preach.

It is singular that Mr. Robertson should have classed the omission of lights among the irregularities, of which most clergymen have been guilty; for he has himself proved, in a subsequent part of the volume, that there is no authority for the practice. Thus, alluding to Mr. Poole, who is an advocate for the lights, he remarks: "It is remarkable that Mr. Poole has all but given the answer to his own argument. He writes:—'Though the letter of the law, under Henry VIII., might enjoin the light by the rood-loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre, yet as the rood-loft and the sepulchre are now taken away, we are saved from the possibility of returning to these additional lights.'" (p. 9). Here this writer stops. But Mr. Beaven (*British Magazine*, October, 1841) goes on a step further: "The sacrament, too, he shows is taken away; for by this term was meant the consecrated wafer, suspended in a pyx over the altar; its attendant candles, therefore, have now no more authority than those which were the accompaniments of the rood-loft and the sepulchre." (pp. 55, 56). Again Mr. Robertson observes: "I do not profess to have formed any decided opinion as to the practice of Laud in this respect; but, as has been said already, whoever may think himself bound by the rubric to set candles on the altar, ought also to consider himself bound to light them." (p. 68). And again: "I believe that the authority of these lights has been entirely done away with." (p. 138). With such views, Mr. Robertson should not have expressed himself so as to make the absence of the *lights* a breach of a rubric. The statement is inconsistent with his own opinion; but it appears that he forgot himself in this particular instance.

Mr. Robertson, in our opinion, makes a most unauthorized use of the practice of some of the Puritans, in the early days of the Reformation. Because the services were, in some few cases perhaps, performed without the surplice during the reign of Edward VI., Mr. Robertson argues, that "it is plain that the first compilers of our book allowed people to do things very inconsistent with that rigid interpretation of the ordination vow which some would now force upon us." (pp. 11, 12). The inference is unwarranted. The truth is, that such men as Humphry and Sampson refused to comply with the injunctions of the Church in the use of the surplice; and the bishops, hoping that they might be gained by gentle means, delayed to enforce conformity. They hoped that time would work a change in the

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views and feelings of the nonconforming clergy. Hence their leniency: but this leniency ought not to be construed into an allowance. It is well known that the reign of Edward was short, and that the dismal prospect of a Popish successor made the bishops very cautious in their proceedings. Still it cannot be argued that they intentionally allowed of any deviation from the rules prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer.

We admit that the daily service has been for a long season generally omitted; but we assert that the omission originated, in villages and small towns, from the impossibility of getting together a congregation. The difficulty would be found in many parishes to be insurmountable. Should it be alleged that in such cases the clergy should read the service privately at home, according to the rubric, we reply, that we have no reason for supposing that in numerous instances the rubric is not strictly complied with. At all events, this is a matter into which we cannot pry. We cannot tell, nor have we any right to enquire, what a clergyman does in his own house. Mr. Robertson shows that in the days of Charles I. and II. prayers were read daily in the private chamber, when the sovereign was unable to attend the public service in the chapel. It is remarkable, too, as showing the general feeling at the time, that Burnet recommended William, before he was placed on the throne, to attend the prayers in the royal chapel. He suggested that the prince should have so many chaplains, that one might be in waiting every week; and that it would be strange if his highness did not attend prayers frequently, at least in the morning. At that time, therefore, the practice was not so much in disuse as some persons imagine. The rubric, moreover, admits of *sickness* and other *urgent causes* as reasons for the omission in the case of the clergy.

Mr. Robertson has collected a host of authorities to show that the Church intended the daily service. Indeed, that such was the case can scarcely be doubted. One argument, however, in favour of the position, we do not recollect to have seen used. It is this, namely, the practice of the Church prior to the Reformation. Until that time assuredly the service was performed daily; and the fact, that a provision was made by the Reformers for morning and evening prayer, is sufficient evidence that they did not intend to depart from the general practice. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive how their intentions can be mistaken, as their directions are so explicit. The authorities quoted by Mr. Robertson are so express, that we are astonished that any man should be found who could question the intentions of the Reformers. Mr. Robertson, however, infers from his quotations, some of which are merely evidences of the neglect of the ser-

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vices, that the daily service was never general in the parish churches since the Reformation. This position we are not disposed to deny; but we remind our readers of what we have previously stated, namely, that the disuse of the service arose from the want of a congregation. Thus, in cathedrals, where the establishment of a choir secured a sufficient attendance, the practice was never discontinued, except during the great Rebellion, when it was suppressed by force. Mr. Robertson's authorities, however, prove that the observation of holy-days was general, though, in our times, they are almost as much neglected as the daily service.

Mr. Scobell agrees with Mr. Robertson in thinking that the daily service is optional; but the former goes far beyond the latter in his statements. Thus he remarks:—

"It is not going too far to assume, that had a regular daily public service been the object of the Legislature, it would have been spoken of in some way or other in the Act of Uniformity, which professes to lay down the services required." (p. 27).

This is strange, because the Church has herself made a provision for daily service; and were there no Act of Uniformity, the obligation would be binding on the clergy. An act of the Church is with them of equal authority with an act of the Legislature. But the Book of Common Prayer may be regarded as a portion of the act. By the act, too, all clergymen are bound to observe whatever is enjoined in the book. Take, then, the calendar, which appoints daily lessons, and the rubric respecting the collect for the day. The calendar is a part of the act, and the rubric distinctly states, that the Sunday collect is to be used daily during the week, except in the case of the occurrence of holy-days. It seems strange, therefore, that Mr. Scobell should imagine that the use of the service is legally dispensed with. In this respect he far outstrips Mr. Robertson, who does not deny that the laws of the Church enjoin the practice. He grants, however, that the daily service is to be used privately by all the clergy. He adds:—

"The law, therefore, may be thus explained. On Sundays and holy-days the services shall be public, and, which was not so before the Reformation, in English. On all other days the *laity* may use the Prayer Book at home, privately, and without condition." (p. 20).

And again:—

"The clergy are directed to say morning and evening prayer every day, privately on private days, openly in the church on public ones." —*Ibid.*

Thus our author makes the Sundays and holy-days *public*, and all other days *private*. The distinction is a curious one;

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but it never existed except in his own imagination. It is frivolous to make such a distinction. It is in the teeth of all the authorities on the subject, and flatly contradicts the rubrics. A man must be hard pressed who could gravely resort to such a singular theory.

Mr. Robertson attempts to show the absurdity of the opinion, that a strict conformity is required under all circumstances, by a reference to the practice of some of our greatest divines during the great Rebellion. Thus he says:—

"If our obligations to conformity be such as some writers would have us believe, it is plain that no circumstances could warrant us in consenting to suppress any part of the Liturgy, or to use any other form. Should the sins of this country draw on us the judgment of an ordinance issued by successful rebels and invaders, for the abolition of the book, it would be our duty still to read it as before, to incur all penalties rather than vary from it." (p. 23).

He then alludes to the practice of Taylor, Hammond, Bull, and others, which he conceives to be decisive against those who maintain the strict obligations of the rubrics. We confess that we are surprised. That a man of Mr. Robertson's character should adopt such a line of argument is truly astonishing. He supposes an extreme case. No one ever argued that compliance with the rubrics was to be maintained against force. It would be folly to attempt it; and it is worse than folly to cite such an example in the argument. Undoubtedly, if force be used, the obligation immediately ceases.

In our last number, when alluding to the article in the *Quarterly Review*, we entered somewhat into the argument respecting the division of our services. Many persons take it for granted, that our morning service consists of three offices, which were intended to be used at separate times. Thus Mr. Scobell says:—

"From the first the communion service was intended to be a distinct and separate service; and the rubrics, which regulate it, were framed for it as such." (p. 7).

And he further says:—

"By Church custom alone, the three distinct services, morning prayer, the liturgy, and the communion, are compressed into one." (p. 8).

Now surely Mr. Scobell is bound to make good his assertions. The present custom affords presumptive proof, that the Reformers never intended them to be distinct services. At all events, the *onus* lies upon Mr. Scobell to prove, that they did intend them to be distinct, and that custom alone authorizes the union or compression. He must, however, adduce the most

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positive evidence, or he must excuse us if we dissent from his position. That he would be unable to make good his position, we are convinced; and if the unvarying practice, from the Reformation downwards, does not prove the contrary, we are in complete mistake. Having, however, dwelt on this point in the preceding number, we refer our readers to that article for further information on the subject.

The *Reformatio Legum*, inasmuch as it was never set forth by the Church, is destitute of authority; but it may be adduced as evidence of the views of the Reformers, and also of the practices which prevailed in the early period of the Reformation —the time of Edward VI. The following extract furnishes positive evidence respecting the mode in which our services were managed at that time. It relates to the mode of celebrating divine service in cathedrals and colleges:—

"*De temporibus divinorum officiorum in cathedralibus ecclesiis, et collegiis celebrandorum.*

"In principalibus ecclesiis, quas cathedrales vocant, et in collegiis, divina volumus officia quotidie peragi, quem-admodum ratio dierum postulabit, vel Protestorum vel festorum. Quapropto antemeridianer quopiam convenienti tempore preces quas appellant matutinas recitari placet, appositis etiam illis quæ pro communionis officio præscripta sunt. Et intercurrat in singulis diebus Mercurii et veneris illa solemnis supplicatio quæ litania nominata est. Similariter tempore postmeridiano vespertinæ preces adhibeantur."*

Thus it is evident, that in the days of Cranmer there was no separation of the communion office from the morning service. Here we have a prescribed rule for cathedrals and colleges; and it would be unreasonable to imagine, that one rule was applied to colleges and cathedrals, and another to parish churches. What evidence can be more decisive of the question? We have, however, in the same document, another regulation, which confirms the position. Thus:—

"*De Sacra communione Administranda in Dominicis, et Festis Diebus.*

"Diebus Dominicis et Festis ecclesiarum, quas cathedrales vocant, hunc in divinis officiis ordinem esse jubemus, ut absolutis precibus matutinis et decursa supplicatione, quam appellant litaniam, communio succedat."†

Coupling together these two regulations, can we have any doubt respecting the practice in the days of King Edward, or respecting the views of Archbishop Cranmer? The daily morning prayers, the litany, and the communion service, were all used

* Reformatio Legum. *De Divinis Officiis.* † Ibid.

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in continuation, as at present, on Sundays and such other days as the two latter offices were appointed. In short, there is nothing on the other side but assertion.

Mr. Scobell also draws other strange inferences from his own premises, and wishes to make them necessary consequences from principles laid down in the Prayer Book. Thus, in consequence of the Poor Laws, he contends that "the Church has agreed to abandon the collection, except on sacrament days." When did the Church abandon the collection? That it is abandoned in practice we admit; but that the Church has agreed to do so we deny. She could only do so through her Convocation; and it is idle to call the disuse of a practice an agreement of the Church. Mr. Scobell's notions of the Church must be very loose indeed, or he would never talk so loosely on such a subject. Again he says, that "the reading of the offertory without a collection for the offering is anti-rubrical and contradictory." Whether the collection were made on every Sunday and holy-day, from the Reformation down to the Revolution, we cannot determine; but we know, that in all the occasional forms, which it was formerly the custom to print in full, certain sentences from the offertory were always printed before the prayer for the Church militant. This fact we can state on the best authority, namely, on the authority of the forms themselves. Our author also speaks of several other things as justified only by Church usage, such as not *dipping* healthy infants in baptism, turning to the east in the creed, and decorating our churches at Christmas. He would argue, therefore, that usage and custom are to interpret the rubric, and that the strict letter is not to be regarded. His cases, however, have nothing to do with the question. With respect to infants, if parents wish it, the clergyman must of necessity practice dipping. The practices of turning to the east, and decorating churches with evergreens, are altogether beside the question; for neither is enjoined by the Church, and the clergy may do many things, not connected with public worship, at their pleasure. For example, unless the ordinary interfered, they might decorate their churches with evergreens all the year round, and not only at Christmas.

With respect to the instances which Mr. Scobell adduces of doubtful rubrics, it may be sufficient to remark, that it is with those that are clear and express that we are concerned in the present argument. In all cases of doubt, however, the ordinary has authority to decide; but the fact that some things are at the discretion of the minister does not make fixed and unalterable rubrics uncertain, and therefore variable, according to the whims or caprices of individuals. Neither is it to be supposed,

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that because some things are left to the discretion of the minister, a similar liberty is to be exercised in others, which are fixed by express rubrics. Let Mr. Scobell's principle be once admitted, and confusion and irregularity must be the consequence.

Respecting the use of the surplice in the pulpit, we are inclined to think that the Bishop of London's suggestion not merely commends itself to the judgment on account of its convenience, but that it really comprehends the actual practice of the Reformers. His lordship suggests that the surplice should be used in the morning, and the gown in the evening. That this was the practice in early times we fully believe. At all events, the surplice must have been used in the morning, because the service was continued after the sermon in the prayer for the Church militant, which could not be read in the gown. The surplice is the dress recognized by the Church; and to allege that the sermon ought not to be delivered except in a gown is somewhat ridiculous. Yet there are persons presumptuous enough to put forth such an assertion. One fact should be noticed, which seems to bear strongly in favour of the surplice, namely, that its use is actually enjoined in the performance of divine service, while no such authority can be pleaded for the gown. Mr. Robertson discusses this question with much moderation, though he inclines to the opinion, that the surplice was not intended to be used in preaching. Still he approves of the Bishop of London's suggestion.

Mr. Scobell, on the other hand, is more positive, stating that the surplice never was used in earlier times for preaching. Thus he says, "The surplice never was worn by the preacher in the second year of Edward VI." (p. 37). He contends that preaching is not a liturgical ordinance. Surely, however, preaching is a part of divine service. If, then, the preacher in the time of Edward VI. never used the surplice in preaching, he must have resumed it after quitting the pulpit, for the purpose of reading the prayer for the Church militant. We conclude that Mr. Scobell will agree with us that the prayer was then read. Certainly the rubrics give us no intimation of the change of dress. It is clear that the surplice was intended to be used till sermon time, and it is enjoined, "Then shall follow the sermon." It would seem from this rubric that the sermon is really a part of divine service, for it is actually specified, and after sermon certain prayers are appointed to be said at the communion-table. We do not mean to say that the gown, after long use, is to be laid aside in preaching. All we contend for is, that the rubric permits, if it does not really enjoin, the use of the surplice.

It appears to us that Mr. Scobell really furnishes a confuta-

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tion of his own reasoning respecting the surplice. After drawing a distinction between prayer and preaching, he alludes to the practice of reading the homilies in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Thus he remarks—

"In this view it was that unlicensed ministers, when, instead of a sermon, they read the Church's homilies, which were read, if not from the pulpit, from the steps of the communion-table, did, as speaking in her name and her own authoritative words, read them in the surplice; homilies being in such case almost or quite co-ordinate with the liturgy. And this agrees with old visitation questions to be met with, as to 'whether the minister, in addressing the congregation at sermon time, wore a surplice or not over his gown and cassock;' implying blame, if it were a sermon—consent, if it were a homily." (pp. 41, 42).

Some animadversions on this very extraordinary statement are necessary. Mr. Scobell admits that the surplice was used sometimes in the pulpit, though he had previously intimated a contrary opinion; but then he says it was only used for reading the homilies, the Church making a distinction between them and preaching. The distinction, we believe, exists only in his own imagination. Where is any such decision as his words imply to be found? Where does the Church make a distinction between the homilies and sermons—such a distinction, moreover, as to require a different dress? Whenever homilies and sermons are mentioned, they are put upon the same footing. If the Church appoint the surplice for the one, she certainly enjoins it for the other, for she makes no kind of distinction. The homilies were intended to supply the lack of preaching; but assuredly the reading of a homily is as much preaching as the reading of a sermon. Both sermons and homilies are to be delivered from the same place. This is granted by Mr. Scobell, who states that the homily might be delivered from the pulpit. Let the reader conceive of the strange appearances which must have been manifested in our churches in the days of Queen Elizabeth, on Mr. Scobell's principle. On one Sunday the parochial minister preaches a sermon, and in this case he wears a black gown: on the next, perhaps, he reads one of the homilies, and is clad in the surplice—yet both are delivered from the same place. We cannot conceive how any man could resort to such a theory. It proves, however, that men oftentimes do resort to very singular methods for the purpose of supporting a favourite system. Besides, Mr. Scobell's notion of the clergyman's double capacity, that of a priest and a preacher, involves him in a most serious dilemma. For instance, he does not consider the reading of a homily to be preaching; but as all clerical acts are, according to Mr. Scobell,

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those of the priest or the preacher, it follows that it is a part of the priestly office to read a homily. On the principle which he endeavours to establish, the reading of a homily is a part of divine service, which the clergyman performs as a priest; yet in the enumeration of the priestly offices, Mr. Scobell omits the reading altogether. Thus he says—

"As a priest he is empowered to minister prayers, sacraments, and all other liturgical rites and ceremonies of the Book of Common Prayer; and at all such times and occasions the Church expressly enjoins him to appear in the liturgical garb, *i.e.*, a surplice superadded, as a liturgical ornament, to his ordinary dress." (p. 40).

Here is nothing respecting the homilies: yet Mr. Scobell has decided that they are to be read, not in the preaching, but in the priestly garb.

Mr. Scobell adds—

"It is the subsequent blending of the two offices together, prayer and preaching, in one person, that has tended to confusion; and the trying to make a dress, which the Church has appropriated exclusively to one office, serve for another, exercised under totally different circumstances." (p. 43).

Does our author mean to say, that originally the Church intended two different orders, namely, *preachers* and *readers*—the former to instruct the people, the latter to perform the daily service? Unless this is the meaning, we know not how to understand the passage. It is, however, certain, that from the beginning the offices of preaching and reading might be, and usually were, performed by the same individual. How, indeed, could it have been otherwise? How could two persons have been supported in all parish churches, which must have been the case on the theory adopted by our author?

But, after all, the notion is too absurd to be entertained for a moment by those who are competently acquainted with the subjects in dispute. The theory, which to the author appears so perfect, and therefore so beautiful, or beautiful because it is perfect, cannot stand the test of examination. It may serve to amuse the uninformed, but it can only surprise the initiated. We look upon Mr. Scobell's pamphlet as most mischievous in its tendency. He talks of an elasticity in the rubrics; but really the elasticity for which he pleads is of such a character, that it would bend to anything, and admit of any deviation from the established usages of the Church at the caprice of any individual. Such a latitude of interpretation was never intended by the Reformers; neither has any man of any weight in these matters ever entertained such opinions as those which are broached

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in Mr. Scobell's production. We are sure that his positions will be seized by many disaffected and nonconforming clergymen, who will quote Mr. Scobell as a cloke for their own irregularities. It has been our business to point out some of the numerous errors in which his work abounds; and it is a source of satisfaction to reflect, that our labour will not be in vain, but that some persons will be secured from being led away by a fallacious, though perhaps specious, theory.

There are some clergymen who appear to think that the communion service, or that portion of it which is read when the Lord's Supper is not administered, should be read in the desk, as the other services. By some it is read from the desk on a latitudinarian principle, and by others through mere carelessness, or from the negligence of the parochial authorities in providing the necessary books. Thus Mr. Robertson remarks—

"There have been disputes as to the place for reading that part of the communion office which is appointed to be used when there is no administration of the sacrament, and which has been styled the '*Dry Service.*'" (p. 91).

Mr. Robertson is of opinion that the practice of reading it at the communion-table is allowable, but not the "*only allowable practice.*" Thus he remarks—

"In the rubric at the end of the office, by which it is directed that certain parts of the service 'shall be said if there be no communion,' there is no order as to the place where they shall be said; whereas, in the liturgy of 1549, it was expressly enjoined that the priest should say them 'at the altar.'"

He adds—

"The rubric, which directs that the priest shall say the opening prayers 'standing at the north side of the table,' plainly refers, in strictness, to times when the table is prepared for a celebration; and the change which has just been mentioned appears to show, that this and the other rubrics which suppose the priest to be at the altar, are not necessarily to be extended to all times when a part of the office is used." (pp. 91, 92).

We cannot concur in this opinion, nor do we believe that the service was ever read in the desk, except from the causes and in the cases which we have previously specified. Mr. Robertson says that there is no order respecting the place in which the second service shall be said when there is no communion; but surely this is an argument in favour of the general practice, for had not the framers of the rubrics intended that the service in all cases should be read at the communion-table, they would have given directions accordingly. It is not reasonable to infer

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that they intended otherwise. In our opinion, indeed, the rubrics are as clear as possible. We believe, too, that any bishop would feel himself authorized to enjoin the reading of the service at the communion-table on all occasions. It is erroneous to suppose that the service was read from the desk until Laud put an end to the practice. Before his time, the Puritans had deviated from the established custom, and Laud endeavoured to restore order and uniformity—a work in which he was very successful. The Puritans objected to the service at the communion-table; and, in those irregular times, the clergy who scrupled conformity evaded compliance with the rubrics as far as possible. Still the passages cited by Mr. Robertson prove that the very men who read the service in the desk were conscious that the practice was unauthorized by the rubrics, and therefore they were anxious to obtain an alteration. Had they been satisfied, that, on non-communion days, they were justified in reading the service from the desk, they would not have been so anxious for a change. Mr. Robertson's own practice, it seems, is to go to the communion-table. Thus he says—

"My own feelings are strongly in favour of going to the altar at all times; but I have thought it well to call attention to the true state of the case, as one among many proofs, how little ground there really is for the assumptions of some persons who talk very confidently, as if all authority were unquestionably with them." (p. 93).

Now, with all deference to Mr. Robertson, we must say that he has completely failed in making out a case for reading the service from the desk. His own citations prove the direct contrary. In the rubric before the offertory we read, "Then shall the priest return to the Lord's table and begin the offertory." He had previously turned himself to the people to read the commandments; and then the offertory sentences are to be read at the north side of the table, in the place in which he commenced the service. Let it be observed, that it is not yet decided whether there is to be a communion; so that, whether the sacrament be or be not administered, the offertory sentences are to be read at the communion-table. This is indisputable, because it is actually specified. Then comes the direction respecting the communion. That the Church intended the weekly offertory, and the reading of some one or more of the sentences, is evident; nor could they be read at any place except at the table. From the preceding rubric we proceed to another at the end of the service:—

"Upon the Sundays and other holy-days (if there be no communion) shall be said all that is appointed at the communion, until the end of the general prayer (for the whole state of Christ's Church militant on

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earth), together with one or more of these collects last before rehearsed, concluding with the blessing."

So, before the concluding collects, we have "*Collects* to be said after the offertory, when there is no communion." What can be more explicit than the rubrics? First, the service is appointed to be said at the communion-table. The minister is to take his station at the north side of the table; then he is to turn to the people to rehearse the commandments; and afterwards he is to return to the table to commence the offertory. All this is sufficiently clear. Then, at the end of the service, the minister is instructed how to act when there is no communion. He is to say all that is appointed to a particular part of the service. And where is this part of the service to be said but in the prescribed place? It was unnecessary to specify the table in the last rubric, because that had been previously done; and no person, except one who wishes to seek after arguments to justify irregularities, can possibly conceive that the service is to be read in the desk. Had the Reformers intended such a thing they would have given a positive direction in the last rubric. It is, however, clear, that under any circumstances the service is to be read from that place in which the minister is placed at the commencement, and that place is the communion-table. Such, too, has ever been the unvarying practice, except with the Puritans of a former age, who evaded conformity as much as possible. Thus Bishop Andrewes describes the practice in his time:—

"The priest, after the collect, descends to the door of the *septum*, or rail; makes a low adoration towards the altar; then turns to the people, and, standing in the door, readeth the ten commandments, as from God, whilst they lie prostrate quite to the end, as to God speaking."

On all occasions they were evidently so read in the days of Andrewes.*

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* Except at the time of communion, even in the times of James I. and Charles I., the table stood at the east end of the chancel. This is also implied by our eighty-second canon, which gives directions for its removal during the administration; consequently the second service was always read, at least when the rules of the Church were complied with, from the east end. Thus an authority of no mean reputation remarks, alluding to the second service when there is no communion, "Where, then, is it to be read? I agree at the holy table, set altarwise at the east end; so it was, I am certain, in the first Reformation, the rubric parallel to ours ordering *all* these *things to be said at the altar*. But it may be said, the second Reformation expunging this rule, as to this particular, we may presume it meant to reform the practice also. I answer, our Reformers are best understood by their own orders. Now this rule constitutes this service either as a label annexed to morning prayer, or parcel of the communion service; take which you will, by the order of the Church, it must be said at the holy table, set *altarwise* at the east end; for there regularly ought

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On the question of the offertory, we concur with Mr. Robertson, whose views appear to us to be deserving of the utmost attention. He very properly considers the Bishop of Worcester to be in error, who asserts that the offertory is superseded by the Poor Laws. It is singular to find a bishop putting forth such an opinion—an opinion that anything of the kind can supersede the express injunctions of the Church. Had the revisers of the book in 1661 been of the same opinion, they would have altered the rubric in this particular. Mr. Robertson says—

"The revival of this usage would doubtless be a great mean of teaching our people some things which are now too little thought of. It would lead them to enlarge the measure of their liberality, and to consider that their gifts are given *to God:* a truth from the forgetfulness of which modern almsgiving is sadly stinted and corrupted." (p. 105).

The *Quarterly* reviewer, and some others, contend that the Church does not intend to enjoin the weekly offertory. That the practice has fallen into disuse we lament; but the intention of the Church can scarcely be mistaken by those who will take the pains to examine the question, and not be content to be guided by the superficial reasoning of such writers as the *Quarterly* reviewer, who, whatever he may be on other subjects, is no authority on the question of rubrics. It would seem, indeed, that the reviewer considers the *elasticity* of the rubrics and canons to be of a most extraordinary quality, for he stretches them to suit the whims of every individual clergyman who may wish to act for himself, or indulge his own caprice.

Our opinion on this subject may be fortified by the following extract from the Bishop of Guiana's charge. It is pleasing to find the question so treated in a distant diocese. His lordship says—

"At the Reformation it was intended to revive the early practice of the weekly celebration of the eucharist, and until very lately the custom was observed in several churches in London, besides St. Paul's, where it is still continued. But it is clear that the Reformers intended that the weekly collection should be made, whether there was a communion or not." (p. 23).

Then, alluding to the rubric in the first Liturgy of King Edward, A.D. 1549, he proceeds:—

"The offertory was appointed to be read before the congregation

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both the morning and communion office to be read out of communion time. If it be considered as part of the communion service, the words of the rubric are express. So he is to stand and officiate at the north side of the table, and this, *out of communion time*, must be situated at the east end, and consequently the service to be read there."—*Le Strange's Alliance*, 212, 213.

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dispersed, and then those that intended to communicate remained. The offerings were made while all the congregation were assembled; and the communion was administered after the non-communicants had withdrawn. This fact is decisive of the views of the Reformers; it shows that they intended that all the congregation should contribute their offerings. The rubric to which I have alluded stands thus:—'While the clerks do sing the offertory, so many as are disposed shall offer to the poor man's box; then so many as shall be partakers of the holy communion shall tarry still in the quire, &c. All others that mind not to receive shall depart,' &c. Nor does our present service contravene this practice. On the contrary, it positively supports the view which I have taken—namely, that the oblations should be made *every* Sunday by *all* the people. Thus the *rubric* at the end of the offertory enjoins, 'While these sentences are in reading, the deacons, churchwardens, &c., shall receive the alms for the poor, and other devotions of the people.' This is to be done whether there is a communion or not; for the very next rubric enjoins, 'When there is no communion,' &c.; evidently showing that the alms of the people are always to be collected without reference to the eucharist." (pp. 23, 24).

Such are the views of the Bishop of Guiana. His lordship then suggests the revival of the weekly offertory, viewing it as a means of supplying the wants of the Church. We trust that the Bishop may be eminently successful in his laudable endeavours to fulfil the intentions of the Church in his distant diocese.

In the following extract, Mr. Robertson speaks without authority, as we feel assured he will himself admit, after a more careful examination of the subject:—

"In the rubric, by which the reading of the lessons is directed, the words were formerly—'*The minister* that readeth.' The substitution of '*he* that readeth' by the last revisers is an authority for allowing this office to be performed by laymen, as is usual in the Universities. Any parochial clergyman, who may relieve himself by using the liberty thus given, will, of course, take care that his lay substitute be a person able to read distinctly and with intelligence.

"Burnett and Wheatly complain of a practice of allowing the litany to be read in cathedrals by laymen. I do not know whether this unseemly custom be anywhere kept up at this day; but, although unseemly, it is not forbidden by the Prayer Book." (p. 166).

This will be a strange doctrine to many of our readers. We can assure them, too, that it is not *true* doctrine. A little examination will settle the question.

With respect to the lessons, Mr. Robertson argues that the substitution of *he* for *minister* was intended to permit a layman to read the lessons, if required. That the pronoun *he* was substituted for the word *minister*, at the last review, is a matter of fact; but it is evident the change was made merely to avoid the

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repetition of the same word in almost the same sentence. We give the whole rubric, that our readers may decide for themselves:—

"Then shall be read distinctly, with an audible voice, the first lesson, taken out of the Old Testament, as is appointed in the calendar (except there be proper lessons assigned for that day): he that readeth so standing and turning himself as he may best be heard of all such as are present.

"Note that before every lesson the minister shall say, *Here beginneth such a chapter, or verse of such a chapter, of such a book.* And after every lesson, *Here endeth the first or second lesson.*"

Such is the rubric respecting the lessons. It would appear, therefore, that those who adopt Mr. Robertson's notions, lose sight of the second portion of the rubric altogether. The Church has already prescribed that the service shall be commenced by *a minister*—that is, one in holy orders. The word *minister*, or *priest*, has occurred several times before; and here the pronoun *he* is used. Now, according to the common rules of interpretation, to whom does the pronoun refer? Assuredly to the person who has been engaged in reading the previous portion of the service. He is actually occupied in the performance of the duty, and the rubric directs him what to do respecting the lessons. *He*, that is, the minister actually engaged, shall read a chapter from the sacred volume. This would be obvious, even did the first part of the rubric stand alone. But such is not the case: neither are we driven to depend upon the above line of argument. Certain instructions are given respecting certain words to be used in commencing and closing the reading of the lessons: and here it is expressly stated, "*the minister shall say.*" Thus the *minister* is to give out the lesson: and the *minister* is to announce that it is ended. Mr. Robertson has either lost sight of the latter portion of the rubric, or he must imagine that the minister must give the lesson out and announce its close, though a layman should read it, which is an absurdity. It is not possible for a rubric to be more explicit: for if the *minister* is to give out the lesson, and to say, "*here endeth the first or second lesson,*" he is surely to read it, for no one will pretend that the Church considers the reader, if a layman, as a minister. To suppose that the Church contemplated two distinct persons in this part of divine service, one to name the lessons and to signify that they are ended, and another to read them, is impossible. The practice in the Universities has nothing to do with the question, which is settled by a plain and positive rubric. It is to us a source of astonishment

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that any intelligent person should fall into the mistake of supposing, that any such practice is authorized by the Church, when the rubric itself is so clear and pointed. The circumstance, however, proves how cursorily these matters are often treated by men of intelligence, who have adopted a theory, and merely look about them for arguments to support it.

We now turn to the position respecting the litany, at which we are even more surprised than at the former. It is strange, indeed, that such a notion should be adopted by a clergyman. The chanting the litany, by the choir, in some cathedrals formerly, was an innovation, which is not practised, we believe, any where at the present moment. The Church recognizes the minister as her servant in the performance of divine service; and how could it be supposed that she should permit one of her most solemn offices to be read by a layman? Besides, though the rubric merely states that the litany is to follow on certain occasions—meaning, of course, that the minister is to read it or sing, that is, chant it—yet in numberless injunctions it has been expressly specified that this service should be performed by the priest. To quote passages is unnecessary, since they are so numerous, and are moreover accessible to all persons interested in this question. An author of considerable reputation in the last century thus reprobates the practice to which Mr. Robertson alludes, and which, he says, is permitted by the Church:

"One would think, when the nation swarms with such as ridicule, expose, and deny the distinction of clergy and laity, those who possess some of the largest and most honourable preferments in the Church should be ashamed to betray her into the hands of her professed enemies, and to put arguments into their mouths, and declare by their actions, that they think any layman whatsoever as truly authorized to minister in holy things as those who are regularly ordained. Besides, with what face can those persons blame the Dissenting teachers for officiating without episcopal ordination, when they themselves do not only allow of, but require the same thing?"—*Bennet on the Common Prayer*, p. 95.

It is evident that the unseemly practice only existed in cathedrals, and equally evident that even there it arose from the negligence of the proper authorities. But were the rubric doubtful, which we do not admit, the question is settled by the fifteenth canon. It is as follows:—

"The litany shall be said or sung when and as it is set down in the Book of Common Prayer, by the *parsons*, *vicars*, *ministers*, or *curates*, in all cathedrals, collegiate, parish churches and chapels, in some convenient place, according to the discretion of the bishop of the diocese, or ecclesiastical ordinary of the place. And that we may speak more particularly, upon *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* weekly, though they be not

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holy-days, the *minister*, at the accustomed hours of service, shall resort to the church and chapel; and, warning being given to the people by tolling of a bell, shall say the litany prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer."

Here is no permission for laymen to read this solemn service; but it is positively confined to the clergy, both in cathedrals and in parish churches. Under all the circumstances of the case, it appears most remarkable that any individual should express an opinion so contrary to the fact. The fourteenth canon also, by implication at least, excludes laymen from reading the lessons. Thus it is enjoined: "All *ministers* likewise shall observe the orders, rites, and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, *as well in reading the holy Scriptures*, and saying of prayers, as in administration of the sacraments," &c. Thus it is clear that the individual who read the Scriptures was commanded also to read the services, and that individual was the *minister*.

It will be seen that our opinion of Mr. Robertson's work is far higher than of Mr. Scobell's performance. Still, there are blemishes even in Mr. Robertson's volume, at which we are surprised. There are also inconsistencies; for while he speaks in some places of strict conformity, in others he adopts a style which opens the door to the greatest irregularities. We cite the following passages as illustrations of our remark. Thus, with respect to a compliance with the laws of the Church, after specifying certain irregularities, he says:—

"If any of us have been in the habit of varying in such matters, it appears to me that he should do so no more, and need neither consult his diocesan, nor listen to any objections from his people or from any others. And of course in this age, when there is a great movement for the restoration of the full system of our Prayer Book, that man's Churchmanship must be worse than doubtful who allows to drop any Church observance which he finds established. If, for example, a clergyman find in his parish a daily service, or an observation of holy-days or litany-days, he will incur just suspicion and blame should he substitute for these prayers and lectures on Tuesday or Thursday evenings, or a system of household lecturing, or should he confine the public service in his church to the Lord's-day.

"Our duty is, not to recede in anything, nor even to rest content with what we find, but to strive that the Church's mind may be completely carried out. But in so doing, we ought to use such means as may tend most surely towards the end in view. And whether our own good, or that of the people, be regarded, I believe that a gradual and discreet proceeding will be found the best." (p. 156).

This is sound advice and sound reasoning; and all consistent Churchmen must concur with the author. We have known

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clergymen abolish the morning prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays for a lecture in the evening. Such persons fall under Mr. Robertson's censure of more than doubtful Churchmanship—a censure in which we most cordially agree. They must certainly imagine that their own preaching is better than the service appointed by the Church. It is pretty certain that such men would never use the services, were they able to hold their posts without them.

Having awarded our praise to Mr. Robertson for the above passage, we cannot but condemn the sentiment of the following, which is, in our opinion, totally inconsistent with the former:—

"An exact obedience was not given or required while the Church's legislature was in full activity, and able to suit its measures to the necessities of the times, when the State concerned itself to a degree now unknown in the affairs of the Church, which was then held co-extensive with the nation. How, then, can it be thought that a stricter rule is binding upon us, now that the condition of the Church is so greatly altered from that for which our rubrics and canons were framed?" (p. 128).

Mr. Robertson is here inconsistent with himself. In the former extract he advocates strict conformity—in the latter he pleads for a relaxation of those very laws and rules which he admits before ought as much as possible to be observed.

But, leaving Mr. Robertson and Mr. Scobell, we would observe, that, notwithstanding the laxity prevailing in some quarters, and the irregularities pleaded for in pamphlets, reviews, and newspapers, a much more healthy feeling prevails on this subject than was common fifteen or twenty years ago. Our bishops are more alive to their important duties; and if our prelates act with determination, the irregularities which now prevail may soon be removed, and the uniformity which the Church enjoins would be preserved inviolate.

That some persons will oppose the clergy, and call an observance of the rubrics an innovation, is natural, and to be expected. Such has been the case at Ware. Such, too, is the course pursued by the *Record*, whose contributors, in many instances, are much better acquainted with the principles of the Scotch seceders than with those of the English Church. Still we are convinced that the laity would not oppose a strict compliance with the rubrics, if they were not pushed forward by certain disaffected clergymen—men who, were they to pursue an honest course, would quit the Church in which they now minister. These are the men who raise the cry of *Tractarianism* against any clergyman who ventures to comply with his solemn vows, in conforming to the laws of his own Church.

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These are the men who seem to imagine that *Tractarianism* cannot be opposed but by adopting the contrary extreme; whereas all extremes are equally to be avoided. The true Churchman is bound to follow the rules left us by the Reformers —neither to go beyond, like some of the advocates of the *Tracts*, nor to fall short, as is the case with the *Record school*. The gentlemen of this latter class are now using all their influence to arouse the laity, as if they had aught to do with the conscience of a clergyman in his observance of the rubrics. Such men are doing far more to disturb the peace of the Church than even the *Tractarians*. And what would be the state of the country were the latter to act in the same way, and stir up the laity to a similar course with that which is now recommended in the *Record*? We should see nothing but contention and discord. Though, therefore, we join with those who condemn the *Tracts for the Times*, we cannot but feel that the quiet and peaceable course pursued by their advocates is far more consistent, than that which is now adopted by the school which, for the sake of distinction, we have designated that of the *Record*. Were the *Tractarians* to act on the same principle, none would be louder in denouncing it than the *Record* newspaper.

We have already alluded to the Bishop of Guiana's charge, a document which will be read with peculiar interest by all who are interested in the Colonial Church. On the question of conformity with the laws of the Church, we are happy to find that his lordship's views coincide with our own; and it gives us much pleasure to fortify our statements by extracts from the charge. Thus his lordship remarks:—

"It must be borne in mind that the rubrics and the calendar are as much a part of the Book to which we subscribe, as the various services. The article in the thirty-sixth canon, and the declaration of assent and consent in the Act of Uniformity, are so unambiguous, that no man can mistake their meaning; consequently, every one who subscribes is under an obligation to comply. A man, for example, who holds a living on the strength of his subscription, cannot conscientiously retain it, if he feels unable to comply with the requirements of the Church. I feel bound, therefore, to state, that I look upon strict conformity to the rubrics as absolutely necessary. You are pledged to conform; and I, as your diocesan, am equally pledged to see that the intentions of the Church are fulfilled. It is our duty to adopt that course which the Church enjoins, uninfluenced by the charge of Popery on the one hand, or by that of Puritanism on the other. No clergyman can plead that his conscience does not allow of compliance—I mean that he cannot use this plea and yet remain within the pale of the Church; for if he entertains scruples, his obvious duty is, not to violate his pledges by omissions, or mutilations, or irregularities, but to renounce his preferment." (pp. 20, 21).

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His lordship again remarks in a note—

"There can be no question that every clergyman is pledged to a strict conformity; and though in some particulars it may be the custom to depart slightly from the *rubric*, yet such irregularities cannot justify any clergyman in other irregular courses. Indeed, our obvious duty is to relinquish such practices, if any exist, and return to the course enjoined by the Church." (p. 38).

So again we read—

"A clergyman who feels himself bound by his solemn engagements, as every conscientious person must, will read the services without mutilation, or omission, or alteration." (p. 25).

How much more sound is this doctrine, than that which is propounded by Mr. Scobell throughout his work, and by Mr. Robertson in many instances, who appear to imagine that we are to be guided by circumstances, rather than by the letter of the rubric. We are thankful to find a distant prelate giving utterance to such sentiments. His lordship also remarks—

"What I shall labour to see established throughout this diocese is uniformity in practice. This will easily be attained, if all doubtful points are submitted to the bishop, in accordance with the rubric." (p. 27).

Here is the true secret of uniformity. Let the bishop settle doubtful points. Were such matters generally referred to the bishop, all our prelates would find it necessary to meet and come to some unanimous decision; and thus uniformity would be secured, even in those minor matters which are not settled by the rubrics. Had this necessary rule been observed, uniformity would have been secured in the diocese of London. But, instead of complying with the wishes of their diocesan, many of the clergy acted as if episcopal power were lodged in themselves, and not in the bishop.

It is worthy of remark that the views of the Bishop of Guiana are directly at variance with those of the *Quarterly* reviewer. It is singular, too, that they were delivered to the clergy as long ago as the month of April, before the *Quarterly* article could have been seen. His lordship could have known nothing of the various books which have appeared on the subject during the last twelve months; yet it is pleasing to reflect, that while some persons at home, and the *Quarterly* reviewer among the number, were preparing to sap the foundations of uniformity by a lax interpretation of the laws of the Church, a distant prelate should at the same time be engaged in diffusing sound and orthodox opinions on the very same subjects. No sound Churchman will have any difficulty in deciding between the Bishop of Guiana and the *Quarterly* reviewer.

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ART. III.—*Histoire des Vaudois, des Vallées du Piedmont.* Par ALEXIS MUSTON. Tome premier. 8vo. Paris et Strasbourg. 1834.

2. *Recherches Historiques sur la Véritable Origine des Vaudois, et sur le Caractère de leurs Doctrines Primitives.* 8vo. Paris et Lyons. 1836.

3. *An Enquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses.* By GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B.D. 8vo. London. 1838.

4. *Valdenses, Waldenses, Vallenses, Valdesii, Vaudés or Vaudois. Article in the Seventh Edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica.* By W. S. GILLY, D.D.; and republished as a separate Treatise. 1841.

5. *The Crown, or the Tiara?* Considerations on the present Condition of the Waldenses.

6. *Report of the Vaudois Committee for the Relief of the Waldenses, or Vaudois.* December, 1842.

THERE are many urgent reasons in the present aspect of the Church, and in the bold front assumed by Popery, why we should take our part in defence of that ancient community in Piedmont, whose name and history are as dear to Protestants as they are unpalatable to Romanists. To English Churchmen the interests of the Waldenses ought to be a most tender concern; for what body of continental Protestants is so capable of being shaped to our own ecclesiastical form, and of being made an instrument for good in our hands? Their wonderful, if not to say miraculous, preservation from age to age, their position on the Italian side of the Alps, their inclination to study, and to be moulded by our theology, commend them to our notice, and encourage us to promote their welfare and improvement. We are aware that some good and able men turn a cold eye upon them, because they are not exactly what we might wish them to be; but, nevertheless, we shall persevere in advocating their cause, and in bringing their perilous situation before the world, that the plots against them may be seasonably exposed. Heartily, therefore, do we range ourselves against adversaries, who are doing something more than "whetting their tongues like a sword, and shooting out bitter words," who are absolutely clamouring against the little remnant of a Christian race

——"Whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;"

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but from whose

"Martyr'd blood and ashes sown
O'er all th' Italian fields,"

we pray with Milton, that there yet

"May grow a hundred-fold."

It is time to lift up the veil, and to show that precisely the same spirit which roused the Albigensian crusade, established the Inquisition, and excited the massacres of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the valleys of Piedmont, is at work at this very moment, and, under the same pretexts, is calling for the same severe enactments, in the same devoted regions where blood was spilt so profusely one hundred and fifty years ago. The priests of Rome, and their adherents, are openly avowing principles which they disclaimed fourteen years ago; and if the Earl of Winchilsea, the Bishop of Exeter, and others, who took part in the celebrated controversies during the agitation of the Roman Catholic question, before the bill of 1829 was carried, had, in their forebodings of future evil, ascribed sentiments and intentions to Papists which are now publicly professed by Papists themselves, they would have been accused of raising an unfair hue and cry, and of bringing the whole Roman Catholic Church under false and slanderous imputations.

It was but the other day (August 15) that Lord Brougham, from his seat in the House of Lords, confessed "to his astonishment, commingled with bitter disappointment, the fulfilment of former prophecies:"—

"I have been one of those (said his lordship) who held most cheap all the predictions of my noble friend opposite (Lord Winchilsea), and of the other adversaries of the Catholics. But I grieve to say his prophecy has been fulfilled, and my prediction has been signally frustrated."

The Protestant is not only denounced as heretical and accursed, wherever the Romanists are numerically strong or influential enough to do so with impunity, but his property and person are rendered insecure; he is absolutely proscribed, persecuted, and assailed with a degree of insolent virulence, which shows that the aggressive movement against the Reformed religion is going on with all the implacable rancour of former ages. The Roman Church has once more thrown off the mask, and there she stands, as tyrannical, as cruel, as treasonable, as rapacious, as perfidious, as unrelenting as she was in the worst days of her usurped power. See what have been her achievements since 1829; and what has been her return for the peace-offering tendered to her by Protestant England in the Catholic Emanci-

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pation Bill. In the *Prussian* provinces on the Rhine her highest ministers have been in open collision with their Protestant sovereign. In *Belgium* she excited that successful rebellion which expelled the House of Orange, and changed the dynasty, which was guaranteed by all the powers of Europe. In *Austria* she has insisted on the banishment of the Protestant inhabitants of a whole district—the inoffensive Zillerthalers of the Tyrol. In *France* she has managed to turn that part of the charter, which was intended to secure religious liberty, into an intolerant edict, and has boldly told Louis Philippe, by the mouth of the Archbishop of Paris, that pledges have been given "*at the foot of the altar of Mary*" of the speedy restoration of that time when "all Frenchmen shall be united in the bonds of one faith," and Romanism shall be avenged on Protestantism. In *Germany* and *Holland* her menacing aspect has been equally alarming. In *England* she has been measuring her strength, counting heads, and advancing in a close and compact phalanx against the divided force of the Established Church. In *Ireland* she is performing a part which threatens the public peace and the division of the empire. Her bishops there have become fomenters of an agitation, which a Roman Catholic peer (Lord Beaumont) has lately described as being like a "deadly poison, envenoming and corrupting the social system, and leading multitudes into an abyss of havoc and ruin." Look where we will, we cannot discover any set-off against these acts of aggression. Nowhere is Rome generous, or even tolerant or forbearing, towards those of a different creed or ritual from herself. In the Pontifical States, where she can exercise power as well as influence, she is reviving the severities of the Inquisition; and so recently as June last an edict issued from Ancona, which will have the effect of banishing the Jews from the Papal dominions. After citing eleven articles, it adds, "They who violate the above articles will incur some or all of the penalties prescribed in the edicts of the Holy Inquisition." In *Piedmont* Romish councils have succeeded in reviving the Draconic code, which was written in blood three hundred years ago, and a royal ordonnance has been signed, which is enough to drive the whole Protestant population of that country to despair.

At this crisis, when every Reformed Church is in danger from a blow that may be aimed at any one of them, we cannot be silent, and we have selected the six publications whose titles are announced at the head of this article as the authorities for some statements which will show that for several years there has been a systematic train laid for the ruin of the most ancient Protesting community in Europe; and we exhibit her

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treatment of the Waldenses as a sample of what every religious community may expect from ascendant Rome. Popery is a power which never abandons her purpose or relaxes her enmity. Her object is the universal and absolute subjection of body and mind to her will, in order that "*there may be no possession of the goods of this life, no marrying, no inheriting, no devising, no ruling, no judging, no speaking, no feeling, no thinking, no living, and no dying in peace, without her leave.*"

Mr. Faber's "Enquiry," &c., is an acute and able vindication of the principles of the Waldenses, and a complete answer to the accusations which have been heaped on them from the time they first came into notice. Though it dwells more on their past than on their present history, yet it forcibly developes the practical effect which a reiteration of old calumnies is likely to have on the condition of the generation which is now in jeopardy. One of Mr. Faber's notes contains the following extract from a continental journal, dated 22d September, 1837. The writer of the communication seems to have been a native of the valleys of Piedmont, and to have foreseen the bursting of the cloud which then threatened the little Church of the Alps:—

"We have been impatiently expecting this long time the publication of the new civil code of Sardinia, which a committee of jurists has been labouring at during the last seven years. We had hoped that, in the absence of political liberty, we should at least be blessed with a good civil legislation; but our expectations, I am sorry to say, have been most cruelly deceived. The code in question has just appeared; and the first thing that struck us, on opening the book, was a legislative enactment which throws us back at least two centuries. The Protestants are placed, by the new code, in a condition inferior to that of the Jews, as regards civil rights. A circular has lately been addressed to all public notaries, forbidding them to draw up deeds in favour of Protestants, such as acts for the alienation or purchase of property. Persons of our persuasion are no longer to be allowed to give evidence as witnesses; in short, we are replaced under the law of 1610. Behold how we proceed in the walk of civilization." (p. 550).

Mr. Faber, when he transcribed this passage, had the sagacity to understand that the proceedings, to which it alludes, had been occasioned by a repetition of the very charges which he has so completely refuted; and it is for us now to explain that these charges, propagated in all their foulness and falsehood by an Italian Popish bishop, through the Parisian press, have been reproduced by the literary organs of Popery in London and Dublin, and have been instrumental in preparing the way for a series of oppressive enactments, which, if not repealed, must extinguish the Protestant Church in Piedmont.

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The second book on our list at the head of this article, "Recherches Historiques," written by way of an answer to the first, Muston's "Histoire des Vaudois," is one which would have disgraced the literature of the seventeenth century, and throws into darker shade the darkest intentions that have ever been imputed to rampant Popery; but previously to our notice of this malignant production, a few preliminary remarks must be made as to the real history of the Waldenses. There is, first, an inveterate mistake to be corrected as to the country and locality of the Waldenses, before right notions can be entertained either of the difficulties of their position, or of their strong claims upon our respect and sympathy. They are commonly called, after the modern appellation, *Vaudois*, and this confounds them with the people of the Pays de Vaud, in Switzerland, who are properly so named. Under this confusion of names very few persons think otherwise of them than as certain Swiss Protestants, who are annoyed by troublesome Popish neighbours. But the Waldenses, in whom England has taken an interest for more than two hundred years (remonstrances in their favour having been made by an ambassador of Charles I.), have no more to do with Switzerland than Scotland with Denmark. They are natives of the principality of Piedmont, subjects of the King of Sardinia, and inhabitants of those mountain valleys which wind along the great Alpine barrier that separates Italy from France. Turin is the nearest capital from which the tourist in Italy would set out who is desirous of visiting the villages of the Waldenses. From the Superga, near Turin, he might take a distant survey of the scenery he is about to explore. It lies between Mont Viso, whose white and glittering pinnacle soars to the skies, and Mont Genevre, which is the loftiest ridge between Mont Viso and Mont Cenis. His route will lie south-west from Turin, through Pignerol, and about thirty miles will bring him into the midst of the only Protestant population in Italy. If the traveller should happen to be in the south of France when he desires to visit these people, he may go from Nice by the Col de Tende, and strike into their mountain recesses near the sources of the Po. Or from Lyons, if he be a sturdy walker, he may make for Grenoble, and Briançon, or Embrun, and sally up the Mont Genevre, or the Col de la Croix, by the "Pays de Neff," as the region distinguished by that missionary's labours is now called, and so penetrate into the Waldensian territory by the valley of the Clusone, or by that of the Pelice. These two rivers, with the Alpine range from which they issue, form the sides of a triangle, within which the humble dwellings of our mountaineers are situated. Should he choose this latter route, he will clam-

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ber on, within sight of some of nature's wildest and most stupendous objects, until he descends into the most charming glens that the imagination can depict; and when he sees two churches almost *vis-à-vis* in each commune through which he passes—the one Protestant, the other Roman Catholic, he will know that he is in the land where, if local traditions be believed, the corruptions of Rome have had opponents from the period of their earliest introduction.

We are not now going at any great length into the question of the exact antiquity of the Waldensian Church. It is with their present, rather than their past, history that we are principally concerned; and enough has been conceded by their bitterest enemies to extricate them from the gulf of modern innovations, and to give them a time-honoured seal—"*Lux lucet in tenebris;*" "*Quamvis uror non comburor;*" "*Luctor et emergo.*" These are their mottos. Some of the Popish controversialists themselves allow them seven centuries of antiquity, when they derive them from Valdo,* and go a great way to justify their separation from Rome, when they speak of "the innocence, or rather praiseworthiness, of Valdo's first steps in the reform of manners and renovation of Christian spirit." It is admitted, also, by a reluctant witness, that "the rise of the sect was gradual, its beginnings were good, and it was long before it emerged fully from obscurity." And our best ecclesiastical writers, from Hooker to Palmer, agree in stating that Christians are perfectly justified in refusing to hold communion with a Church whose domination is subversive of the truth.

"The Waldenses (said Bishop Van Mildert, in his celebrated 'Boyle's Lectures,' vol. i. p. 283) and Albigenses distinguished themselves upwards of three hundred years before the preaching of Luther by their opposition to the errors of the Church of Rome—nay, in times much more remote, there were not wanting in the northern provinces of Italy, and the southern provinces of Gaul, *sound* and *orthodox* Churches who resolutely withstood every attempt of the Church of Rome to introduce heathenish and idolatrous practices, and to engraft them upon the Christian faith. They may be regarded as the vene-

* The true history of Valdo is but little known. Instead of being the founder of the Piedmontese Church of the valleys, his disciples took refuge among the ancestors of that community, as brethren of a similar faith. He was not brought back to serious convictions by seeing a man suddenly drop down dead, but by the discourse of a pious troubadour. He was assisted in his translations of Scripture, not by a native French priest, but by a stranger from Lombardy. The three Protestant valleys of Piedmont are said, by the author of "Recherches Historiques," to have been first inhabited by Lyonese refugees —the followers of Valdo; but we can give the names of the proprietors of land in those valleys a hundred years before Valdo was born.

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rable remains of pure and legitimate provincial Churches, which flourished in Italy and Gaul from the earliest promulgation of the Gospel in those countries, and which were of far more ancient date than the Papal usurpation. It is therefore great injustice to confound the Albigenses and Waldenses with *schismatics* and *heretics*, as if they perversely adopted heterodox opinions, and maintained them against the lawful authority of the Church. Neither is it doing them full justice to regard them merely as bodies of *individuals*, separating from the Church of Rome because they could not conscientiously comply with its terms of communion. It is evident that they stand upon higher ground than this; they are to be vindicated, not merely upon the general duty of separation from a Church which imposes *sinful* terms of communion, but upon the solid grounds of Church authority, by which every national or provincial Church, duly governed by bishops of apostolical origin, hath a right (taking the holy Scripture for a guide) to frame its own articles and its own ritual, independently of other Churches. This right the Churches of Piedmont, Aquitania, and Narbonne, appear to have constantly exercised, refusing to acknowledge the claims of the Church of Rome; and those of their descendants, who, after the overthrow of more Churches by Papal oppression, were dispersed and persecuted, under the denomination of Waldenses, Albigenses, and other local names, ought not, for such adherence to the primitive rule of the Gospel, to be branded as enemies to the doctrine or the discipline of Christ's Holy Catholic Church."

Such was the evidence of Van Mildert in testimony of Waldensian antiquity and orthodoxy. Whatever, therefore, was the origin of the name, or the period of the separation of the Waldenses from the Romish Church, they have a demand upon our consideration, by virtue of their actual condition, and of a position which they have held long enough to give it the sanction of age.

What new claim has Rome to the allegiance of the Waldenses, after having lost it for centuries—if she ever had it? We need not dwell on declarations of the Waldenses in former times—on those, for example, contained in the petitions of 1559, 1573, 1585, 1599; which affirmed, that their ancestors professed the same faith in the same valleys hundreds of years before, even before the House of Savoy ruled in Piedmont, and which might have been then contradicted by public refutation, if untrue. We appeal to Romanists themselves. "For thirty years (said the Dominican monk, Vincentius Ferrerius, who endeavoured to make converts of these Piedmontese nonconformists in the year 1405) none have preached the word of God to them but Valdensian heretics." So entirely was this Alpine population free from the Popish yoke at that period, that not a Romish priest had been near them since the year 1375. More than a hundred years afterwards, in 1517, Claude Seyssel, Archbishop

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of Turin, visited them, and boasted that, in the memory of man, he was the first prelate that had ever ventured to put a foot in their valleys. By the way, it is as well to mention here, that Seyssel speaks of their books and writings in language which goes far towards confirming the authenticity of those ancient MSS. which some persons are inclined to call forgeries of the Reformation, and that he bears testimony to the favour in which they were held by their lords and rulers, and to their long-tolerated dissent from Rome in consequence of that favour. In the old state papers, or public documents of Piedmont, they are called faithful subjects, "*Fideli suddíti*," "*Huomini delli Valli*," and "*Religionarii*." Thus the edict of Iolanta, dated 27th January, 1476, expressing a desire to bring them into the bosom of the Church, speaks of them as "*fideles subditi de Valle Lucernæ*."* The question naturally arises, how on earth could a small Christian community, distinct from Rome, not only be suffered to exist at these periods—1375, 1405, 1476, 1517, in the face of powerful adversaries—but be recognized as faithful subjects of the principality of Piedmont, and have confirmations of ancient immunities and privileges granted to them by successive sovereigns, unless they were of old standing, and had compacts to show, which guaranteed to them religious rights and liberties? They could no more be the growth of the thirteenth and fourteenth, than of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At all events, begin with them when you will, their antiquity, and their perseverance in the sober faith of their ancestors, place them on a very different footing from any of those dissenters to whom the right hand of fellowship is denied on the ordinary grounds of objection.

The Waldenses of Piedmont, to say the least, have witnessed and protested against the errors of Rome from time immemorial. They were raising their testimony, not as individuals—not as an unsettled and wandering confraternity, but as a located ecclesiastical community, long and long before the voices of Wickliffe, Luther, and Calvin were heard. They have been suffering witnesses, and have had martyrs among them, whose blood has been the seed of the Church. It is possible that the dispersion of their clergy, the destruction of their religious books, and the demolition of their sanctuaries, may have sometimes reduced them to a low state of religious knowledge, and that their theology would not always bear investigation, as it does now. But for this we must condemn not them, but their per-

* See "Raccolta degl. Editti delli Duchi di Savoya."

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secutors. At the present crisis, when they are again in jeopardy, they are neither anarchists nor fanatics. They are not divided and subdivided into factions and denominations. There is no resemblance between them and our Dissenting congregations. They have one Lord, one faith, one baptism. They are *one* in all that constitutes ecclesiastical unity. They are a Church in all the essentials of Church fellowship and government—bishops only excepted; and even in this point they come nearer to Episcopacy than any other Presbyterian Church in Christendom. Their spiritual affairs are directed by a commission, called "the Officers of the Table," with an elective president, under the title of "Moderator," whose authority is continued beyond the session of their General Assembly; and the functions of the Moderator would have been rendered permanent for his life before now (as the first step towards revived Episcopacy), if the interference of the Papists had not prevented this measure.

They are an *established* Church, solemnly recognized as such by the authorities of their country; and when they hold a synod, the Intendant, or highest civil officer of the province, is present at their deliberations, as the king's representative. They are an *endowed* Church—each of their clergy having a house of residence and a plot of ground attached to his pastoral charge, with a stipend, small though it is, arising from an impost laid on the community. They are what Dr. Chalmers *(quantum mutatus ab illo)* calls, a *territorial* Church, with parochial limitations, each pastor's sphere of duty being regularly defined by landmarks and other settled boundaries.

They are a *liturgical* Church, and use a Book of Common Prayer (by which their faith may be fairly tried), containing the order of the administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, with particular services for Christmas, Good Friday, Easter Sunday, Ascension-day, and Whit-Sunday.

They are a Church, in which "it is not lawful for any man to take upon himself the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same," and in which public service is performed in a known tongue, and the public worship and instruction are regulated in conformity to a *confession of faith*, which every clergyman must sign before he can be ordained or undertake the pastoral functions. In some of the Swiss churches, especially in the church of the Pays de Vaud, the expediency of adhering to confessions of faith has lately been brought into question. In the Waldensian Church of Piedmont, at their very last synod, April 1839, one of their first

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acts was to declare the necessity of holding fast to the confession of 1655.

To add to these marks of an established orthodox Church, the Waldenses have their sacred fabrics set apart for divine worship, and maintained by a sort of rate levied upon their own body, according to parochial divisions. They have their parochial burial grounds and a burial service. They have a regular system of education, under the superintendence of their clergy; in every parish a school and a school master, and also in many of the hamlets a school of lower degree for instruction in the winter season, when the children cannot reach the principal schools. The stipends for the masters of the greater and smaller schools are provided by Holland. They have also two endowed grammar schools.

But the real merits of this faithful Church cannot be estimated without taking a view of the disadvantages under which they have laboured. Their poverty is proverbial. "The *poor Waldenses!*" They are completely driven up into a corner; because the treaties and conditions on which they are tolerated only protect them within assigned boundaries, and beyond these limits they can possess no property in security. The consequence is, that their territory will not maintain more than a certain amount of population; and out of part of this they have been thrust by the intrusion of Roman Catholics. In 1646 there were whole communes within the three valleys, wherein there was not a single Romanist. From generation to generation the number of the Waldenses within these limits has stood at about 25,000, more or less, and it is difficult to say what becomes of those who are obliged to leave their native villages in quest of a livelihood. With few exceptions, the properties are small, and the majority of the population may be called peasants, cultivating their own land. In this state of circumstances and of society there are no natural resources for the improvement of the community. The education of their clergy has hitherto been conducted principally in the universities of Geneva and Lausanne, where, for want of a divinity college at home, they have been compelled to go, at a great sacrifice of their small means, and at no inconsiderable hazard to their morals and orthodoxy: for imagine the risk which a lad of sixteen must run, who leaves his mountain home to pursue a course of study in a foreign university.

But we have yet another difficulty to recount, which is common to all the Waldenses. The national language is Italian—the provincial, or vernacular tongue, is a dialect peculiar to the whole Alpine region that lies between France and Italy. The

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language in which they must receive the rudiments of instruction is French, because in that only can they obtain complete copies of Scripture and books of devotion used by Protestants. Through what a labyrinth, then, has the poor Waldensian to struggle before he can acquire even the elements of Christian knowledge!

"When I thought (said an English gentleman, who was present at one of their school examinations) of the homes they came from, with a piece of dry bread in their pockets, and their heads full of patois, I was lost in admiration to hear the ideas of men of other countries and ages rendered into very tolerable French by those poor lads."

In spite of all these obstacles, the Waldenses had been rapidly advancing in erudition, intelligence, and prosperity. Much of the amelioration in their condition is owing to the strong feeling excited in England about eighteen years ago; when a committee was formed for their relief and to watch over their interests. We subjoin a list of this committee:—

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Earl of St. Germains.	Sir R. H. Inglis, M.P.	W. Dalton, Esq.
Earl of Home.	Archdeacon Hamilton.	Rev. Dr. Gilly.
Bishop of London.	Archdeacon Burrow.	W. R. Hamilton, Esq.
Bishop of Winchester.	Archdeacon Raymond.	George Lowther, Esq.
Bishop of Exeter.	C. F. Barnwell, Esq.	Rev. T. W. Mercer.
Baron Alderson.	Col. C. Beckwith.	Rev. J. S. Pons.
Sir G. H. Rose, M.P.	S. Bosanquet, Esq.	Rev. T. Sims.
Sir T. D. Acland, M.P.	W. Cotton, Esq.	Rev. J. Wigram.
	Rev. F. Cunningham.	

The Waldenses have to thank this committee for the restoration of an annual payment from England, amounting to 277*l.*, called the royal grant in aid of their clergy, and for the establishment of a fund, out of which a hospital, an infirmary, and five girls' schools are in great part maintained.

Private benefactions to a great extent have also poured into the Protestant valleys of Piedmont from this country; and a noble building, near the village of La Tour, called the College of the Holy Trinity, has sprung up, under the trusteeship of Dr. Gilly, within the last ten years, having been founded and endowed, and provided with a library through English liberality and sympathy. The object of this institution is to afford a sound theological education, under the shade of their native mountains, to the young men intended for the sacred ministry. A further stimulus to public instruction has been given by the benevolent and judicious exertions of Colonel Beckwith, who resides in the valleys during several months of every year, and

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who has not only supplied the schools with grammars, treatises of arithmetic, and translations of Scripture in the vernacular language of the country, but has also contributed to the building of a school-house in almost every village and hamlet in the three valleys. An institution for the improvement of female education, which we understand is named after its founder, is another monument of this gentleman's philanthropy. The establishment of the grammar-school at La Tour originated in the benevolence of the Dutch, who also remit a large sum annually towards the maintenance of the hospital and for purposes of general charity. But Great Britain and its old ally of the Netherlands are not the only friendly sources from which pecuniary succour flows into these Protestant valleys. The Emperor Alexander of Russia, besides other benefactions, contributed to the expenses of two of their largest churches; and the late King of Prussia was unbounded in his acts of kindness: he made money grants to a large amount: he maintained Vaudois students in a Prussian university at his own expense; and his minister at the Court of Turin was commanded to interpose his good offices upon all occasions when they could be usefully and discreetly exercised.

At the accession of the present King of Sardinia, Charles Albert, in 1831, everything seemed to be going on favourably for the Waldenses, and he himself took several opportunities of extending especial marks of kindness towards them. Too soon, however, the tide of fortune changed, and we will give an extract from "The Crown, or the Tiara: Considerations on the present condition of the Waldenses," to exhibit the manner in which that train was laid for the destruction of the Protestant Church in Piedmont to which we have already alluded:—

"Unfortunately, however, for these Protestants of the Alps, their favour in the sight of their own prince, and of powers in close friendship with him, and the fruits of it, displayed in the prosperity of their institutions and the smiling aspect of their happy valleys, have excited the jealousy and enmity of the Romish priesthood. If the temporal head of the Government had been less favourable to them, the spiritual authorities of Piedmont would at least have concealed their increasing animosity; but now such a tempest is impending over the Church of the Waldenses [as has not darkened upon it for a century and a half. In 1834 rumours of an impending calamity, and *the open threats of the Bishop of Pignerol* and his clergy, tended to disturb their tranquillity.

"It was hoped, however, that these clouds would pass away; and more particularly as the prelate, whose menaces alarmed them, retracted some of his threatening expressions. But in 1836 a book was published, anonymously indeed, though openly attributed by the *Dublin Review* (No. VI., p. 327) to a Piedmontese bishop (Pignerol?), which

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was evidently meant to give such an unfavourable picture of the Protestants of Piedmont, as might lead to the most disastrous consequences, and to the revival of those penal enactments which were intended for their destruction three hundred years ago. It was the object of the author of this volume, 'Recherches Historiques sur la Véritable Origine des Vaudois, et sur le Caractère de leurs Doctrines Primitives,' to hold them up to derision and hatred, by giving them a foreign origin, and by imputing opinions to them which they never entertained, and conduct which they never practised. He, therefore, raked up every calumny which had been previously employed to injure these mountaineers; and his book is like one of those culverins used in desperate warfare, which is loaded with everything filthy as well as murderous for a last discharge.

"Nothing can be more insidious than such an attack; for, if we can be persuaded that the religious, moral, social, and political character of this little community is such as the bishop has described, there will no longer be any sympathy or commiseration for them, and they may be swept from the face of the earth without one single feeling or expression of regret. The Waldenses themselves have not the opportunity of asserting their own claims to a fairer reputation. They cannot make their voice to be heard through Christendom by the ordinary means of giving publicity to complaint or defence. They have not that ready access to books and libraries which is necessary to establish their appeal to antiquity. Their records and documents were destroyed in days of former persecution. They have no press through which they can transmit their case from one country to another; and they are too much at the mercy of their inveterate opponents, the Roman hierarchy and clergy of Piedmont, to speak out boldly and plainly, even if they had the means of doing so.

"An attack so lately made upon Protestantism, through the sides of one of its weakest and most defenceless communities, requires to be exposed, not only on account of the malignity and falsehood with which it is sustained, but because it forms part of a combined movement against all the Reformed Churches of Europe.

"The volume to which we allude was composed in Piedmont, and published in Paris and Lyons. It soon found its way to Turin, where it was suppressed by royal authority, in consequence of some offensive allusions which it made to the King of Prussia, for his persevering support of Protestant interests.

"But, notwithstanding its prohibition by the censorship at Turin, the book circulated in Piedmont, to the great dismay of the Protestant mountaineers, who felt its venom, and knew that they must be the silent victims of its many libels. Its author was suspected; but his name was not printed with his work.

"At length the secret came out in the face of an article headed 'The Vaudois,' in the sixth number of the *Dublin Review*, published in October, 1837; and to the disgust of every generous mind, an Irish Roman Catholic journal, which professes to demand 'the amplest toleration for all Dissenting sects,' expressed its gratitude to a Piedmontese

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The King of Sardinia and his good-will towards his Waldensian people, thwarted by the counsels of the sovereign pontiff, remind us of the answer given by Bernard de Palissy to Henry III. of France, when that monarch assured the Huguenot that he had every inclination to protect him, but that he had not the power:—

"My good man (said the king), if you cannot conform, I shall be compelled to leave you in the hands of your enemies.

"Sire (replied the intrepid old man), I was always ready to surrender my life rather than my principles; but do I hear the King of France say *I am compelled?* This, sire, is a condition to which those who force you to act contrary to your own good disposition can never reduce me; because I am prepared for death, and because nothing can compel a simple potter to bend his knee before an image."

Let us mark more plainly the progress of the mischief and the subtle working of Popery against Protestantism in the Alps. The spirit of the times would revolt from open violence, professedly employed against religionists of any description, and none would venture to applaud the dragonnades of the Cevennes, or the massacres of St. Bartholomew, or the crusades which deluged Languedoc with blood, or the fires which blazed in Smithfield. But you may vilify the sufferers, and you may reconcile unsuspecting minds to the enormities then committed, by assigning every virtue under heaven to those who instigated them. Oh! this is a gentle age; and the principles of religious liberty are so well understood, that nothing but soft persuasion and sound reasoning will be used against disobedient children to bring them back to the outspread arms of the holy father of the Vatican. And it is an age of research forsooth; and learned men have discovered that Popery is not so bad, and the Inquisition is not so terrible, and Protestantism is not so good, and the Reformers were not so wise, as they have been represented! We are thus led on by degrees to impute past atrocities, if committed by Rome, to the barbarism of the times, and to the forwardness of enthusiasts who did not understand Church principles, and who compelled amiable Dominics, and Innocents, and De Montfords, and Bonners, and Gardiners, to act with a severity foreign to their own gentle natures, and to the mild genius of the mistress and mother of Churches.

And thus we are to be thrown off our guard, while Popery, true to her principles of destruction, sows the seeds of dissension and distrust in the garrison, and undermines what she dare not openly assault. The mode of hostility adopted against one branch is but a specimen of the warfare which is going on

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against all Protestant Churches. In 1834 and 1835 the Bishop of Pignerol used insulting and menacing language against the Waldenses: he spoke of them contemptuously, and he threatened their downfall. In 1836 the plot thickened, and the proscription of the devoted race was more openly avowed. A book was published, anonymously, by this prelate, calumniating them and their forefathers; justifying the severities of which they were the victims in former times, and invoking the secular arm against spiritual offenders. The Bishop of Pignerol is the last person in the world who ought to speak ill of these people: he lives within a few miles of the mountain slopes which are spotted with their vine-trellised cottages; he knows that they are the most moral, industrious, and inoffensive inhabitants of his diocese; he is fully aware that crime is all but unknown among them; that they do nothing to disturb the peace of his own flock; and that they divide their morsel of bread with the poor Romanists who beg at their doors. He is, moreover, well acquainted with their ancient history: he knows that they are entitled, by solemn compacts, to the full enjoyment of civil rights, and to the free exercise of their religion; he has had access to documents* which disprove the allegations contained in his "Recherches Historiques;" and, above all, he knows that the king, his sovereign, loves his Waldensian subjects, and that nothing but the foulest misrepresentations will ever induce Charles Albert to withdraw his protection entirely from them. But no sooner were they proscribed by this Romish dignitary, than the Popish literary organ of England and Ireland re-echoed his malicious outcry, and proclaimed that all the world ought to know what a brood of vipers the King of Sardinia had been fostering in Piedmont! This was done to reconcile the people of this country to the new code of Sardinia, which came into operation in 1838, and which is not to destroy the Waldenses forthwith, but to consume them by degrees. It is not prudent or expedient to cause a whole population to disappear at once; therefore, they must first be stigmatized as unfit to be tolerated, and then weeded out by a gradual process. With all our anticipations of evil, we confess that we were taken by surprise at the consummate address and perfidy with which those fatal clauses in the new code of Sardinia were drawn up, and which, unless they be repealed, will eventually blot out the Waldenses from the face of the earth. They are to this effect:—

* The original papers published by the editors of "Historiæ Patriæ Monumenta."

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"Art. I. The Catholic religion is the only religion of the State."

"Art. III. The other forms of worship which exist are only tolerated in conformity to the usages and especial regulations which concern them."

"Art. XVIII. Every subject enjoys civil rights, unless he forfeit them by his own fault. Subjects who are not Catholics will enjoy them conformably to the laws, and regulations, and usages which concern them. It is the same with the Jews."

These two articles, the third and eighteenth of the new code, apparently so reasonable and innoxious, determine the civil, religious, and political existence of the Waldenses, for unhappily "the laws, regulations, and usages which concern them '*qui les concernent*' are numerous and intolerant," and date from the sixteenth century. They have never been repealed by the legitimate sovereigns of Piedmont, although they were annulled during the reign of Napoleon; consequently the code which deals with them in this summary manner replaces the Protestants under all the disabilities, and pains, and penalties which led to the frightful events of 1655 and 1686. It was a miserable oversight at the Congress of Vienna which left them in this plight. The principles of those terrible regulations (all of which were issued in troublesome times, and contrary to the compacts under which the inhabitants of the valleys were for ever to enjoy the free exercise of their religion) are as follows, and appended to each edict, revived by the sign-manual of an European Christian Prince in the nineteenth century, we give an instance of recent acts of oppression, committed under the authority of that revived edict:—

"I. By the edicts of 1596, 1602, and 1609, the Waldenses are forbidden to offer any opposition, by argument, persuasion, or otherwise, to curès or missionary priests who may be endeavouring to convert any of their own community to the Roman Catholic faith—the penalty 1,000 crowns, or any other punishment at the king's pleasure.

"Non sarà alcun Heretico, ch' ardisca impedire la conversione, e Catolizatione d' Heretici alla Santa Fede, ne dissuadere o perturbare in qual si voglia modo li Cattolizati, e Cattolici sotto pena di scudi mille, ò altra à noi arbitraria."

By a subsequent order of the year 1650, it is declared that a house shall be prepared for missionary fathers in the principal village of the Waldenses, and penalties even unto death are enacted against any who shall interrupt them. It was this that led to the massacre of 1655. To take advantage of these terrible enactments, a religious fraternity has been lately established, consisting of eight missionary priests, with an endowment of

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238,617 francs, or 9,554*l.* sterling, and an annual income of 17,000 francs, or 680*l.*, and a large church and monastery are now being built for them at La Tour, one of the most populous of the Protestant communes. As soon as the institution is completed—and it is expected that the fraternity will begin their operations this year—their priests will employ themselves in making proselytes, and in exercising for that purpose every artifice which can be resorted to, whether it be sophistry, bribery, threat, or promise. There are only fifteen Protestant clergymen in pastoral charge throughout the whole extent of the Waldensian territory, and if there were twice that number, they would be ineffective against the wiles of an adversary armed with the terrors of the law. The pastor may not interfere between the proselyting efforts of a missionary priest and one of his flock. The husband may not persuade his wife to turn a deaf ear to the arguments of him who would tell her she ought to renounce her faith; the parent may not reason with his child, nor show cause why his only son should not abandon the religion of his forefathers.

If the law, which gives such power to the Romish priesthood in the Protestant valleys of Piedmont be enforced, there must soon be an end to the Waldensian Church.

"II. By the edict of the 18th of August, 1655, boys above twelve years of age, and girls above ten, who declare themselves Roman Catholics, or who profess a willingness to listen to arguments employed for their conversion, may be taken away from their parents, and committed to the charge of persons who undertake their religious education."

In 1842, upon the strength of this renewed edict, a child was taken away from his parents in the commune of ——;* and a letter is now before us, stating that a peasant of —— had one of his children removed from him two years ago, and another has disappeared within the last two months; stolen away, it is believed, by those who are making proselytes.

We cannot control ourselves, or put any bounds to our indignation, if we begin to offer any remarks on such atrocious legalized abduction.

"III. The edicts of 1602, revived in 1838, prohibit mixed marriages between Roman Catholics and Protestants, declare the issue of such marriages to be illegitimate, and give authority to the Romish priests to take charge of children thus *illegitimated*, and to send them to the asylum for foundlings at Pignerol."

The heart-rending scenes which are even now taking place from time to time in the valleys of Piedmont, in consequence of

* It might compromise the safety of individuals to give names.

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this most unjust and unnatural enactment, are beyond all description. False allegations of illegitimacy; vexatious proceedings against parties who can prove themselves (after a tiresome process) to have been lawfully married; and instances of infants torn from their mothers' arms, are now of more frequent occurrence than these poor oppressed people dare to make known to their friends in this country. One case, however, which took place the year after the revival of this most iniquitous law, will suffice to exhibit its detestable character.

In 1839, a young couple, who had been lawfully married, had their infant child removed from them, under pretence that one of them was a Roman Catholic. The father, moved to desperation by his own parental anguish, and by the lamentations of his agonized wife—"Rachel weeping for her child"—went to the house to which the baby was consigned, and carried it off to its mother. For this he was imprisoned, and the infant was again abducted. A legal process ensued; the man was released, and the child was restored, upon its being proved that the marriage was not a mixed marriage, and the issue not illegitimate. But can we imagine the distress and sufferings of these unhappy parents, while they were exposed to this treatment? Or can we recount the civil and religious miseries of a small and helpless population reduced to such a condition? *Roman Catholic grievances in Ireland!* Have those who sympathize with such grievances no feeling for their Protestant brethren in Piedmont, who have claims not only upon British sympathy, but upon British protection, by virtue of treaties and stipulations between England and Sardinia?

"IV. The edicts of 1602, 1603, 1620, and 1653 contain stringent and severe regulations as to the limits beyond which the Waldensian pastors and schoolmasters may not exercise their functions, and beyond which no property may be acquired by a Protestant."

These also were revived and put in force by the new code of 1838, and have given rise to many harassing proceedings in regard to the exercise of public worship, and to the tenure of property. The priests and the petty local authorities stretch the prohibitions of the law beyond its meaning, and some painful cases have come to our ears, which will end in the utter impoverishment and ruin of individuals who cannot meet the expense of defending themselves against informers and suits in court. Two years ago the following notice was published in the *Turin Gazette*:—

"By decree of the holy congregation of Rome, the undermentioned publication is condemned and prohibited, viz., the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated into the Piedmontese anguage."

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This was launched against the vernacular version of the New Testament in use among the Waldenses. So recently as last year a Bible lecture and prayer-meeting, held in a school-room at La Tour, was denounced by the prefect and discontinued in consequence of his prohibition, although it was solemnly conceded to the Protestants of this commune in 1664 "that religious exercises of any kind should be tolerated in La Tour;" and the concession was renewed and guaranteed in a treaty with England in 1690:—

"Permettiamo alli medesimi il libero esercitio della loro religione, e libertà di conscienza in tutti li luoghi nelle precedenti concessioni compresi.

"These are the wrongs of the Waldenses (says the author of 'The Crown or Tiara'): these are violations of the eternal laws of justice, wisdom, policy, and humanity, in which every member of the social compact is concerned. It is not a religious question merely, and we should be sorry to discuss it in a manner likely to give umbrage to any reasonable creature. It is in vindication of the inalienable rights of man in a state of civil society that we plead for these sufferers. Had the Waldenses been a turbulent community, or a fanatical race, or a people against whom any charge of offences against religion or morality could be brought, or had they made a bad use of their civil liberties, when they were for more than twelve years in the enjoyment of them, we must have been silent. But they are not dangerous, either from their numbers or their principles: they make no proselytes, nor do they dogmatize: they offer no disrespect to the worship or observances of the Roman Catholics among whom they dwell.

"They are not a new sect: they have professed the same religion time out of mind, in the same territory. They practise no superstitious rites: they do nothing to shock the prejudices or to wound the feelings of their fellow-countrymen. Not a breath can be raised against them, except as professing a different form of the Christian religion from the majority of the Piedmontese. The yoke at one time was taken off their necks, and when was it replaced? At a season when all Europe was enjoying a jubilee, and commemorating deliverance from the iron sceptre of a despot.* Is it, then, the act of a wise Government to make the Waldenses lament the restoration of a legitimate monarchy, and to wish back the days of French domination? Is it politic to keep up animosities between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and to leave a sore place constantly unhealed? Is it gracious, or consistent with *bona fide* treaties and close amity, that a sovereign should permit injustice to be done to a people in whom his allies take a warm interest, for no other reason than that their religious worship is denounced at Rome?

* The celebrated treaty of 1814 spoke of the "equal desire" of the great European powers "*to terminate the long agitations of Europe, and the sufferings of mankind.*"

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"We leave these questions to be considered by those who are competent to take a just, wise, and humane view of the subject; and we ask again, in the spirit of Christian sympathy, shall the feelings of humanity continue to be outraged; shall faith in treaties, and compacts between states, and bargains between man and man, continue to be violated; shall industry be checked, property be deteriorated, and the rights of conscience be disregarded, whenever a council, called 'The Holy Congregation of Rome,' takes upon itself to advise such contravention of the eternal principles of equity?" (pp. 36-38).

We have every reason to hope that the grievances of the Waldenses have been brought under the notice of the British Government, in a manner which will operate favourably in behalf of a community, whose civil and religious rights we are bound by treaty to secure. The existence and validity of that treaty, signed and ratified in 1690, and afterwards confirmed and renewed in 1704, were made the subject of a motion in Parliament by Sir Robert H. Inglis, in 1832 (Jan. 24), and a copy of it was laid on the table of the House of Commons in the May following. The attention of her Majesty's Ministers to the relations which exist between the crowns of Great Britain and Sardinia, for the protection of the Waldenses, was again directed to this vital question last year; and we conclude our remarks on the subject by transcribing from the last printed report of the Vaudois' Committee, a document which, having the signatures of the Archbishop of Canterbury and two other such prelates as the Bishops of London and Winchester, may be considered to express the interest which the Church of England takes in the destiny of the Church of the Waldenses.

"COPY OF THE MEMORIAL ADDRESSED TO LORD ABERDEEN, HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

"Winchester House, St. James's-square,
April 9, 1842.

"MY LORD—We, the undersigned, members of the London Committee, instituted in 1825, for the relief of the Vaudois of Piedmont, earnestly request your lordship to submit to her Majesty the Queen our humble entreaty that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to intercede in behalf of that ancient community with their sovereign, the King of Sardinia. The sufferings of the Vaudois have often excited the sympathy of this nation, and our sovereigns have, from time to time, been pleased to exercise their beneficent offices, when the privileges and rights of the Waldensian Church have been threatened; and this they have done, not only out of compassion for the afflicted, but in virtue of treaties which give to England the right of intervention for the protection of the Vaudois.

"Among other grievances, it has been represented to us, that the Vaudois have now to complain that children are taken from their pa-

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rents by the priests and local authorities, when one of the parents is said to be a Roman Catholic, under the pretence of their being illegitimate; that their religious services are interrupted; that their intercourse and traffic with their fellow-countrymen, beyond certain limits, are placed under grievous restrictions; that some of them are deprived of the means of subsistence, being forbidden to purchase, to farm, or to cultivate lands, except within boundaries too narrow for their population; and that others, to their great disadvantage and detriment, have been ordered to sell property, which they have legally acquired beyond the territories to which they are confined.

"If these alleged severities were inflicted on the Vaudois for acts of turbulence, or dangerous fanaticism, we should not presume to entreat her Majesty's gracious interposition; but it does not appear that anything can be laid to their charge, except the profession of a religion differing from that of the Roman Catholic Church, and similar in many particulars of faith and discipline to the Reformed Churches in Europe.

"Believing, therefore, that the measures adopted in regard to this suffering community are at variance equally with the principles of Christianity and with the eternal laws of justice; that they are at variance likewise with the treaties which unite the British and Sardinian Governments; and also with the present understanding, sanctioned by the treaties of 1814, which exists between civilized states, 'to terminate the long agitations and sufferings of mankind' by a general improvement of the social system: we earnestly hope that your lordship will receive her Majesty's gracious commands to cause due enquiry to be made, and, if necessary, to mediate with her Majesty's august ally, the King of Sardinia, and to remonstrate against that treatment of the Vaudois with regard to civil disabilities and penalties on account of their religion, which is likely, by embittering, or perhaps by engendering, animosities between Protestants and Roman Catholics, to bring disgrace on the holy cause of Christianity. We are the more anxious to bring this subject before your lordship, from our conviction that the present vexations of this people are not inflicted upon them with the entire consent of their sovereign; for it is but justice to say, that ever since this Committee have taken an active interest in their behalf, we have had repeated proofs of the favourable disposition of his Sardinian Majesty towards them; and we are confident that his own feelings of justice and benevolence, if unbiassed by the misrepresentations of their enemies, would ensure to them his Majesty's protection and favour, since all the records of their history for more than a century prove them to have been a faithful and loyal people.

"(Signed) W. Cantuar. W. R. Hamilton.
C. J. London. William Cotton.
C. R. Winton. T. Dyke Acland.
Geo. H. Rose. W. S. Gilly."
Robt. H. Inglis.

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ART. IV.—*Past and Present.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. London: Chapman and Hall. 1843.

THE present condition of England affords great matter for the most serious and anxious reflection to every private individual, no less than to the professed politician. The consideration of it forces itself upon the notice of each of us; for it presents phenomena which come home to our bosoms, and affect us in our most private relations. On every man, not only in his intercourse with the great world abroad, but also in each branch of his domestic economy—in his buying and selling—in his business and his pleasure—as landlord and as tenant—as father and as son—as governor and as subject—in every point of that complicated mass of interests by which he is connected with his fellows, is the truth proclaimed, in startling tones, that it is no longer another's business which he is doing, but his own; that his house is on fire, and that the time is come when he must actively and heartily exert himself, if he intends to preserve his own existence. With much that is comforting, there is far more in the prospect which meets the looker into the events of the day calculated to appal him. On the one hand, are wealth and resources almost inexhaustible, with energy and intellect to make the fullest use of them; on the other, the deepest misery and most abject poverty.

The inevitable contest between wealth and numbers, which must at some time occur in the history of every political community, seems to be now approaching to its crisis. It is the beginning of the end; it is, in fact, the most hazardous point in a nation's progress, and is rarely passed without commotion, not always without revolution and bloodshed. In England, indeed, circumstances have contributed to impart to this period of her progress some peculiar features, which have not belonged to the corresponding changes in other countries, and by which a character of greater mildness has been given to the struggle, so far as it has proceeded. Perhaps the most remarkable difference arises from the imperfect overthrow of the old aristocracy of birth, when it was subdued in the seventeenth century. In the republics of Greece and of Rome, the nobility of birth, when, in obedience to the natural course of events, it fell from its supremacy, was subdued by an influence bound to it by no ties of common interest, but alien in habits, in thoughts, and in general pursuits. In Rome the patricians were for a long period an exclusive body, into which there were no means of entering—possessed of privileges which acted as an irritating and a galling burden to those who were by birth shut out from the enjoy-

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ment of them, and surrounded by a strong fence of rights and powers, which, if communicated to others beyond the pale, must thereby be destroyed. If not exclusive, they did not exist at all. And when at length the growing importance and wealth of the plebeians wrung from the unwilling grasp of their opponents, one by one, their peculiar and dearly-prized privileges, the victory was only the necessary result of a long-continued strife, in which the spirit of party had arisen, and with it all the unscrupulousness which it never fails to engender in times of excitement. Hence there could be no cordial union between the contending parties; the elevation of the one was the necessary degradation of the other. True, these contests are not to be characterized as bloody, but they rendered the later progress of the state tumultuous, and tainted it with a murderous ferocity; true, they were, to a great extent, openly mild and conducted in peaceful agitation, but they produced feelings and opinions destined to bear other fruit. Every advantage gained by the plebeian added to his pride and arrogance, for it seemed to him the result of a hard-fought battle, while to the patrician the loss appeared a shameful defeat, in which he suffered both as an individual and in his collective capacity. Each successive communication of privileges, therefore, while it outwardly cemented the bond of union between all the citizens more closely, in reality embittered their actual animosity, and prepared the way for the savage wars of Sylla and the Triumvirates. The changes were made too late to be made in peacefulness. The power of birth had fallen, but in its fall it had estranged itself from the power of wealth, which, in the order of events, is its successor; and when the new element—numbers—came to take its part in the history of the state, the effects of the imperfect amalgamation of the older forces made themselves felt in the bloody and destructive commotions, which ended in the subjugation of all under the unhealthy and deadening influence of a despotic sway, supported by military power.

At Athens, on the other hand, the gradual development of the constitution, according to the natural progress of events, prevented a similar crisis. The timocracy of Solon, by which the old body of the Eupatridæ lost its exclusive privileges, was succeeded by the democratic institutions of Clisthenes; and political preponderance given to numbers before the struggle had reached a dangerous height. The party contests at Athens were therefore not marked by any dangerous revolutions, such as in other places accompanied the change in question. But a perfect illustration of the evils to which it may give birth is furnished by the graphic and most instructive account given by Thucydides

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of the fearful commotions at Corcyra and Megara, caused by the efforts of the long subjugated people, properly so called, to obtain their share in the government, hitherto preserved in the hands of an exclusive aristocracy. At the period which his history describes, the states of Greece were all in this hazardous state of transition. The ascendancy of old ascribed to noble birth alone, had given way to the ascendancy of wealth, and this in turn was yielding to the attacks of the multitude, which, wherever matters were driven to extremities, eventually succeeded, unless repressed by the intervention of hostile power. But this success, from which a timely compromise and submission might have derived fresh vigour to the political body (by turning the new influence into another element of strength, and amalgamating it into one substance with the existing materials), when achieved by violence, became fatal. The embittered feelings to which the struggle gave birth could not be extinguished with the occasion from which they sprung, but sapped the society in which they existed at its very foundations. Or, as was more frequently the case, the bloodshed and ferocity by which the intestine commotion was carried to its consummation destroyed, at its very birth, the liberty at which men aimed, and shook into pieces the whole framework of society, to be reconstructed, with aggravated difficulty, under far more unfavourable circumstances, and with more liability to interruption from a variety of insuperable obstacles.

The same phenomena may be observed in the history of all states as they advance in civilization and development, attended with more or less risk, and of a milder or more ferocious character, according to the circumstances under which they present themselves. Thucydides remarks, in reference to the changes taking place in the Grecian republics in his day:—

ἐπέπεσε πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατὰ στασιν ταῖς πόλεσι, γιγνόμενα μὲν καὶ ἀεὶ ἐσόμενα, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρωπων ἦ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχαίτερα καὶ τοῖς εἴδεσι διηλλαγμένα, ὡς ἂν ἕκασται αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ξυντυχιῶν ἐφιστῶνται.

The fullest and most perfect illustration of this remark is to be found in the internal tumults of the Italian republics during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which furnish parallels more or less accurate to the account of the Grecian historian. In all, the progress of the same social change may be traced under various modifications. A similar development of its earlier stages, as affected by peculiar circumstances, is shown in the outbreak of the Flemish burghers against their feudal lords, which ended in the establishment of their independence.

We have remarked the danger which always attends that

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period in a nation's history, when the pre-eminence which wealth has, in a majority of cases, with comparative freedom from disturbance, andby gradual advances, attained, by the subversion of the old ascendancy enjoyed by birth alone, becoming, by its success, transmuted from the popular into the aristocratical party—when this pre-eminence of wealth is assailed by the influence of numbers, as the development of society advances, and intelligence extends to the multitudes. How much more perilous does the change become when extraneous circumstances have accidentally retarded the healthy progress of society! For it may happen, that by accidents which cannot be foreseen, and therefore against which no provision will avail, the natural development of a nation's growth may be obstructed, while yet the elements of change are springing into life. The growth of the body politic becomes stunted, the evil repressed for a time, yet consumes the vitals, and the very strength which nature intended to be of utility, in its proper place, becomes the means by which destruction is brought upon the whole. Thus the long warfare carried on by France against Spain and Austria, in the sixteenth century, and continued with but little intermission up to and during the lengthened reign of Louis XIV., engendered a military spirit most hostile to all national improvement; and, withdrawing attention from domestic concerns, hindered the natural development of the growing elements of society; while, at the same time, it consolidated the feudal power of the territorial hereditary nobility. In the mean time influences of a different character had come into being, but were excluded from the power they rightfully should have obtained; and when at length the nation, recovering from its long-continued depression, endeavoured to open a space for its progress, and bring out its hidden elements of strength, the change had been delayed so long, that the third power, the influence of numbers, appeared almost at the same moment, like a strange vision to startle all beholders. Had no untoward circumstances intervened to hinder the regular progress of society, the childhood of the nation would have been passed long before—in other words, the influence of birth would have gradually and quietly given way to the ascendancy of wealth, and the two powers combined would be more ready to resist, and, when necessary, yield to the pressure of the multitude. But the State had not passed from its infancy when the struggles of its mature age came upon it. There had been no attempt to amalgamate the conflicting interests of birth and wealth, for there had been no contest between them until the moment when they were required to act in unison. Hence, at the outbreak of the revolution, the exclusive privileges

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of the nobility were first attacked; but there was no time for the power of wealth to consolidate itself, before the more hazardous change came upon it. There was then no governing influence to direct the course of events, for the old things, long obsolete in reality, had now become sensibly so to all men; and the new institutions, which should supply their place, were too modern, too new, to possess any strength. It is not wonderful, then, to find that all the so-called ties of society were broken and cast aside, when, in fact, no political ties could exist; nothing was settled or permanent, for nothing, in the nature of things, could be fixed—the landmarks were removed, and nothing left to steer by. That the peculiar phasis of the French revolution is without a parallel is a fact most easily explained, when we consider that the contemporaneous development of the rival elements of wealth and numbers is without a parallel also. The bitterness and ferocity which always attend a contest between them, when unfortunately it reaches a crisis, were aggravated by the many discordant and unsettled materials for confusion thrown into agitation from other causes. Neither is it wonderful, that from so great a dislocation, so to speak, of society—so entire a subversion of the regular normal order of events—such trifling results have arisen. Other causes, doubtless, have contributed to retard the advances then commenced, but the chief obstacle is to be sought in that unnatural repression of the national energies, by which the body was called upon to sustain the labours and perform the arduous duties of a man, when its muscles and limbs possessed only the powers of a child. The proper order of events had been disarranged—everything was out of place; and the efforts of the community to deliver itself and proceed in its advance, resembled the nervous abrupt jerking motions of a ricketty piece of mechanism, the wheel-work of which has been deranged. Nature, who does nothing in vain, inevitably revenges any violation of her rules:—

> *ὧν νόμοι πρόκεινται*
> *ὑψίποδες. οὐρανίαν*
> *δι'αἰθέρα τεκνωθεντες, ὧν Ὄλυμπος*
> *πατὴρ μονός, οὐδέ μὴν*
> *θνατὰ φύσις ἀνέρων*
> *ἔτικτεν, οὐδὲ μὴν ποτε λάθα κατακοιμάσει*—*Œd. Tyr*, 165.

The evils thus entailed upon France by untoward circumstances, as well as the mischief arising from imperfect development of the elements of the State at the proper period, England fortunately has hitherto escaped. The resistance of the barons to the kings of the Norman race connected them with their inferiors, whose cause for the time was also their own. The

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struggle against a superior power, which threatened both, created an union of interests most favourable for the future prosperity of the nation. The old nobility were rapidly intermixed with the wealthier commoners, who, from time to time, infused new blood and vigour into the body, which would otherwise have decayed. Besides, the large accumulation of territory in the hands of the nobles tended to render them the wealthiest portion of the community, at the same time that it connected them more closely with the classes below them. From these and similar causes, matters were so prepared for the gradual subversion of the old ascendancy of blood, that it is extremely difficult accurately to trace the steps by which it was effected. The change, rarely indeed attended with much hazard in itself, was more easily, because more naturally, made in England, than has been usually the case elsewhere. The distinction between the orders had become evanescent before their perfect junction. It is the characteristic of this stage in the progress of society, that it occurs not violently, but by gradual approaches. Each year tends to lead men towards it; for the virtual ascendancy which birth confers on the possessors of it in the infancy of society rapidly becomes a mere delusive appearance, as antagonist elements of power come into being. In our own country everything contributed to aid this natural tendency towards a gradual transmutation of the forms, as well as the realities, of political power. By slow degrees the preparations for the coming change had been made, by the efforts of the nobles to reduce the power of the Crown on the one hand, and by the repeated attempts of the Crown to lessen the overbearing influence of the feudal barons on the other. Each, in its turn, was compelled to court the favour of the commons, who were insensibly growing in importance as they increased in wealth, and thus to raise them by degrees to a higher elevation in the State. Nor were the civil wars of the Roses without their utility in this view; although, if they had occurred at a later period, they might, and probably would, have been utterly destructive of our prosperity. But at the period during which they raged, checks were requisite to restrain the threatening predominance of noble blood, for the feudal institutions were yet vigorous. It is during these commotions that we first get a clear view of the increasing power of the commonalty, who were the actual and working instruments by which every change was wrought in that eventful time. Externally indeed, and to the superficial observer, it appears but a repetition of the old contest between territorial lords, who brought their vassals into the field to fight blindly on their behalf; but a closer inspection of the character of the age shows how mis-

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taken is this view. Warwick was powerful, not from his possessions, but from his popularity, gained as this was by his virtue and noble disposition, as well as by his endeavours on behalf of the people, to redress their wrongs and secure them from oppression. For wealth was then but a dumb instrument in the hands of others; it was learning to act, when the occasion called for it to exert itself—not wasting its energies in fruitless wars of words, but in silence collecting its forces for the emergency. But, at the same time, the men of wealth were becoming closely connected, by most intimate ties, with the men of birth, and in some points amalgamated with them by insensible gradations, from the highest to the inferior conditions of men. Hence the intrinsic mildness of the revolution; for, when it came, it found its work already done, and the nation entirely extricated in reality, as it now became in form, from influences, which, in its infancy, had been aids, but would now have been impediments to its progress. The gradual amalgamation of the orders of which we speak had been greatly forwarded by the absence of foreign war during the peaceful reigns of the Tudors and the first James. The careful parsimonious policy of Elizabeth assisted to depress that martial spirit, which has usually been the chief support of the old nobility, and consequently has principally kept back the advance of civilization, by checking the development of the natural influence of wealth. During her reign, and that of her successor, time and opportunity were afforded for the knitting together and binding into a compact active body, the possessors of all interests which rested on other foundations than that of noble birth, while they also became connected by a community of habits and feelings with the hereditary aristocracy. The effect of the civil war and the revolution combined was but to consolidate the work already performed. Cromwell's mission, so to speak, was practically to assert that the day had arrived when the aristocracy of blood had become but a form, a mere delusive appearance, and, therefore, must be done away. That which had been a reality, had become a phantasm only, and must, therefore, give place to other things now become realities. It is strange that party spirit should still prevent a calm consideration of this period of our history, and a candid acknowledgment that a work was then to be done in England, and that on the whole it was well done. The power of the commonalty, as distinguished on the one hand from the nobility, and on the other from the masses as yet not come into active operation, had to be consolidated, and fixed on a firm and lasting basis, and thus much was clearly effected. This was the great end to which all our civil commotions tended; and they are to be judged accord-

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ing to the modes in which this necessary work was done. If it was ill done—if the natural course of events was checked—if, indeed, it was not materially assisted—the whole struggle was a failure, and a grand social error, if not a crime. But if well—if the result of the contest has been to deprive birth of the pre-eminence it had previously enjoyed, and enjoyed with advantage to the entire community, and to consolidate power in that portion of the State which had become the most important—to do away with forms, into which, by the progress of events, old realities had shrunk—and to establish firmly and indisputably, that what was actually then a reality should be taken and held by all men as such; that as wealth was become practically the source of social importance, and the main instrument by which the general progress of society was regulated and promoted, it should be recognized as the rightfully dominant power—then the contest undoubtedly was successful, for it effected the good which it was intended to do, and finished the work which then required consolidation and perfection. And this it is maintained was done.

The termination of this struggle, which left William seated on the throne, found the monarchy limited, the power of the nobility curtailed, and the representatives of the people the actual depositaries of all sovereignty; and yet these various interests amicably combining for the general government, and harmoniously blended into a working political body, with unimpaired energies, and preserving that portion of each which was adapted for the altered state of things.

This portion of our history is most particularly deserving of the closest attention, more especially in reference to our present condition, and the probable results of the change now going on among us. For it may safely be affirmed to be an invariable rule, that according as the earlier changes in a State have been managed with a greater or less degree of felicity, the struggles which it subsequently enters upon will be more or less hazardous; just as the manner in which the individual man has passed his infancy and boyhood will decide the character of his mature age. Each stage, in its progress, forms a preparation for that which succeeds; so that mistakes and errors, committed at any period, invariably make themselves felt in their consequences, even more fatally than at the exact period of their occurrence. The philosophical reflection of Wordsworth on the life of man is equally applicable to nations:—

> "The child is father of the man,
> And I could wish my days to be
> Bound each to each by natural piety."

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To the imperfect amalgamation of the two orders, from the too absolute preponderance of the principle of wealth to which the previously altogether exclusive character of the nobility powerfully contributed, may reasonably be ascribed the miseries and commotions of the later period of the Roman republic. And while at Athens a more perfect fusion of the political elements led to a happier result, a parallel to Rome may yet be found in those other Grecian states, whose ferocious internecine contentions are pictured so clearly in the pages of Thucydides, and give such a present interest to his history: for the period of which he wrote corresponds to the present stage of our social progress. The various States of Greece were at that time agitated by the same political feelings as now prevail among ourselves for they had reached the same condition. Wealth, having, in the majority of cases far too completely, subverted the old ascendancy of birth, was undergoing the attacks of numbers, and the issue of the struggle was decided by the preceding history of each individual community. Wherever there had existed no broad line of demarcation between the inhabitants of the same States—where the distinctions necessary in the outset of civilization had been softened down by timely concessions, there the contest was mild; and when the struggle was ended, the nation again started on a fresh career with renewed strength and additional energy. But if, by unfavourable circumstances, the full development of the State had been prevented, and no fusion of the separate classes had taken place, but men's minds were embittered against their opponents as against the deadliest enemies—in that case, whichever party was victorious, the consequences were equally horrible.

But a remarkable difference is observable. On the one hand, wherever the aristocracy prevailed in such a struggle—that is, wherever the community went back, instead of advancing, the government became a narrow oppressive oligarchy, preserving none of the features which had once rendered it useful. It was not a restoration of the old ascendancy of blood, for that was impossible; but a concentration of power in the hands of a wealthy few, whose resources formed their strength. Such a government will not materially differ, either in its effects, or in the methods which it adopts for the preservation of its power, from a despotism. Selfishness, and carelessness of the welfare of all its subjects, are the characteristics of both forms of rule; but more permanently displayed, and with less liability to mitigation from foreign causes, in an oligarchy. Under such a government, then, the State, once repressed in its struggles for freedom, reposed in torpid apathy—subdued in spirit, and incapable

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of putting forth its strength; for its larger and more important portion was virtually destroyed. On the contrary, the triumph of the democratic party gave fresh life to the political body, infused new energies at the critical period when the old influences were losing strength, and, travelling on the course marked out by nature herself, displayed at every step the fruits of civilization and perfect development. Let not this be misunderstood—the accession of numbers to power is most dangerous, before the proper period has arrived for that event. To hasten it is, perhaps, even more dangerous than to retard it. What is here insisted upon is this, that there is a stage in the progress of nations when their healthy growth imperatively demands the full, though gradual, development of all the elements of which they consist; that changes must come, each tending to a further enlargement of the circle within which power is confined, until, eventually, it either is not confined at all, or (what, perhaps, is a more favourable development) is exercised by its possessors, not for the advantage of a limited sphere, but with a view to the good of the whole—in other words, until the multitude become the principal object, and the welfare of the people at large the primary aim of all government; so that, though not actually, yet virtually, the principle of numbers is in all things the ruling principle. For, in fact, it is not a question whether power shall be communicated (for communicated either really or potentially it must be), but the only legitimate dispute is, as to the most advisable mode, and the best preparations to be made against the coming of the event. We may differ as to the time which we would select for any alteration of the nature here spoken of, but we must blindly close our eyes to all the lessons of history, both of ancient and of modern times, if we refuse to acknowledge that it is inevitable. Such was the condition, we have said, of Greece in the time of Thucydides, and such is the present condition of England. The change is evidently drawing near its final crisis, which has been gradually going on—at some periods almost imperceptibly, at other times with a more sensible movement—ever since the Revolution of 1688. That event has been before described as the establishment of a new supreme authority in place of the old nobility, and its necessary consequence in modern Europe, a feudal monarchy. From that period, therefore, a new aristocracy has prevailed in England, and the House of Commons has continually been an anti-popular party—to use the phrase in no offensive meaning, but only in its literal import. That assembly forms a perfect representation of the wealth of the country, but not of its numbers. The reforming body of the seventeenth century, in the

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natural order of things, became the Conservative body of the eighteenth. From an innovation it had become an establishment, and interested in preserving its supremacy; the old idea had become a reality, and has so continued even to our days, and will continue for some time to come. Nevertheless, as in reference to the old feudal nobility, it is a popular and even a democratic institution; so, as regards the multitude, now and ever rapidly increasing in numbers and intelligence, it is essentially an aristocratic body. The representative of the body of the nation, and, still more, the body of possessors of that property at large, in overthrowing the ascendancy of the old nobility, has become blended with and hardly distinguishable in substance from it; while it has continually more and more separated itself from the mass of which it formerly constituted the most important, because most energetic and influential portion. It is an inseparable attribute of wealth to become perpetually more compact and exclusive—to form a more decisive line of demarcation round its owners than belongs to birth, and thus to increase daily the odium which necessarily attaches to them. The contest, therefore, between this principle and that of numbers, is the direct opposite to the struggles to which society is subject in the earlier stages of its existence; for it will be evident that it cannot arise until the state of things by which it is occasioned has continued for some length of time. The distinction conferred by birth is at the first a real distinction. The nobles of a young state are also its best and most capable men, but this difference is perpetually diminishing, and men, as able, as intelligent, and possessed of a more active source of importance, rise without the limits of nobility; and as society advances, the differences gradually become imperceptible. Therefore, when the privileges exclusively conceded to high birth are surrendered, it is because they are virtually already extinct, and become the merest shadow of the former reality. But with the pre-eminence of property the case is widely different. The wealthy have originally formed one body with the multitude—have, in fact, been the active part of the people, and have become distinguished from the mass only by the possession of property. But the distinction thus created must grow continually wider and more marked, as the natural tendency of wealth to accumulate in a few hands makes itself more felt, until at length the whole community is divided into the great antagonist bodies of rich and poor. The breach between these widens continually, and as each draws itself into a more compact form, new prejudices are generated and old ones confirmed; while, by the same process, mutual hostility is render-

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ed more deadly. The conflict of opposed interests, the absence of any connecting links, the obvious exclusion of one party from the ranks of the other, the almost inevitable ostentation—at any rate, the palpable superiority which property causes in its possessors—all these, with many other characteristics of the same nature, combine to excite men's minds to the most dangerous heights of party animosity. When to this is added the intrinsic miseries which poverty entails—the tortures of hunger, the pains of cold—all the merely physical inflictions which the poor man must endure, and from which there can be no change for the worse, but which any alteration must alleviate, there is nothing wonderful that the hatred for the possessors of opulence becomes fearfully intense; and that when the difference we speak of has reached its limit, the struggle is fatal to the weakest. In a trial of purely physical strength numbers must prevail, when properly organized and rightly set in motion; and want and hunger are shrewd masters of discipline in their way.

The conviction that England is now, as she has been for the last century and a half, engaged in this struggle, gradually increasing in earnestness and intensity as the crisis approaches nearer, has naturally set thinking men to the task of considering the phenomena presented by the existing state of things, with a view to devise schemes by which the threatening danger may be averted. Men of reflection, the lookers-on at the great political game, who see deeper than the mere ephemeral contests of petty factions, recognize beneath the surface the working out of a great principle in the natural law of civilization, and seek for the means of directing its energies to the common advantage. That the transition is most dangerous, has been already insisted upon; that it will not be fatal, is our earnest hope, as well as our belief, for the reasons already partially developed, but to be more fully explained. Meanwhile the thoughtful, the intelligent—those who cast their vision beyond the present, and seek from the past to obtain some insight into the future, by their speculations lead all of us to a consideration of our condition, from which, if carried on in an honest and vigorous spirit, nothing but good can result.

One of the most remarkable among the productions of this class is the work which is placed at the beginning of this article, Mr. Carlyle's "Past and Present," and to which these long preliminary remarks are a preface, which, it is trusted, will make the commentary shorter and more clear. The book itself, in its general character, is like all Mr. Carlyle's works—mystical, but conveying great meaning beneath its mysteriousness; full of new truths, or of old well-acknowledged almost truisms, placed

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in a novel and striking light, occasionally, perhaps, with too much parade; startling from its earnestness, frequently from its depth, with the impress on every page of the sincerity of the writer; full of propositions, forcibly, nay, unanswerably put, but leaving the reader altogether dissatisfied with the conclusions drawn from them. The work is more valuable for what it suggests, than for what it contains. Mr. Carlyle always seems to be about to hit the mark, which, from some perverseness, eludes his endeavours; always on the point of boldly enunciating some great broad rule of action clear and possible to all men, but still the same vague generalities occur, as if the writer saw his way but indistinctly. How much of this indistinctness is derived from the subject, how much is the fault of the author, must for the most part be left to the candid judgment of every individual. That there is a way by which we may be extricated from the doubts and difficulties which surround us, and of which so striking a picture is here presented for our careful consideration, it is the object of these remarks to maintain; and it is hoped that the result of a perusal of them may inspire a feeling of confidence, instead of the dim, uncertain sentiment of fear and doubt which Mr. Carlyle's book itself is calculated to produce.

Of the author's style, on which so much has been said and written, we will say nothing, further than to make the remark, that his mode of expression has become effectually interwoven with his manner of thought, so that the faults of the latter are, for the most part, occasioned by the quaint, unusual forms in which the meaning is conveyed. Hence not infrequently we meet here, as in all Mr. Carlyle's writings, with long elaborate passages, full of the most vivid picture-writing, and characterized by vigour of imagination; but, when examined, containing no novelty of thought. Old common-places, which are in the mouth of every one, thus are made to assume an appearance of originality, so as perhaps to deceive the writer himself, who certainly does not seem aware that a majority of his opinions on men and things are by no means in advance of the age, but are already the common property of a great number of the intellectual and intelligent of his countrymen. His chief merit consists in the forcible, earnest language in which they are reproduced, and in the abundance of glowing images with which they are stamped on the reader's mind. As we said, his writings are suggestive, and for this reason are, perhaps, in their peculiar way, more valuable than if more original, or more exhaustive of the subject with which they deal. The evident sincerity of the author, however, adds weight to truths, even when hackneyed; for the earnestness of a faithful man (and such Mr. Carlyle most especially is) will always have its effect, even upon the slowest

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minds. It communicates some portion of its heat and vigour to everything with which it comes in contact, exciting other men to some degree of thought and practical energy. Hence it happens that the labours of such a man produce ultimate effect in the spirit roused in others by his enthusiastic activity, of far more importance, and more universally beneficial, than the immediate consequences of the doctrines and sentiments which he enunciates. These may, or may not, be good in themselves, but the healthful excitement produced by the sincere dissemination of them by a strong-minded, intelligent, thinking lover of truth, cannot but be of the greatest advantage to all within his sphere. The impulse thus originated is communicated thence to a larger circle, still increasing in extent, in which every mind feels the energy imparted from the centre, in an increased simplicity and sincerity of thought and purpose; and the community at large in the unfailing benefit which must result from the occupation of its most noble intellects, in the cause of sound and clear-sighted reasoning, of charity, and of truth.

The present work is as singular in its matter and arrangement, as in its mode of treating the subject. The volume is divided into four books, with the first and the two last of which we have here particularly to deal; for they contain the author's views of the *Present*—of the existing condition of England, and its prospects for the future. The other book, which treats of the *Past*, is certainly by far the most admirable, as well as most attractive portion of the work. In form, it is in reality a "review article" on the chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, a small quarto, published a short time since by the Camden Society, and in itself a most amusing account of the daily monkish life of the twelfth century, and valuable from its Boswellian gossip, but of no deeper intrinsic interest; and with these slender materials Mr. Carlyle has constructed a most vivid and genial picture of the period, developing the earnest religionism and sincerity of the antique monk, to the want of which qualities he imputes much of our present decayed condition, both in our public and our private concerns. All that could be said of this portion of the work would but detract from its merits, nor would it approach our admiration of the warmth of imagination and kindly poetical feeling with which it is conceived and executed. The whole representation is given so completely in the spirit of the past, and with such vigour of vivid and picturesque eloquence, that the characters become familiar persons, among whom we seem to have lived and eaten daily. The practical lesson which is proposed to be drawn from it seems to be, that by our increasing insensibility to feelings of reverence, and devotedness to what is styled the "practical," we have lost the faculty of appreciating

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manfulness and truth, and with it the benefits of having those who possess those qualities among us—are the victims of quackery and insincerity of all kinds, and incapable either ourselves of becoming earnest in thought or act, or of discovering and elevating to their right station those who are. In Mr. Carlyle's phrase, "we do our hero-worship badly;" or, in Scripture language, "we have both made and loved a lie." The existence of this plague-spot, this want of all high morality and sincere religion, we leave to Mr. Carlyle to demonstrate; our present business is with the nation, in the aggregate, leaving the mental improvement of individuals to be considered in detail by others, except so far as the subject will necessarily force itself into all speculations on national prosperity, if these are conducted in a proper spirit. If the parts are sound, the whole will be sound also. But, for the present purpose, general effects and principles, which deal with men in their collective capacity, are alone required. But we cannot resist transcribing a most vigorous and characteristic passage, in which the author's talent for vivid description is conspicuous, to give some taste of the nature of this singular effusion of genius and true poetry. The following requires no introduction:—

"These clear eyes of neighbour Jocelin looked on the bodily presence of King John; the very John *Sansterre*, or Lackland, who signed *Magna Charta* afterwards in Runnymede. Lackland, with a great retinue, boarded once, for the matter of a fortnight, in St. Edmundsbury Convent; daily in the very eyesight, palpable to the very fingers of our Jocelin. O Jocelin, what did he say, what did he do; how looked he, lived he; at the very lowest, what coat or breeches had he on? Jocelin is obstinately silent. Jocelin marks down what interests *him*; entirely deaf to *us*. With Jocelin's eyes we discern almost nothing of John Lackland. As through a glass darkly, we with our own eyes and appliances, intensely looking, discern at most a blustering, dissipated, human figure, with a kind of blackguard quality air, in cramoisy velvet, or other uncertain texture, uncertain cut, with much plumage and fringing, amid numerous other human figures of the like, riding abroad with hawks, talking noisy nonsense; tearing out the bowels of St. Edmundsbury Convent (its larders, namely, and cellars) in the most ruinous way, by living at rack and manger there. Jocelin notes only, with a slight subacidity of manner, that the King's Majesty, *Dominus Rex*, did leave, as gift for our St. Edmund shrine, a handsome enough silk cloak—or rather pretended to leave, for one of his retinue borrowed it of us, and *we* never got sight of it again; and, on the whole, that the *Dominus Rex*, at departing, gave us 'thirteen *sterlingii*,' one shilling and one penny, to say a mass for him; and so departed—like a shabby Lackland as he was! 'Thirteen pence sterling,' this was what the Convent got from Lackland, for all the victuals he and his had made away with. We of course said our mass for him, having

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covenanted to do it, but let impartial posterity judge with what degree of fervour!

"And in this manner vanishes King Lackland; traverses swiftly our strange intermittent magic-mirror, jingling the shabby thirteenpence merely; and rides with his hawks into Egyptian night again. It is Jocelin's manner with all things; and it is men's manner and men's necessity. How intermittent is our good Jocelin; marking down, without eye to *us*, what *he* finds interesting! How much in Jocelin, as in all history, and indeed in all nature, is at once inscrutable and certain; so dim, yet so indubitable; exciting us to endless considerations. For King Lackland *was* there, verily he; and did leave these *tredecim sterlingii*, if nothing more; and did live and look in one way or the other, and a whole world was living and looking along with him! There, we say, is the grand peculiarity—the immeasurable one; distinguishing, to a really infinite degree, the poorest historical fact from all fiction whatsoever. Fiction, 'imagination,' 'imaginative poetry,' &c., &c., except as the vehicle for truth, or *fact* of some sort—which surely a man should first try various other ways of vehiculating and conveying safe—what is it? Let the Minerva and other presses respond." (p. 60).

The remainder of the work to which this small publication has given birth, and its prevailing tone, it is intended to examine with more attention. The general drift of the larger portion, as well as it may be gathered from beneath a deal of mysticism and repetition, seems in substance to be the development, in forcible poetical language, of the view which we have taken of the present condition of England, and endeavoured to express in humble prose.

That there is no exaggeration in the picture of misery here given, or of the consequences, most appalling in their dim uncertainty to which it threatens to give birth, may and must be conceded; but it is maintained with more certainty than Mr. Carlyle appears to feel, that the wretchedness may be ultimately alleviated, and the fearful results prevented. The "Mammonism" against which he inveighs with so much vigour and truth is but a passing accident—the necessary imperfection of that stage at which we have arrived in our progress, and which already bears upon it the signs of decay. "Now that which decayeth, and waxeth old (says the apostle), is ready to vanish away." The same fate which has fallen upon the ascendancy of birth awaits the aristocracy of wealth; and a far higher and inconceivably nobler influence than either—the power of intelligence—will eventually prevail. The principle of wealth, typified by our author under the singular personification of "Plugson of Undershot," cannot exist much longer as the main support of our destinies, but feelings of another and more spiritualized nature must quickly supplant the love of making money at all hazards, or England totters to her fall. The whole argument,

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as we take it, is but an enunciation of the fact which we have before insisted upon—that if the principles of numbers and of property come to a contest of strength, the struggle will be fatal.

A multitude of phenomena attendant on this movement are truly and eloquently stated and reasoned upon by Mr. Carlyle; but they all may be considered to arise more or less remotely from it. They furnish, in fact, the moral gauge, by which its progress and character may be ascertained. The greater number of the causes for apprehension given in these pages appear, in our view, but the inevitable accessories of the social condition to which we have now arrived in the progress of our civilization, more or less modified by peculiar circumstances. Thus, to take one instance among many of a like character, the discovery and improvement of machinery must, of course, powerfully affect the peculiar direction in which our energies are to be farther developed, and the general appearance of their external demonstration. But it is substantially the same principle at bottom—the same problem to be solved which all nations, in all ages of the world, have met with and stumbled at; to be eventually got over with more or less success. The wealth of England is greater—its poverty more wretched. There is a wider space between the extremes with us than with others: the means of comparison are more obvious—the result more startling. On the one hand is luxury in the height—all the external splendour of opulence; on the other with equal force is shown the lowest depths of misery. The opposition between the contending interests is frightful to consider; and, therefore, in this point of view, our prospects are more full of terror and of danger than has fallen to the lot of other communities. Still, however, it is the same struggle between rich and poor, between wealth and numbers, which all societies of men must at some period undergo. History, it is true, can furnish us with no precedent exactly in point, for no community has been placed in precisely the same situation, with the same influences at work. The many causes which have contributed to form our national greatness, and to swell our resources and enlarge our empire to an unparalleled extent, make the peculiar phasis of our political condition without a parallel also. But it is consolatory to remember, that the state in which we now are is nothing uncommon or unusual, but only a stage in our progress—dangerous indeed, as has often been said, in itself, but familiar in its general phenomena to every student of history.

Similar reflections arise on a perusal of the strong invectives in these pages against the hollowness, the insincerity, and cant which abound amongst us. They are the outward signs of the

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changes operating within—the visible indications of a state of things passing away. Frivolities, unreal pretensions, and general want of truth in the religious world, were the precursors, but not the causes, of the Reformation. So with us at the present juncture, the pre-eminence which money gives it fast approaching its decay, for it has lasted its time, and done its work among us. A nobler principle is about to succeed. The old reality is become a "sham," a phantastic resemblance of what it once actually was; and all that depends upon it alone for support is rapidly becoming unreal too. Meanwhile, the power, thus sunk into its dotage, and hastening visibly to its disappearance, is putting forth its utmost strength to preserve itself from destruction, and, as the solid bank slips away from its grasp, snatches at floating weeds and straws. Or, to speak in plain terms, the mere man of money has discovered, or is going through the pain of now discovering, that the power and influence which property alone formerly conferred, and conferred with justice, are rapidly disappearing; that he must become something more than the mere animal possessor of so many thousands, if he would save himself from perishing. But he who has not the wisdom to make this discovery still fondly imagines that the semblance will now do as much for him as the substance once did, and that if he only make show enough, that is all that is necessary; and is followed by others as foolish and unthinking as himself.

Not to continue these remarks, which perhaps savour of the mysticism we complain of in Mr. Carlyle, it may be asserted that the cant and humbug now so generally prevalent are the necessary scum thrown up to the surface by the agitation fermenting below, and are therefore no farther to be dreaded than as certain signals of the approaching danger. They will fade as soon as the state of things out of which they spring begins to be settled, and will gradually vanish as the body political returns to a sound state. To vary the figure, they are eruptions brought out upon the skin by the action of the medicine, under which the patient is now labouring, and which alone can effectually reinstate him in vigour and health.

Our perils, then, must be looked calmly in the face. Nothing is gained by understating their amount or their magnitude, but much by clearly estimating their weight and investigating their nature. By such examination alone can we attain to even any possible chance of safety. Our danger then, we repeat, is the advance of the element of numbers into importance, showing itself, however, in a different manner than the mere demand of participation in political power. It is not in this form of it that the movement in question is most peril-

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ous, but in other far more important ways which escape sight. Our mobs, in these modern times, demand universal suffrage and the other "points;" but hardly one in a thousand knows what he is shouting for. Such demands as these are only the vague and audible expression of a want, whose exact nature the unhappy sufferers are unable to discover, which they feel alas! too keenly, yet cannot understand. Let us hear the remarks of Mr. Carlyle on this point:—

"A million of hungry operative men, as Blusterowski says, rose all up, came all out into the streets, and—stood there. What other could they do? Their wrongs and griefs were bitter, insupportable, their rage against the same was just: but who are they that cause these wrongs, who that will honestly make effort to redress them? Our enemies are we know not who or what; our friends are we know not where! How shall we attack any one—shoot or be shot by any one? O, if the accursed invisible nightmare, that is crushing out the life of us and ours, would take a shape; approach us like the Hyrcanian tiger, the Behemoth of Chaos, the archfiend himself; in any shape that we could see and fasten on! A man can have himself shot with cheerfulness; but it needs first that he see clearly for what. Show him the divine face of justice, then the diabolic monster which is eclipsing that: he will fly at the throat of such monster, never so monstrous, and need no bidding to do it. Woolwich grapeshot will sweep clear all streets, blast into invisibility so many thousand men; but if your Woolwich grapeshot be but eclipsing divine justice, and the God's-radiance itself gleam recognizable athwart such grapeshot—then, yes, then is the time come for fighting and attacking. All artillery-parks have become weak, and are about to dissipate: in the God's-thunder their poor thunder slackens, ceases; finding that it is, in all senses of the term, a *brute* one!

"That the Manchester insurrection stood still, on the streets, with an indisposition to fire and bloodshed, was wisdom for it even as an insurrection. Insurrection, never so necessary, is a most sad necessity; and governors who wait for that to instruct them, are surely getting into the fatallest courses—proving themselves sons of Nox and Chaos, of blind Cowardice, not of seeing Valour! How can there be any remedy in insurrection? It is a mere announcement of the disease—visible now even to sons of Night. Insurrection usually 'gains' little; usually wastes how much! One of its worst kinds of waste, to say nothing of the rest, is that of irritating and exasperating men against each other, by violence done; which is always sure to be injustice done, for violence does even justice unjustly." (p. 20).

And again:—

"An insurrection that can announce the disease, and then retire with no such balance account opened anywhere, has attained the highest success possible for it. And this was what these poor Manchester operatives, with all the darkness that was in them and round them, did manage to perform. They put their huge inarticulate question,

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'What do you mean to do with us?' in a manner audible to every reflective soul in this kingdom; exciting deep pity in all good men—deep anxiety in all men whatever; and no conflagration or outburst of madness came to cloud that feeling anywhere, but everywhere it operates unclouded. All England heard the question: it is the first practical form of *our* sphinx-riddle. England will answer it; or, on the whole, England will perish;—one does not yet expect the latter result!" (p. 22).

For a fuller exposition of the dangers impending over us, describing much (with some degree of exaggeration withal), but suggesting more, and that the most important part, we refer to the work itself, the effect of which would be spoiled by extracts, for they must fail to give the reader any conception of the general views and circumstances of the whole. Assuming the existence of these perils to be acknowledged, let us turn to the remedies for the evil—to the future instead of the present. In what do we trust for safety? What anchor shall hold the vessel through the storm in which so many have already been wrecked? It has been the object of the introductory remarks to show that England has arrived at her present stage through a more happy course than has fallen to the lot of other nations. Her history has hitherto been a tale of noble progress, of gradual development of energy, according to the natural order of social advancement. There have been no premature outbreaks of unmatured strength, to be followed by periods of counterbalancing weakness, nor any lengthened duration of the enervating influence of oppression, whether of few or of one. We have endeavoured to prove that the events of her earlier history tended to the amalgamation of the various orders of the State, as they successively rose into political importance, into one compact and harmonious whole, fostering the growth of what has been well regarded as the main-stay of our prosperity—an independent middle class, connected on the one hand with the higher ranks, and on the other with the populace. Although with us the extremes of wealth and poverty exist in a most visible and tangible form, yet the chasm between them is bridged over by the numerous body amongst us who are neither very rich nor very poor. Our earlier observations were partly directed to the establishment of the truth to be discovered from the examination of history—that the peril attending the struggle between these antagonist forces arises from the almost, if not altogether, impassable line of distinction drawn between them, which necessarily becomes continually more decided. If this be so, it needs no reasoning to make it evident, that the existence of an intermediate influence belonging to neither of the extremes, yet in some degree partaking of the

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characters of both, must have the effect of blending them together, and so mitigating the danger of absolute opposition between them. A house divided against itself cannot stand; but if the economy of it be so to regulate the gradation of its members, that from the highest to the lowest there shall be a continued dependence and connection, its prosperity seems secure. So in the wider economy of a nation, an arrangement of orders, by which the inferiors shall be effectually joined to the superiors, each resting on and supporting the other, appears capable of standing in security the shocks to which it must in its progress be exposed. And such a distribution of ranks has been established in England by the gradual progress of events, by which the several classes have become blended insensibly with each other, so that, in a political view, it is hard to distinguish where one terminates and the other begins. In this merely worldly aspect, the immense importance of our clergy can hardly be too highly rated. Other considerations, arising from the existence of such a body amongst us, will afterwards be noticed; at present its temporal influence alone, as forming a bond of union between all classes, demands attention. Springing from all without distinction, from the highest as well as the inferior; by education and manners entitling themselves to rank, as a body, with the very highest; by their professional duties compelled to enter into frequent intercourse with the most wretched; their influence is felt pervading every separate part of our complicated society, healing enmities and mitigating differences. Belonging, at the same time, to all classes, they are comparatively free from the prejudices of any; and their preparation for the active duties imposed upon them by their profession softens down the hard points and prominent characteristics which their birth and nature may have produced. Thus they collectively become a medium of communication, running through all the divisions of society; conveying the general opinions and sentiments of the one part to the other; acting as the interpreter between sections of mankind, which are alien in habits, tastes, and interests; and binding together the conflicting elements into a working, co-operating union. Hence any movement which may occur to throw one branch of the nation into commotion becomes mitigated, and the danger of it is considerably weakened, in the course of its progress through the other orders of the State. Shocks, which might be fatal to an isolated body, are rendered comparatively innocuous by a gradual communication of them to others. If any political excitement agitate the lower classes, it is not suffered to expend its violence on the body in which it arose, generating prejudices and the blind fury of party; but,

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at least under most circumstances, is transmitted to the class more immediately in contact with that which first felt its influence, then to the next above that, and so through all orders, acting upon all slowly and surely. At each stage some portion of the prejudice and unreasoning rage which first accompanied it is laid aside, and men at last are enabled to arrive at a clear view of things, and to think and act upon them with a calmness and a wisdom, which, in the first outbreak of political agitation, is altogether unknown. In this process of transmission the clergy act a most important part, readily and naturally forming, as it were, a connecting chain, by which the shocks to which society is necessarily subject are dispersed, and weakened by dispersion, among the entire mass. A closer relation is thus established between man and man, and the meanest artizan is connected with the sovereign. This is substantially the construction of English society, however false in the present times of disaster the picture may seem to be. Circumstances may for a time tend to render this indissoluble connection, of which we speak, altogether imaginary in appearance, but it is far too firmly established—the practical belief in its existence too deeply fixed in the minds of all, to be permanently destroyed. It lies at the foundation of our social arrangements and laws. To say that it is not universally recognized in fact, but is often overcome by prejudices and party feeling, proves nothing. The main current still flows on, though ripples and eddies seem to be going back, and the general tenor of our manners and constitutional regulations bear convincing testimony to its existence—nay, more, to its real authority and efficacy in the promotion of general good.

More closely allied to these peculiarities of the English nation than at first sight seems to be the case, and related to them as cause and as effect, is the proverbial slowness and reserve of our national character. A natural unreadiness for change, for the mere changing's sake; a loving of that which is old, because it is become habitual, and has seen our growth in prosperity; and a clinging to paternal institutions, are all characteristic of our countrymen. Less addicted than other nations to idle discussions and unseasonable pratings about rights and liberties, they are far more ready to assert what they think worth the assertion, with acts, and the strong practical reasoning of hard blows and strength. Cromwell was in this, as in many other points, a type and personification of their peculiarities. Withal there is a strong feeling of justice implanted, which is, perhaps, the chief principle of action. Englishmen will endure for an incalculable length of time hardships and grievances, which seem to

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them natural and inevitable; but once let them discover that some injustice lurks at the bottom—that, in our forcible Saxon phrase, it is "*unfair*"—and they are roused on the instant to the enforcing of a remedy. To follow out these characteristics through history would consume far too much space; the reader will readily trace its operations at all important junctures. It will here suffice to invite attention to the gradual amalgamation of the orders, and imperceptible development of the constitution which has been above insisted upon. Our author has expressed himself on this matter with great felicity:—

"It is true, the English Legislature, like the English people, is of slow temper; essentially conservative. In our wildest periods of reform, in the Long Parliament itself, you notice always the invincible instinct to hold fast by the old; to admit the *minimum* of new; to expand, if it be possible, some old habit or method, already found fruitful, into new growth for the new need. It is an instinct worthy of all honour; akin to all strength and all wisdom. The future hereby is not dissevered from the past, but based continuously on it; grows with all the vitalities of the past, and is rooted down deep into the beginnings of us. The English Legislature is entirely repugnant to believe in 'new epochs.' The English Legislature does not occupy itself with epochs; has, indeed, other business to do than looking at the time-horologe, and hearing it tick! Nevertheless, new epochs do actually come, and with them new imperious peremptory necessities; so that even an English Legislature has to look up and admit, though with reluctance, that the hour has struck. The hour having struck, let us not say 'impossible:' it will have to be possible!" (p. 359).

True, but the "new epoch" does not come until things have been well prepared against its coming. Great changes are occasionally necessary; but in England they are not wont to be made until the public mind is ready for the alteration—until the general feeling is, that the old things are no longer suited for the existing state of society, and that the time is come for some innovation. Hence there is nothing done suddenly—thrown down, as it were, among men unprepared for it, and left to suit itself to their deeply-rooted habits and modes of thought as it may; but measures are adopted only when the general demand has become imperative. Mr. Carlyle says well and truly, "All great peoples are conservative—slow to believe in novelties; patient of much error in actualities; deeply and for ever certain of the greatness that is in LAW, in custom once solemnly established, and now long recognized as just and final." Much, indeed, of our past prosperity, much of our present greatness, do we owe to this innate slowness of national character, this full submission to the strong power of custom, to which even law itself is subjected, and this reluctance to alter what has been

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tried and found sufficient, if it be only for a time. And to these qualities of our countrymen do we greatly trust for preservation in their future course from the dangers which beset them.

Thus far we have travelled in cordial companionship with Mr. Carlyle, agreeing with the premises he lays down, and for the most part assenting to the conclusions he draws. We now have to discard his society and go forward alone. To drop metaphor, this work, like all the writings of the author, is disfigured by the evident want of practical belief in the great truths of Christianity which it betrays. It is true, he speaks much of religion, but it is somewhat difficult to know what he means by the term; and he bitterly complains that the men of the present generation have fallen into Atheism, but the word certainly does not bear the same sense which is generally attributed to it. The sin of our nation in these days is (what does the reader suppose?) not a disregard of the monitions of the divine Founder of our faith, and a general neglect of our duties as Christians, but a forgetting of the "right inner true," and a taking up with the "outer sham true." But let the writer speak for himself:—

"The secret of gold-Midas, which he with his long ears never could discover, was, that he had offended the supreme powers—that he had parted company with the eternal inner facts of this universe, and followed the transient outward appearances thereof; and so was arrived *there*. Properly it is the secret of all unhappy men and unhappy nations. Had they known nature's right truth, nature's right truth would have made them free. They have become enchanted; stagger spell-bound, reeling on the brink of huge peril, because they were not wise enough. They have forgotten the 'right inner true,' and taken up with the 'outer sham true.' They answer the sphinx's question *wrong*. Foolish men mistake transitory semblance for eternal fact, and go astray more and more." (p. 10).

This passage, if we understand its meaning at all, seems to inculcate a doctrine very nearly allied to the dangerous tenets of Spinoza; but in this case, as in many other instances, it is a matter of considerable difficulty to reduce to any comprehensible form the mystical phrases which Mr. Carlyle pours forth on the subject. As far as it is intelligible, his theory may, we think, be briefly summed up in something like the following manner:—God, who is the soul of the universe (perhaps Mr. Carlyle with the Pantheists would say, the universe itself), is essentially just, and has, therefore, made justice the rule of government of all things in this world. If a thing be just, it is in agreement with the universal spirit, and, therefore, will continue; and its continuance forms the criterion of its justice. All that is right ultimately prevails, and that which in the end prevails is there-

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fore right. All wars are only a trial which side has the greater right, and whichever party at the end of a contest obtains a superiority, has truth upon its side. The entire progress of civilization, of government, and of religion, is the discovery of what is substantially right, together with the adoption of it when found, and the rejection of everything that is not right—that is a "sham" and a false semblance of right. To those, whether individuals or nations, who take up and are content with the semblance, instead of the substance, the nature of things is opposed—they are running counter to a power which must be superior to them, and are therefore doomed to misery. In this condition England now is; she has preferred the appearance to the reality—a mock justice to the eternal immutable justice on which all things rest; has lost sight of truth, and is satisfied with plausibilities, and with this has lost the power of recognizing what is true when seen, and of distinguishing between show and substance, between fact and what appears to be so only. In our author's words—"To speak in the ancient dialect, we have forgotten God; in the most modern dialect, and very truth of the matter, we have taken up the fact of this universe as it *is not*." We confess that to us the ancient phrase appears nearest to the "very truth of the matter," as well as most intelligible.

We have endeavoured to give a concise summary of Mr. Carlyle's doctrines (which yet, we fear, will not be very comprehensible), and it must at once be obvious how like all this sounds to an old heathen's theory of the world and its moral government, even in the form of expression, which reminds the reader of the speculations of Plato. Christianity is throughout lost sight of, or at least is never heartily acknowledged as a saving power, nor are its doctrines referred to as a rule of government. Instead of the simple and beautiful morality of the Gospel, we are presented with vague abstract generalities, which convey little or no practical meaning to the mind, and which, as far as they have any effect, are not quite in accordance with its precepts. It may be, that when Mr. Carlyle speaks of the laws of the universe, and the reality of things, and unveracity, mistakes of fact, and the like, he may mean nothing more by all these symbolic and transcendental phrases than what a plain man is content to call religion and irreligion. If so, we readily acknowledge that we see no improvement in the change, but that we prefer the old simple words. If they mean anything else, then we say that the lofty declamation which they adorn and elevate tends to the worst of materialism. It is not a mere contest of words; for the same habit and tendencies of thought, which lead to the use of these expressions, conduce to a practical neglect

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of Christianity, and therefore, to go no further, to a wilful inattention to the most momentous matters in the enquiry which forms the subject of the book, as well as to the remedies to be devised for the errors and miseries that are brought to light. To men who believe that the great moral gangrene of these days is a general living without God in the world, shown more especially in the characters of our government and legislature—a losing sight of the great and noble end which a Christian State and people should propose to themselves—and a back-sliding into a perilous love of worldly expediency, and a preference of inferior to higher objects, and therefore a narrowness of view and contracted prejudices most alien to the spirit of our religion—to such men it will be but too evident that there is no hope in uncertain complaints about a violation of the eternal laws of the universe, mixed up with prescriptions as to "doing our hero-worship" rightly. Tell men, and make them feel, that they are irreligious in deed, although their words profess full faith; that they have ceased to worship God in all their doings, to endeavour to set forth his glory in this world by their actions; and that, *therefore*, his wrath is come upon them; and there is a chance of your being well understood, and it may be, of producing some practical benefit. But it may be questioned whether there is sufficient vigour of life, in all the varied expressions on which Mr. Carlyle loves to ring the changes, to excite one man, supposing him clearly to comprehend in what his fault consists, to a practical amendment, and a knowledge and correct performance of his duties, as an individual or as a member of society. The arguments which he employs are, for the most part, addressed to the intellect alone; they can make no impression on the feelings; consequently they are nearly useless for the purpose for which they are brought forward. The line of conduct to which they are intended to lead, so far as they are of any worth, is in substance the practice of Christianity; but from other motives than a love of Christianity, and so far, in our view, neither good nor useful. That religion, therefore, to say the least, had some claim to be considered among other matters of less importance. Unfortunately, this spirit, depreciatory of our faith, and tending visibly to worldliness and materialism, is, in our opinion, one of the chief causes of our social errors, as it is in itself the greatest of errors. In this point of view, therefore, Mr. Carlyle's writings seem to lead to the increase of the evils against which they are, with all earnestness, directed. They indirectly tend to the rousing up of a material, and somewhat irreligious habit of thought and action, by the perseverance they evince in keeping out of sight the fact, that Christianity is and must be the most

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important agent in the movements of modern society, since, in fact, on the practical observance or neglect of it our well-being must in the end altogether depend. This we take to be the great fault of all this writer's views, which, to take the lowest and most worldly ground, renders them incomplete, and detracts inconceivably from their value. In a discussion on the highest of all temporal subjects—man's general well-being and happiness—a principal element in it is disregarded; or, if attended to at all, is treated as an inferior matter of altogether minor importance, and this apparently from conviction. In fact, the writer seems to consider the practice of Christianity as utterly unimportant for the welfare of a nation, except so far as it may be comprehended under his notion of religion and worship; to which words he appears to attach some new meaning very different from the usually received sense in which they are commonly taken. To the peculiar doctrines of our faith no practical weight is assigned, simply because the writer conceives that in reality they have none. Hence, to our thinking, and we hope to the majority of intelligent men in England, results an incompleteness, and want of confidence in the conclusions which he draws, as well as a weakness in the general tenor of his reasoning, which is most unsatisfactory. He most unnecessarily entangles himself in the confusion and circle of argument which puzzled the moral philosophers of ancient times, but to which we had thought revelation had put an end for ever. To follow this further would lead into discussions, which in this place it is desirable to avoid. For the same reason, the higher ground which might have been taken has been purposely avoided: our object has been simply to draw attention to an incurable defect in the general construction and character of the work, carefully endeavouring not to trench on any purely religious ground.

It will be easily conceived that, entertaining as he does these views on the subject of Christianity in general, our author feels but little respect for the established body, to whom religion in this country more peculiarly belongs. He consequently assigns little or no part to the Church in the great drama now going on in this country, and deliberately puts out of his view the great influence a society constituted as it is must of necessity have on all who come within the sphere of its practical working. We have already spoken of the clergy as forming a bond of union between all classes, which may be styled their mechanical and accidental operation; but what is now referred to is more nearly allied to their essential character as a body. Still, purposely avoiding any points which may tend to religious discussions on questions of faith or discipline, and keeping to the lower ground

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of secular politics, it is believed that to the efficient working of the clergy, far more than to any of the causes already mentioned, our preservation through the threatening crisis of our national existence, if we are preserved at all, will be owing. The Church, as constituted amongst us, forms a social element unknown among the nations to whose history we are accustomed to look for examples, and is a more powerful instrument for civilization and improvement than the unassisted wit of man could have devised. And it is most observable that Mr. Carlyle's plans and wishes for our social amelioration centre, for the most part, on institutions hereafter to be established, similar in their general character to the clerical body as at present existing among us—a fact which he appears to have altogether overlooked. Occasionally, indeed, he appears to have some glimpses of the reality of the thing itself, some feeling that the Church is not a dim abstraction only, "the luminous phantom of a body," but an active working community, employed in the noblest of efforts, the endeavour to ameliorate the well-being of mankind. Few passages in the present work exceed in eloquence and impressiveness the following sentences:—

"Aristocracy and priesthood, a governing class and a teaching class: these two, sometimes separate, and endeavouring to harmonize themselves, sometimes conjoined as one, and the king a pontiff-king: there did no society exist without these two vital elements, there will none exist. It lies in the very nature of man: you will visit no remotest village in the most republican country of the world, where virtually or actually you do not find these two powers at work. Man, little as he may suppose it, is necessitated to obey superiors. He is a social being in virtue of this necessity; nay, he could not be gregarious otherwise. He obeys those whom he esteems better than himself, wiser, braver; and will for ever obey such, and even be ready and delighted to do it.

"The wiser, braver: these, a virtual aristocracy everywhere and everywhen, do, in all societies that reach any articulate shape, develope themselves into a ruling class, an actual aristocracy, with settled modes of operating, what are called laws, and even *private laws*, or privileges, and so forth; very notable to look upon in this world. Aristocracy and priesthood, we say, are sometimes united. For indeed the wiser and the braver are properly but one class; no wise man but needed first of all to be a brave man, or he never had been wise. The noble priest was always a noble *aristos* to begin with, and something more to end with. Your Luther, your Knox, your Anselm, Becket, Abbot Samson, Samuel Johnson—if they had not been brave enough, by what possibility could they have ever been wise? If, from accident or forethought, this your actual aristocracy have got discriminated into two classes, there can be no doubt but the priest class is the more dignified—supreme over the other, as governing head is over active head. And yet in practice, again, it is likeliest the reverse will be found arranged;

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a sign that the arrangement is already vitiated; that a split is introduced into it, which will widen and widen until the whole be rent asunder.

"In England, in Europe generally, we may say that these two virtualities have unfolded themselves into actualities, in by far the noblest and richest manner any region of the world ever saw. A spiritual guideship, a practical governorship, fruit of the grand conscious endeavours, say rather of the immeasurable unconscious instincts and necessities of men, have established themselves; very strange to behold. Everywhere, while so much has been forgotten, you find the king's palace, and the vice-king's castle, mansion, manor-house; till there is not an inch of ground from sea to sea but has both its king and vice-king, long due series of vice-kings—its squire, earl, duke, or whatever the title of him, to whom you have given the land that he may govern you in it.

"More touching still, there is not a hamlet where poor persons congregate, but by one means and another a Church apparatus has been got together; roofed edifice, with revenue and belfries; pulpit, reading-desk, with books and methods: possibility, in short, and strict prescription, that a man stand there and speak of spiritual things to men. It is beautiful; even in its great obscuration and decadence, it is among the beautifulest, most touching objects one sees on the earth." (p. 324).

This is most striking and true; but it is strange that Mr. Carlyle should shrink from the consequences of the principles he here adopts, and refuse to acknowledge the full capabilities of the "Church apparatus," which "has been got together in every part throughout the length and breadth of England." It is most singular that it had not occurred to him, when insisting upon the necessity of "teaching service" to effect the "organization of labour," now imperatively required, that such a science was already established, and actually employed more or less actively in every quarter round him. Possessing combination and effective discipline, with means of training almost unequalled, it at present is indeed weak in comparison to what it might be made, were these sources of strength properly employed. The arranging, commanding, and regimenting, for which our author feels so much deserved admiration in an army, and which he most truly observes is most potent and effectual for all work whatsoever, is not to be found there alone. We cannot sufficiently wonder at the perverseness of a man who thinks and observes, and yet can in broad England see but "one institution" which "does its work"—can say "an effective teaching service there must be; some education secretary, captain-general of teachers, who will actually contrive to get us taught," and forget that the thing which he requires is already made to his hand, with full capabilities of performing the duties demanded

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of it—can exclaim, "O, heavens! if we saw an army ninety thousand strong, maintained and fully equipped, in continual real action and battle against human starvation, against chaos, necessity, stupidity, and our real natural enemies, what a business were it;" and not be able to see the army already here, engaged in the struggle, and fully competent to carry it to a successful end, were the energies in it fairly brought into play, and, even as matters are, nobly fighting in the cause of intelligence, and partially "spearing down and destroying falsehood, nescience, delusion, disorder, and the devil and his angels," not altogether without victory. Truly, it seems difficult to conceive a more efficacious instrument for the carrying on the education, now universally acknowledged to be indispensable, than that which at present exists in our clergy. We are by no means disposed to undervalue the efforts that have been, or that may hereafter be made in this cause by men without the pale of the Establishment; but as they must be desultory and uncombined, we hold that, even in a worldly view, they must be immeasurably weaker and less efficient. The discipline and organization already existing in the Church, combining the benefits of centralization with the advantages peculiar to local administration, are the very means by which great effects are produced. The system of general government adopted by her gives a proper unity of action to the exertions of her individual members, without interfering with private energy or limiting the usefulness of particular parts. Every parish clergyman has the power, if he have the will, to make himself the centre of a little circle of enlightenment—to become the file-leader of a small band of noble-hearted Christians, and thus to oppose some obstacle to the downward progress of society. And it is a matter of most heartfelt satisfaction to all well-wishers to their fellows, that the days of laxity and lukewarmness are drawing to an end, and that a new spirit has awakened in the Church. For it must be allowed on all hands, even by her enemies, that her members are, collectively, now far superior in zeal, in attainments, and in a knowledge of their high functions, to those who filled her ranks a few short years since. We speak not here of polemical discussions on abstract points, or of the earnest enquiries of our learned divines; for, as has been already said, it is wished to avoid matter of dispute; but of the increased vigour of the parochial clergy, of their better regulated efforts for the general amelioration of those committed to their charge, and of their more unwearied exertions in the cause of morality and religion. The average amount of vice among them is sensibly diminished, and the effects of their improvement has been communicated to

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their inferiors. The uneducated poor are naturally prone to look to the conduct of those who are by any means placed above them, and eventually are led to imitate it. Still more is this the case when their superiors are by their profession necessarily thrown into frequent intercourse with them, and that intercourse is of a spiritual character, affecting their intellect and feelings. The damage that may be occasioned by one lax, negligent man, whose religion consists in the mere performance of his professional duties within the sphere to which he belongs, is almost incalculable; while, on the other hand, it would not be easy to set any limit to the benefits which may result from the well-directed religious efforts of a sincere and honest person for the general welfare of his parish. The opportunities possessed by the clergy for influencing men, whether for good or for evil, are such as no other class could enjoy without exciting that jealousy and odium which would be the most certain obstacle to any attempt to direct the thoughts and habits of others. That they are now, as to by far the greater part, employed for good, is the most encouraging feature in the varied complexion of our social state. It may then be emphatically repeated, that the Church, employing its members in a separate struggle, each against a particular section of ignorance and vice, without parting with a single portion of the weight and strength which unity of action must give, is the mightiest machinery for the improvement of a nation that can be devised. It combines in itself at once the force and irresistible power of a disciplined, well-ordered mass, and the more striking, at times more efficient, heroism of individual bravery. A Christian chivalry, armed at all points against the powers of darkness, with every man a true stalwart knight, resolute to do or to die, and the whole moved by one spirit of devotion, and led by the most noble and zealous, is in truth Christ's holy Church militant here on earth, and ought to be, and, under the divine blessing, must be, invincible.

If, then, as it has been our object to show, our dangers in these days are the natural concomitants of the stage we have reached in our progress, in some degree aggravated in character by the altered circumstances of modern times, and varying from the appearance which they have presented in other ages and among other peoples—if, as history and observation would seem to teach, attempts to support the exclusive authority of aristocracies, whether of property or of birth, must eventually be the destruction of the entire nation—if, therefore, the multitude must advance step by step, if not to political power, at least to a situation in which their interests shall be more permanently regarded, their welfare more systematically consulted—if, in short, the

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main principle on which our continued prosperity can be made to rest is solely a careful attention to, and acting upon the conviction that the people at large are becoming the most important element in the State—it clearly is a matter of imperative necessity that they should be trained and prepared for the station they are called on to occupy. Brutality and ignorance are our most fearful enemies—not democracy, which has unfortunately been made too much of a bugbear in these modern times. Now it is maintained that the clergy, both from the position they occupy and the power they possess, as a disciplined organized body, appear especially marked out to head the struggle—to become the leaders in the great warfare of education, and carry out far and wide the remedies for our existing diseases. We have no need of a fresh establishment of teachers, for we can institute none so effective or so powerful; nor could we readily create the machinery, to say nothing of the doctrines by which the Church is enabled so effectually to act. All that is required is some accession of vigour, together with increased resources, and opportunities to draw out and apply her yet partially hidden strength. It is a most gratifying sign of general improvement, that some advance has been and is still being made towards a more perfect employment of the power which already exists to the statesman's hand, in the noblest work to which his efforts can be applied; accompanied with manifest proofs of growing zeal and well-directed energy from within the Church itself. On all sides is springing up an active wish for the effectual training of our multitudes for the performance of the duties they are about to enter upon, and imparting to them that intelligence and feeling of religion which will render their change from an altogether subordinate and inferior, to a more important place in society, not a curse, but a blessing. Thus the crisis, which has been hitherto so fatal to every nation upon which it has come, will be altogether averted from us, by a careful conduct and management of the antagonist forces of property and numbers, or so modified and softened, as to become almost entirely harmless. Enlightenment, rendering men at once better Christians and better citizens, might be more effectually and rapidly promoted, might be kept in advance of the political movement, instead of, as at present, accompanying, or but too often with tardy steps following it. Much is already, chiefly through the agency of our established clergy, being effected; but much more might be done. Looking out on the political horizon, we do not despair of the safety of England, though she has to pass through perils which few or none have undergone, and yet been preserved. We know our dangers, and many of us know the reme-

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dies as well; it remains to act boldly, and without delay, upon our knowledge.*

Act, indeed, in this and in many other ways, we must—to be idle and live is no longer possible. The state of society, so vividly depicted in the correspondence of Horace Walpole, which existed during the last century, has passed away from us for ever. The selfishness and isolation of the higher orders from their inferiors, which forms so marked a characteristic of that period, has been compelled, by the force of circumstances, to give way to a more enlarged feeling of benevolence, together with more practical habits of business. Slowly and by degrees the conviction is forcing itself upon the minds of those who, by position or fortune, are our natural leaders, that they must identify themselves more thoroughly with their dependents—become, indeed, more than in mere name the governors and directors of the multitude, or the multitude will at length claim their right to be governed and directed by others. The daily increasing intelligence of all classes, at present amounting in the mass only to that knowledge which is dangerous to a proverb, imperatively demands guidance. The natural instincts of mankind lead the multitude to look for such guidance to their existing superiors, who, if they are wise, will not neglect the situation before the opportunity is lost. And it may be asserted, without fear of opposition, that the present times afford the occasion—but if not improved, it will never again offer. The multitudes, disappointed of aid in the quarter on which they, in the spirit of a noble and religious obedience, had relied, will most certainly seek it elsewhere. To borrow Mr. Carlyle's phraseology, the "sham-best" will have to give way to the "true-best." We care not to follow out such a change to its consequences, for we fervently trust it will not come. Nor is our belief less certain that our aristocracy will universally acknowledge their real business, founded as it is upon the many bright examples of the spreading spirit, of a bene-

* A most remarkable corroboration of these views has been brought under our notice since they were written, in the Report of the National Society for the current year, in which a variety of testimony is brought forward from different persons, all tending to show that, during the recent disturbances in the manufacturing districts, the system of education adopted by the Society was productive of the greatest benefit, and amply justifying the statement of the report, that "wherever means of Church instruction were best provided, there the efforts of the disaffected were least successful. In whatever districts Church principles predominated, no outbreak took place, however grievous the privations of the people, except in cases where the rightly disposed inhabitants were overpowered by agitators from a distance." (p. 2). It is now needless to do more than merely refer to the noble efforts which have been made, under the auspices of the Society, to supply the want of education in the factory districts, and consequent on the failure of Government to carry the scheme of the last session into operation. To this fund a sum of money, exceeding 70,000*l.*, was subscribed within two months; and its existence is even now but partially known.

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volent superintendence already displayed. Our natural leaders are awakening on all sides to a full sense of the truth, so long forgotten, that property has its duties as well as its rights; that those who by nature are placed in a prominent situation, must labour in their appointed way to secure their pre-eminence, and really guide and educate in the right way the classes entrusted to their rule. We perfectly assent to the meaning of our author when in quaint language he asserts, that "Laissez faire, competition and cash-payment, the sole nexus between man and man," must cease from among us. That it is ceasing we unhesitatingly affirm. Men of property are gradually but surely beginning to perceive, that their dependents have other and higher claims upon them, than the mere payment of the money wages which their labour has earned. The ties which should connect them are of a far nobler nature than the temporary relation of hirers and hired, to continue only as long as the agreement of service endures, and to be dissevered on its termination, without leaving a mark of its former existence. Even in a temporal or merely pecuniary aspect, as a question of profit and loss, such service is bad; the greater permanency you give to the connexion with your dependents the better, because the more willingly rendered will be the labour of which you are to enjoy the benefit. Worthlessness is invariably a characteristic of that which is fleeting, as for a thing to endure for some period, in itself proves that there is something good in it. The greatest bane of a high degree of civilization, in any nation, is the so-called independence and liberty in which men then place their hopes of happiness, forgetful that obedience on one side, and command on the other, are according to the eternal laws of nature, which regulate and dispose of all things in an orderly and invariable gradation, from the highest to the lowest. Mr. Carlyle's eloquent and forcible remarks on this subject, in the chapter entitled "Democracy," to which, as being too lengthy for extract, we can only refer, will fully repay an attentive perusal.

It will be perceived that we have been endeavouring, in these latter observations, to give the substance of the opinions set forth by our author with much strength of argument and the overflowings of a fervent imagination; with, however, somewhat greater confidence, on our part, in the favourable result of our disorders, than he appears to feel. For, although with him we hold that much is to be done, we go farther, and hold that much is already done, and is even now doing; that the great problem which we agree with him in thinking must be solved by us—"the finding government by our real superiors"—is in a fair way of being solved; and that our aristocracy is hourly becoming more and more a real government of the best, casting all idleness

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away, and buckling itself to its appointed labours. The noblest work, well fitted to those who are noble, is that of leading their fellow-men, not directing them as mere machines, but governing them as men possessing thought, and feelings, and affections.

"The chief of men (our author exclaims with enthusiasm) is he who stands in the van of men, fronting the peril which frightens back all others; which, if it be not vanquished, will devour the others. Every noble crown is, and on earth will for ever be, a crown of thorns." (p. 242).

And again, in a still higher strain:—

"Work is of a religious nature; work is of a *brave* nature; which it is the aim of all religion to be. All work of man is as the swimmer's: a waste ocean threatens to devour him, if he front it not bravely; it will keep its word. By incessant wise defiance of it, lusty rebuke and buffet of it, behold how it loyally supports him, bears him as its conqueror along. 'It is so (says Göethe) with all things that man undertakes in this world.'" (p. 260).

These, and many other passages of the same nature, all tend to the conclusion, which we may call the main idea of the whole work, that England, at this moment, essentially wants direction and government on the part of those who are naturally appointed to the work—that the labour will, indeed, be great, but that it is most noble, most glorious—that the task is imposed upon them as the men who claim to be foremost, but that if they refuse to undertake it, others must and will be found capable of supporting the contest. If the natural leaders of a nation forget their duties, neglect to be in truth what they profess to be in name—the captains and chiefs, in whatever contest the people are engaged, they thereby acknowledge their incapacity to retain their situation with honour to themselves or advantage to others, and ought to retire. Otherwise there will follow mutiny and the wildest disorders, until, by trials, by sufferings, and by bloodshed, the true heroes—the men fit and able to lead—are found and elevated to command. With all this we agree. An aristocracy has no divine right to its powers and privileges; these the members of it possess only because, upon the whole, they have the best right to them—are, upon the whole, the most able men or the best. But we deny what Mr. Carlyle rather implies than asserts in direct terms, that our aristocracy have forgotten their business, and prefer the idleness which has become unuseful, or even most dangerous, to the energetic brave performance of their natural duties. Whatever might have been their errors in past years—whatever selfishness and narrow-mindedness they may have been guilty of, a brighter day has certainly opened for them and for us all. With enlarged bene-

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volence and attention to their inferiors, and with increasing consciousness of their high duties, the higher classes, whether their station depend on property or on birth, will nobly take the lead in the struggle in which we are engaged, will resume the places some of them have for a time left, and conduct the nation, as of old, to battle and to victory.

Further, to consider the subject in another and more extended view, the same spirit, the necessity of which in the relations of private life has here been insisted upon, must be carried also into every branch of government, whether legislative or executive. We have gone too far in the direction of non-interference, which is but an excuse for carelessness or ignorance, and must retrace our steps with all speed. In other words, the nation must be governed in reality, not suffered to pursue any course which the excitement of the moment, or the ill-directed and mischievous efforts of designing men, may point out. We must get rid of our ill-omened jealousy of the intervention of our rulers, and learn to acknowledge that there may be this good even in despotism, that unity of action is there attained, together with a power of managing those who are incapable of managing themselves. A government (and under the term is here included all that constitutes the directing power of a State) which acts up to its proper duties will not be content to follow merely in the wake of popular feeling, but will lead and control it so as to be its master, not its blind slave; herein, indeed, performing its own bounden service, but in the fullest freedom. And this, it is conceived, is one of the principal defects of our existing system, that we are content to suffer, as the phrase is, things to find their own level; which is, in effect, tantamount to legalizing in one direction the grossest oppression of the poorer classes by their wealthier employers, and in another the deepest ignorance among the former, leading inevitably to injustice and social disorders. Where perfect independence of man on man is, as far as may be possible, the rule by which any nation is directed, so that all ties but the necessary bond of interest are dispensed with, it is inevitable that the more needy will, in the end, be altogether at the mercy of those powerful in resources or by position. No combination of working men ever stood out against the determined obstinacy of the capitalist for any length of time; and unless fair treatment is secured to them at the hands of their employer, they must submit to what he chooses to impose upon them. Competition, even in matters of this kind, is not always sufficient to secure fair play to opposing interests; and it is wholly wanting, and there is no other controlling power, except that which is supreme, in that larger sphere of relations

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between men, which are not dependent on economical principles alone. In all of these there is abundant opportunity for the harshest treatment and injustice of the unfortunate dependent by his superior, if matters are left entirely to private arrangement; and it has been already hinted that it is the curse of our times, and still more of the age just gone by, that the occasion is unhappily but too often acted upon. In truth, it cannot well be otherwise, when, in place of the enlarged sentiment of general sympathy and benevolence which should prevail between man and man; leading to kindly conduct and efficient protection and aid, both moral and physical, on the part of the superior; a confined principle of individual interest, resulting in the narrowest selfishness and neglect of others, is generally recognized as the rule of life. Most cordially may Mr. Carlyle's admiration for the noble men of old be assented to, for they at least felt that they had a duty to perform when men were placed under their direction, and looked up to them for guidance; and that there was some other connection between fellow-countrymen and fellow-beings than the mere money tie of worker and employer. Governments must practically acknowledge that upon them is laid the grateful and noble burden of providing for the good of all their subjects, in securing the weak from injustice and oppression; or they lose sight of their purpose and object; and so, becoming worse than useless, might with advantage be dispensed with. Nations in general, and England more especially, in this present age, are in want of direction and moral government, not of some power to be settled according to the rule of supply and demand, or any other principle of economy, true and useful enough in itself, and when considered and acted upon as subordinate, but most dangerous when elevated into a supreme rule of conduct, and thrust into the place of morality and religion. If this is the point to which our author's diatribes against political economy in general, and the principle of supply and demand in particular, are directed, he has our cordial assent to his conclusions. And it is conceived that this is his meaning. For it seems hardly possible that an intelligent man can seriously set himself to maintain that the doctrines of political economy are intrinsically bad and even false; and yet to this extent some expressions in the book before us appear to go. But we prefer giving to the whole the more rational meaning which the general tone and scope of the reasoning may bear, and believe that the writer holds only that the science in question is wrong in its conclusions, when its principles are adopted as the chief rule of government; but does not intend to deny their value when rigorously kept in subordination to the supreme science. This

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truth, which, to him as well as to us, would seem too obvious to be reasoned upon, if practice did not show how lamentably it may be overlooked, has been continually neglected of late years in the government of this country. One science after another, or even one dogma after another, intrinsically most excellent and true, has been elevated out of its proper position, as an inferior rule of direction, into a situation of supremacy, where the adoption of it is, and must necessarily be, attended with the most dangerous results. Men, and statesmen above all, have practically forgotten that there is a science of government, of supreme authority, and chief in direction and arrangement—ἡ κυριωτάτη καὶ μάλιστα ἀρχιτεκτονική—whose end and object is the general welfare of the community; and have by turns adopted as their guides the rules of inferior sciences. Thus, if an intelligent stranger, free from the bias of party and national prejudice, were called upon to name the great error of our modern legislation, he would undoubtedly say, that it was a neglect by our statesmen of the real duties of political men, and a tendency on their part to become mere economists.

This debasement of their high office is still further assisted by the outcry for what are called "practical men;" the phrase meaning (if it means anything), men who are content with the one-sided view of affairs which a limited knowledge enables them to take, and who, being in some degree acquainted with one branch of science, carry it out in all things, without troubling themselves to consider how far extraneous circumstances may affect the practical correctness of their conclusions. Hence follow similar results to those which would be caused by the teacher of a single kind of knowledge becoming the educator; that is, if education should be held to consist in the mere teaching of languages, of reading, or the like. The course pursued is, indeed, recommended by the comparative want of difficulty which attends it; for it requires no very extended view, nor any very deep reflection: it is sufficient to secure the cordial adoption of any line of conduct, that it should be shown to be in strict accordance with the principles of the science in vogue; it matters not that it is opposed to the doctrines of the more extended science of statesmanship. A politician, whose conduct is directed by these narrow views, is apt to imagine that what is true once must be always true, and therefore to be adopted; and that the change of circumstances, or the influence of other truths, can effect no alteration in its character. He cannot, or does not, suffer himself to suppose that things may be (to borrow an expression of Burke's) "metaphysically true," but "morally and politically false" (*Reflections*). And yet there can be no mis-

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take more dangerous, narrowing, as it necessarily must narrow, the minds affected by it, and substituting for the wide Catholic spirit which should prevail in all matters of government, the limited operation of the doctrines of a subordinate science. No rational man would for a moment think, except in extreme cases, of ruling a nation according to the principles of military sciences. Why? Because it is evidently a subordinate branch of the great science of government, the rules of which, when their operation is confined to the limited sphere to which they are applicable, are most just and admirable; but when carried beyond it, become actually erroneous. And the same is true of the science of political economy, which is also properly subordinate, and ought to be regulated in its application by the higher rules of wise statesmanship; otherwise, what is right in itself in one point of view, becomes, when put into practice without regard to the other considerations that in reality affect its operation, absolutely erroneous, and justice itself may be the grossest injustice. If nations were, in fact, collections of men, assembled together for the mere purpose of buying as cheaply and selling as dearly as they can, these principles would properly be adopted as the guides for their regulation, and the best government would be that which most strictly conformed itself to them in all its proceedings. But the fact is far different. There is—and it is a truth which cannot be too often insisted upon—a far higher object for mankind, even in their temporal concerns, than the mere increase of wealth. Their general well-being or happiness should be the ultimate end of all government, as it is, in fact, the real business of political science.

The theory of Warburton, that the object of political society is merely the preservation of body and goods, which has been advocated by writers of high authority in recent times, and generally acted upon from various motives, appears to us pregnant with the most perilous results. Even as a theory it seems essentially defective, for it proposes, as the object of government, a subordinate end, leaving the supreme authority to be looked for elsewhere, which is contrary to the very notion of government; while, when carried out in practice, it leads to the adoption of temporary expedients as substitutes for a permanently enduring principle, and the elevation of means into ultimate ends. The idea of government, properly considered, comprehending something more than simple security for a man and his property, and the liberty for him to make the utmost profit he can without crime obtain—involving, in fact, and essentially dependent upon, the distinction of persons and things—is deprived of its peculiar characteristic when this distinction is practically lost sight of,

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and a material aim is substituted for high moral views. And yet this theory, under various modifications, forms, in reality, the substructure of the greater portion of our modern legislation, which is, therefore, essentially faulty, and must be so as long as government is conceived to consist in mere non-interference with what is called the natural course of things; in virtual forgetfulness that a State is more than a collection of machinery, and is a moral body with a moral object. It would be invidious, and for the present purpose unnecessary, to specify particular measures by which this tendency has been in the present day continually evinced, and it is a fact which it is conceived no unbiassed observer of the general course of events will deny. It is not too late to change our direction altogether, but the time is rapidly slipping by. Our rulers will have to be convinced, and act upon the conviction, that their business is to provide for the well-being of the nation, and that, therefore, it comprehends morality, and still more, in a Christian country, religion.

"Religion (said Burke) is so far from being out of the province of the duty of a Christian magistrate, that it is, and it ought to be, not only his care, but the principal thing in his care; because it is one of the great bonds of human society, and its object the supreme good: the ultimate end and object of man himself."*

And not only ought religion to be recognized as the chief object of a Christian government, but the whole spirit and tenor of its conduct and proceedings should be religious too. In other words, the supreme power should propose to itself, as its ultimate object, that which is the end of the moral being of each individual—the setting forth of God's glory by doing his work, which is in effect the highest form of a nation's happiness. For if not, it has been happily expressed by the late lamented Dr. Arnold—

"As in each individual man there is a higher object than the preservation of his body and goods, so, if he be subjected in the last resort to a power incapable of appreciating this higher object, his social or political relations, instead of being the perfection of his being, must be its corruption."†

The dignity which should belong to the highest authority is then debased, the ultimate good neglected for the pursuit of subordinate ends, which, in truth, are but means towards the attainment of it; and the whole nation, as well as its component parts, by disregarding its proper aim, is exposed to every species of misguidance. It has ceased to acknowledge a supreme

* Speech on the Unitarian petition. † Lectures on Modern History, p. 47.

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power capable and intended to direct it, and as it no longer is able to grasp steadily its proper idea, it becomes liable to be affected by every chance impulse. The rudder and compass both gone, the mariner sees not the direction he should follow, nor has he the means to guide his vessel in it. The fixed principle, which is furnished by a clear and steady knowledge of the object to be pursued, is wanting; but in its place is to be found the uncertain influence of not merely opposed, but contrary doctrines. The sole remedy is a resolute habit of acting with a view to the full development of the moral being of the nation, so as to approximate, as far as may be, to its moral perfection, as the ultimate end to which every energy and every resource should be directed. The government must become religious in the highest sense of the term, or its labour will be but vain, and the dangers which threaten our existence will be increased tenfold. And the prospect is not altogether discouraging. Here and there may be discerned indications of the existence of an enlarged spirit among a mass of narrow prejudices and short-sighted ignorance, showing that some minds, at least, are conscious that government is more than the blind following out of this or that principle of economy, to the neglect of the higher objects at which a statesman should aim, and is, in truth, the noblest means of attaining the highest human good. The circle, too, is increasing, slowly indeed, but we trust with confidence not the less certainly, of those who are thoroughly persuaded, and act upon the persuasion, that in a Christian country Christianity should be the foremost object of their care, inasmuch as the practical acknowledgment of its pre-eminence is the surest means of promoting that desired end. Nor is this feeling of confidence materially lessened by the recent tumult occasioned by the Government plan of education, or by the ultimate fate of that measure. The mere fact that it has been introduced argues a great step in advance, and shows that our present rulers are not insensible to the main duties of their situation. The causes of its failure are to be sought in the blind jealousy of the Church Establishment which exists in some quarters, and which must be removed before a measure of the nature proposed can be successful. In this point of view, the conduct of the Government in withdrawing the measure seems to be defensible, and even prudent, for its details could hardly have been efficiently carried out in the teeth of the determined opposition excited against it; and the temperate tone of its advocates, and still more their concessions, must go far towards disarming hostility, and convincing, at least the more respectable portion of our opponents, that Churchmen, in their anxiety that something should

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be done, are not actuated by a narrow spirit of exclusiveness, but solely by an heartfelt wish to lessen the fearful ignorance and vice which prevail amongst us. The measure itself was, perhaps, premature. The ground is not yet prepared for the reception of the seed. Deeply as we regret that a short-sighted jealousy has for a time defeated this effort on behalf of the moral welfare of our poor countrymen, we yet fearlessly assert, that a perseverance in the moderate course hitherto adopted must eventually be crowned with success, and a scheme of education, identical in principle with the Government plan, but varying, and even more comprehensive in its details, be put into efficient working. Men cannot too much meditate upon the deep and momentous truth inculcated in the following extract from the writings of one of the soundest thinkers of modern times:—

"It is folly (says Coleridge) to think of making all, or the many, philosophers, or even men of science and systematic knowledge. But it is duty and wisdom to aim at making as many as possible soberly and steadily religious; inasmuch as the morality which the State requires in its citizens for its own well-being is not an ideal morality, and without reference to their spiritual interest as individuals, can only exist for the people in the form of religion. But the existence of a true philosophy, or the power and habit of contemplating particulars in the unity and fontal mirror of the idea—this, in the rulers and teachers of a nation, is indispensable to a sound state of religion in all classes. In fine, religion, true or false, is, and ever has been, the centre of gravity in a realm, to which all other things must and will accommodate themselves."*

The day, it may be hoped, is not far distant, when such principles will be recognized generally as the true guides of our national progress, and our rulers will join heart and hand in the carrying on of the holiest work which God has assigned to his creatures, even the setting forth of his glory by the visible improvement in the moral condition of their fellows:—

"Vast the circumference of hope—and ye
Are at its centre. British lawgivers—
Ah! sleep not there in shame! Shall wisdom's voice
From out the bosom of these troubled times
Repeat the dictates of her calmer mind,
And shall the venerable halls ye fill
Refuse to echo the sublime decree?
Trust not to partial care a general good;
Transfer not to futurity a work
Of urgent need. Your country must complete

* On the Church and State, p. 42.

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Her glorious destiny. Before even now,
* * * * *
Show to the wretched nations for what end
The powers of civil polity were given."—*Excursion.*

We forbear to follow out these observations to their legitimate consequences, as our only object has been to draw attention to this most radical defect in all the writings of Mr. Carlyle, which so materially diminishes their value. For the same reason no consideration has been given to anything beyond the moral points of the subject, and the wide field of enquiry into the causes and remedies of our physical grievances left wholly untouched. These have already forced themselves upon the minds of all men, and we rest satisfied that all that human wisdom and the light of modern science can effect will be done. But our feeling is no less strong, that every measure must be fruitless which is not undertaken in the proper spirit; that expediency must give way to the nobler principles of morality and justice; and that governments must cease to follow any but their proper and appointed object, or their efforts to oppose the downward course of events will be vain. Once let it be acknowledged, in every national word and deed, that the perfection of a nation's being is the general well-being of all its individual parts, not the unnatural cherishing of any; and that the only true government is that which tends unceasingly towards the attainment of this ultimate end, and is, therefore, not led astray to the preferring of subordinate ends, but pursues them only as effectual means to the one great object, so that all false pretences, and even all partial truths, be rejected as unsafe and dangerous guides; and let our legislators boldly consider what their real duties are, and nobly and unshrinkingly enter upon them in a firm, comprehensive, religious, and therefore enlightened spirit, and the result need not be feared.

We gladly echo the noble enthusiasm which our author feels—not that of praying by working the old monks—but the prayer "which goes with a man, rising up from all his work and action, at all moments sanctifying the same;" and fervently trust that such a religion will again awaken amongst us, penetrating the whole mass of our social relations, and purifying and illuminating all within its range. What Englishman will not exclaim with our noblest and greatest modern poet—

"It is not to be thought of, that the flood
Of British freedom, which to the open sea
Of the world's praise from dark antiquity
Hath flowed, 'with pomp of waters, unwithstood,'

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Roused though it be full often to a mood
Which spurns the check of salutary bands,
That this most famous stream in bogs and sands
Should perish, and to evil and to good
Be lost for ever. In our halls is hung
Armoury of the invincible knights of old.
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakspeare spake—the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held. In everything we are sprung
Of earth's first blood: have titles manifold."

ART. V.—*The Baptistery.* By the Author of "The Cathedral." 8vo. Oxford. 1842.

WE have hitherto not paid much attention to the Oxford School of Poetry, having considered that it would, probably pass away like many of the evanescent lights that have flickered across our path during the last few years. But one little volume of rhymes has been followed by another little volume of rhymes with such rapidity, that it becomes at last necessary to notice one of these specimens, and fairly show how much or how little it contains of real poetry. So we have selected the largest, the best printed, and most ornate production of the Oxford party, and we shall endeavour to exhibit honestly both the presence of rhyme and reason, and the absence of one or both, in the work before us.

Moreover, it has now been in the hands of the public nearly a year and a half; and our criticisms will thus be neither sudden nor premature, while they may prove useful to many, who, in the simplicity of their hearts, mistake what they deem good sentiments for good poetry. It is as well to state the difference once for all, as many of the duodecimos of this nature can never hope to find themselves noticed in the larger periodicals; and thus bad taste might increase to such an extent, that numbers of the reading world would be unable to discriminate accurately between really good poetry and such rhymes as please the ear only, and fill the mind with a dreamy indistinctness. But persons who delight in the worst kind of this poetry (?) are beyond the reach of remedy: no observations of ours can at all affect them: so that, in the present article, we shall throw out some few hints on the better instances of this bad school of recent poetry, which may be of use in arriving at an opinion upon any work of the class to which we allude.

In this better class, religious poetry holds a prominent place.

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For a time, indeed, all other poetry seemed suspended, while volume after volume of sacred lyrics and ecclesiastical odes was sent forth with most commendable activity. This is, of course, mainly attributable to the Oxford school of divinity; and we believe that nearly all the religious poems for the last two or three years have claimed for their authors persons more or less connected with that movement. The "Christian Year," from its poetical excellence, and the tone of exalted piety diffused throughout it, attracted and still attracts very great attention; and thus the public mind has been predisposed for that kind of writing. Whereupon has followed a large company of writers, who have utterly fallen short of the simplicity and grace that distinguished the above-mentioned work. "The Cathedral" is at all times grievously dull; the "Thoughts in Past Years," by the same author, are thoughts of which vagueness is too often found to be a constituent part; and as for Mr. Faber's poems, and *hoc genus omne*, we could wish their publication had been deferred till a longer course of reading had imparted more accurate principles of taste and a deeper poetic sentiment. The fact is, that few are even above mediocrity; but as they are supposed to contain good sentiments, the reading world has frequently transferred its admiration of them to the vehicle in which they are brought forward: and this, with other concurrent causes, has done much to lower the standard of poetry. And the evil may go on, if not judiciously corrected. We may be harassed with more tiresome productions, or we may have the first thoughts of every young clergyman when he first visits his first curacy, and contemplates the symbolism of his little Norman church. This will be bad enough, but there may be yet worse sufferings in store for us: we may be compelled to wade through lines of (not always) ten syllables, in which a grave theological argument may be maintained, or Bishop Butler* continued under the auspices of the muses. This is, however, no joking matter, for at the end of last year the Rev. John Brande Morris, of Exeter College, gave to the world "Nature, a Parable," in seven books, of which we have nothing more to say, than that we wish Mr. Morris had printed his sentences continuously, and not subdivided them into heroic lines. The author is, we dare say, an excellent scholar and a deeply-read divine, but assuredly he is not a poet.

* The whole subject, then, of the typical meaning of Nature is but a continuation, or rather an instance and illustration, of the subject of Bishop Butler's Analogy."—*Preface*, p. 8.

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Are we, then, to have no religious poetry? By no means ought we to banish so lofty an interpreter of high and holy thoughts. But as poetry varies in excellence directly with the subject, so must the greatest caution be used that we do not misapply and pervert the fundamental principles of poetry by touching upon such religious themes as in their very nature are repugnant to poetical illustration. To reason a little more closely on this subject, we may remark, that the use of poetry is of a twofold nature: it serves first to invest with reality and life material objects; and, secondly, it can illustrate abstract things, and elucidate principles by referring them to subjects in which such abstract principles may be supposed to reside. Descriptive poetry belongs especially to the first division; and its excellence may be tested, not only by the faithfulness of the objects described, but by the degree of vitality that is infused in them. This latter element serves to connect us more closely with the subject matter, and transform us from passive readers into interested actors in the ideal world before us. This is the principle of what is called the *subjective* poetry of the present day. All the beautiful objects in nature are estimated, not so much for their intrinsic beauty, as for the soothing, invigorating, ennobling effect such beauty may have on the mind. To Peter Bell, the primrose or the daisy on the river's bank was but a primrose, a production of the earth, a simple "yellow thing, and nothing more." By the poet it might be considered a harbinger of the spring, a foremost flower in the garland of the young year; or, it may be an unwilling suggester of remembrances and regrets that were with the by-gone years; or, to cite a less familiar instance: Plutarch tells us of the story about the voice proclaiming that Great Pan was dead, and the weeping and lamentation that ensued. This, Milton, in his "Hymn on the Nativity," has made use of by referring the period to the birth of the Saviour; but the story itself is re-produced in far more touching imagery, when the "parting genius" is represented as leaving his haunted springs with the deepest sorrow, and the "tangled thickets" sound with the low wailing of the exiled wood-nymphs.

These examples may serve to illustrate our meaning, and place in a clear light the first of the two uses of poetry. Let us apply these remarks to religious poetry; and it is at once manifest that subjects of a sacred nature, which admit of these kind of descriptions, may receive additional vigour and embellishment from poetry. Scenes recorded in holy writ may, to some minds, rise up in greater prominence by being invested with that reality which it is especially the province of this kind of poetry to impart. The objects of nature may be considered to impress cer-

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tain emotions on the mind, as darkness brings with it trembling and fear. Type may be illustrated by antitype; and yet clearness and unity, the essential elements of sacred poetry, may be preserved. Metaphors are also particularly applicable to this style; for, being representations of actually existing things, the reader is not perplexed in tracing the analogy; while, on the contrary, in religious poetry of an abstract nature such ornaments can hardly fail to bring indistinctness and obscurity. Of this descriptive nature are most of the Psalms; and hence it is that some of the paraphrases have been especially admired, not only for the extraordinary beauty of the original ideas, but also for the simplicity and vividness of the poetry which expresses them. As an instance of this sort of religious poetry, we subjoin three stanzas from a "Metaphrase" of the forty-second Psalm, by Phineas Fletcher. This quotation will be also useful as a sample from an author whom Mr. Williams seems to have occasionally imitated:—

"Like as an hart with sweat and blood embued,
Chas'd and emboss'd,* thirsts in the soil to be;
So my poor soul, with eager foes pursued,
Looks, longs, O Lord! pines, pants, and faints for thee.
When, O my God! when shall I come in place,
To see thy light, and view thy glorious face?

* * * *

"My famished soul, driven from thy sweetest word,
(From Hermon's hill and Jordan's swelling brook)†
To thee laments, sighs deep to thee, O Lord!
To thee sends back her hungry, longing look:
Floods of thy wrath breed floods of grief and fears,
And floods of grief breed floods of pains and tears.

* * * *

"His early light with morn these clouds shall clear—
These dreary clouds and storms of sad despair:
Sure am I in the night his songs to hear,
Sweet songs of joy, as well as he my prayer:
I'll say 'My God, why slight'st thou my distress,
While all my foes my weary soul oppress?'"

---

* *Embossed* was the term in hunting for a stag when frothing at the mouth from fatigue. Hence Shakspeare, in *Timon of Athens*, says—

"Timon has made his everlasting mansion
Upon the beached verge of the salt flood,
Which once a day with his embossed froth
The turbulent surge shall cover."

† This line is perhaps improperly paraphrased. David would seem to allude to the progress of his arms, from his going before the people in their ascent of both the Hermons, till he acquired possession of Mount Zion. (See Good's "Historical Outline of the Psalms," p. 179).

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This is genuine religious poetry: the ideas are simple and clearly expressed, and a certain deep pathos pervades the whole, which is as far removed from the sickly sentimentality of the present day, as true poetry is from vague unmeaning rhyme.

Let us now turn to the second use of poetry. This we defined to be the illustration of abstract principles, and the elucidation of such ideas as are not suggested by the senses. To this division didactic poetry is to be referred, and we test its excellence or worthlessness by the clearness or obscurity with which the subject matter is explained. This is of all poetry the most difficult kind to excel in; the reader is either perplexed by subtle reasoning, which itself is hampered by the metre, or chilled by the stern imagery which the nature of the subject seems to require. In such poetry the first great requisite is, that the author either fully understand his subject, or rigidly determine to omit all mention of parts which are indefinite or obscure. In a word, reality is the essence of true poetry; and as the Gothic architect applied all his art to adorn what was *necessary*, so the true poet may embellish realities with graceful accessaries; but still distinct, palpable, reality must be the groundwork of the whole. Armstrong's "Art of Preserving Health" has obtained notice and commendation, because the subject, though unpromising, was treated with clearness and perspicuity. And Mark Akenside has not been consigned, "unwept and unknown," to the long night of forgetfulness, because, amidst much that is tiresome, he has preserved a clear nervous style, and rarely suffered the "Pleasures of Imagination" to lead his own into riot and confusion.

If such be the requisites for excellence in this second division of poetry, it must be abundantly plain that these cannot always be found in sacred poets. For certain points in our holy religion are appreciable only by faith, and are as far above the grasp of the noblest mind as the heavens are above the earth. Such points may be noticed and alluded to in poetry, but they cannot be discussed without vagueness an error on the one hand, or irreverence and frowardness of heart on the other. In cool temperate prose the mind is more able to obtain glimpses of the unsearchableness of the deep things of God, and it may believe and tremble; but in poetry too often the imagination is captivated, while the mind is disquieted within with dreamy and unprofitable thoughts. And this, as we before said, arises from the mightiness of the subject, and the littleness of the powers that would grasp it. We have dwelt somewhat tediously on this subject, but it has been from an anxious wish to show what subjects fall legitimately to the province of sacred poetry, and also point out the dangers of that perplexing unreality which is,

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we deliberately say, too often a characteristic of Mr. Williams's style.

We proceed to consider these poems more closely. The book consists of twenty-three allegorical illustrations by Boetius á Bolswert, and are to be found, we understand, in an old Latin work entitled "Via Vitæ Æternæ." As it has not been our good fortune to have seen the illustrations in their original state, we can only make a few remarks on their present appearance. They are (with the exception of one) simply sketched in outline, and remind us somewhat of those German outlines which have been employed to illustrate Shakspeare, Göethe, and Bürger. Mr. Williams observes that, as far as he was able, he has expunged everything which might be repugnant to our Church; and we may say that there is certainly nothing very offensive to a general observer, though we do not particularly admire certain Popish semblances which occur here and there. Perhaps the seventh and nineteenth display the greatest pictorial skill; many of the others appearing absolutely ludicrous from the painful perspective. On the whole, these pictures may benefit some minds, and are certainly not of character enough to do any harm. The whole subject is discussed at length between the author and an imaginary objector. His opponent doubts whether "these emblems of Roman worship" are particularly profitable; to which the author replies:—

> "Such vain talk
> I heed not—taking all religious care
> That naught be left that bears the taint of ill,
> To injure blameless souls; for much I fear
> That e'en the tokens of her piety—
> The rosary, the amice, cowl, and veil—
> Are so allied with evil, that they seem
> As deeply steep'd in some enchanter's well,
> And not in holy baptism. What forbids
> But e'en from shades where baneful weeds lie hid,
> I still may gather flowers, and bid them grow
> In the home vineyard of our Mother Church?"

How far they are flowers worthy of being planted in the vineyard of the Church, is not quite evident from the productions themselves. The representation of Sin and the Evil One is then discussed:—

> "And sure much harmful influence is wrought
> By those proud spirits of the later age
> Who throw heroic grandeur o'er the shape
> Of the Arch-Evil One." (p. 15).

And in accordance with this opinion, the deformity of Sin

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and Satan is, in these illustrations, fully maintained. Sin is depicted with the head of a peacock, as denoting pride of life; with the belly of the dropsical, as indicating avarice; with the feet of the goat and the tail of the scorpion, as emblems of lustful concupiscence and the poison of sin. The demon is somewhat similarly represented, and though with no great degree of merit in design, yet we agree with Mr. Williams, that the investing that wicked spirit with anything like comeliness is altogether a bad principle. Milton's description is one of the finest passages in our language; but after our admiration has given place to judgment, we sensibly feel that the proud stature, thunder-entrenched brow, and care-worn cheek, consort ill with the character of that base spirit, whose treachery and malevolence are unremittingly exercised against everything that is high and holy. A conception may be intrinsically grand, and yet highly repugnant to all sound principles.

After these points have been considered, the objector very innocently alludes to his apprehension that these pictures may prove sources of terror to children:—

> "Should a child
> Drink in these lessons with a greedy eye,
> And in the dreadful stillness of dead night
> Cry out—of fearful forms and eyes uncouth
> That fright his slumbers."

To which the author answers—

> "You have truly touched,
> But clothed in fairer utterance, the thought
> That moves me."

Upon this we have two remarks to make; first, that the objector's *utterance* would have been decidedly *fairer* if he had spoken more grammatically; for no one, except when delirious with terror, cries out *of* a fearful form that haunts him. And, secondly, Mr. Williams need feel no anxiety for the future; for we can assure him that these little engravings will not seriously affect the rest of any child above the age of three years; from those who are below that tender period "The Baptistery" ought decidedly to be taken away and locked up. The Preface is brought to a close by the appearance of Mercutio, who is selected as an *arbiter elegantiarum* in the case of the pictures; he decides that they are "so wrought as not to terrify," and might be safely entrusted to the public. Still Mr. Williams will not be disabused of his fancy, that the illustrations are terrible; yet the work would not be complete without them, so they must be retained:—

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"I should be loath to let this *awful* work
(Bereft of all that pains self-pleasing minds),
Like a bright-speckled serpent crawl along
Reft of its sting, to please a gaping show." (p. xx.)

The simile is neither happy nor complimentary, though it distinctly expresses the author's meaning; and so, after about fifty more lines, ends the Preface, which is spun out to a very unreasonable length, unrelieved by any of the air-earth-and-sky imagery, which, however unmeaning, rarely deserts Mr. Williams in his dullest passages.

The images are accompanied with practical descriptions in prose, explaining the meaning of the symbols; and to these are annexed poems upon the subjects depicted in the images. *Hinc origo mali:* for as the images contain a multiplicity of emblems, not always presenting a very close connection, it must be evident that any minute description of them must be often disjointed, and apparently incoherent. And as Mr. Williams frequently endeavours to work up all his pictorial imagery, the consequence is, that most of these poems are devoid of unity; and we find ourselves, as in a picture gallery, gazing on different sketches of different orders of merit, perplexed and confused by their variety, and wearied by ineffectual efforts to classify them under one leading idea. Nothing is more painful than this shifting scenery: it may be endurable in works of a trifling nature; but when the mind is occupied with serious thoughts, and bending all its energies to comprehend a subject on which a glorious or an intolerable eternity depend, it is not without a sense of irritation and grief that it finds its earnest enquiries and deep-wrought interest bemocked and disquieted by confused and unresting imagery. The evil is still more increased when the poem is divided into stanzas, and each stanza appropriated to a fresh idea. Some poems in the first part of "The Baptistery" are liable to this objection; but in the second part, the poem entitled "Man encompassed with blessing," is a perfect, and, we hope, a solitary instance of a production in which hardly any three consecutive stanzas have any connection with each other. We subjoin the fourth, fifth, and sixth stanzas:—

"Heap up, ye mountains upon mountains,
The growing mountains of men's crimes;
Flow on, flow on, ye tainted fountains,
The gathered evil of all times!
Lo, man in league with Satan stands,
Both bring on their embattled bands;
But God fights with His clemency,
And hath overcome them all on the accursed tree.

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"Trine visitation of th' Unseen
Be graven on us; in us dwell,
In sacramental grace serene,
The heaven-reveal'd Immanuel;
The child within the bosom found,
Who hath the sun His brows around!
'Tis He of David bears the keys,
And in the things of earth unlocks heaven's mysteries.

"And now, thou heir of sin and woe,
Come forth, and see this blue-roof'd hall!
From heaven above, from earth below,
What varied blessings rise and fall?
While through the opening gates of morn
His bounties are in silence borne,
In stillness as of angel's wings,
Save where the bird of morn his grateful descant sings."
(pp. 144, 145).

And so on, through fourteen or fifteen desultory clauses, more or less unconnected. Such effusions remind us of the newspaper advertisements, that No. 31 has no connection with No. 32, or with any other establishment in that street. All this is attributable to Mr. Williams's eagerness to illustrate every image which the plastic mind of Boetius devised in the picture. Whether it were worth the trouble is another question, but this much is certain, that the author of "The Cathedral" has signally failed in his endeavour; and what is still more annoying, is the separate existence of several tolerable stanzas, which lose all their relative merit from their state of single blessedness. For instance, the seventh stanza in this same poem is of a certain poetic order:—

"The night is past, and with it gone
The wandering shapes of ill that crept
Around us, and to us unknown
Have looked upon us while we slept,
Like dismal faces in the gloom,
Through windows of th' illumin'd room;
Some guard unseen drives them afar,
As on night's scatter'd rear breaks forth the eastern star."

This want of connection is the prolific parent of many other faults: the gravest of these is the unreality which pervades the first part, and, in fact, more or less, the whole book. But the first part, being entirely in the Spenserian metre, contains the most prominent instances of this grievous fault. We have already pointed out its mischievous effects on the mind, and have endeavoured to show in the outset of this article, that while unconnectedness is the immediate cause, the application

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of poetry to religious subjects beyond its reach is the fundamental cause. We now proceed to specific instances.

We soon have cause to modify our commendation. In the poem on the first image there is not only much vagueness, but there are errors of a graver nature. In the engraving are three paths to heaven, which are thus explained by Mr. Williams:—

"Into that celestial glory there is a threefold way that leadeth, by which is signified the threefold state of life—the life of religious retirement, which is denoted by the direct way; that of the ecclesiastic *by one which is less direct;* and the secular by that which is winding and intricate."

Whether this be the explanation of Mr. Williams, or his friend Boetius a Bolswert, we know not; but this is certain, that Mr. Williams approves of it, for in the accompanying poem we have the following explanation:—

"*Thrice happy* they who earthly stores have sold,
Dearer sublunar joys, domestic ties,
And form themselves into one holy fold,
To imitate on earth the happy skies,
With vigil, prayer, and sacred litanies,
Their souls to heavenly contemplation given;
While earthly hope within them buried lies,
Their sole employ to purge the evil leaven,
And render their cleans'd souls a fit abode for heaven.

"And *happy they*, though more of earth's alloy
Creeps in the scenes of their terrestrial state,
Who dwell 'mid social hearths and home employ,
Yet 'mid the world do at God's altar wait," &c. (p. 15).

Now this is nonsense, and very unprofitable nonsense also; for why retirement should be commended, when there is so much ignorance to disperse, so much misery to alleviate, in this changing world, we can by no means understand. He who was the perfection of all excellence did not spend His life amid the loneliness of the desert, or the retirement of the mountains, but left a bright example of being "in the world, and yet not of the world;" and has bid all his followers endeavour to follow in his steps, by binding up the broken-hearted, and proclaiming his mercies to all lands. These are the "thrice happy" among mankind.

We cannot too strongly censure such an explanation as that of Mr. Williams. It tends to no good end of any kind, and only serves to fill the minds of his readers with doubts, and vague longings for institutions that are diametrically opposed to all the doctrines and ordinances of our mother Church.

Again, in the poem entitled "The Daughters of the Heavenly

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Sion," in which the efficacy of prayer is delineated in language suitable to so glorious a theme, we suddenly are arrested by the following lines, which we regret to say are utterly worthless, and in every way objectionable:—

> "Yea, haply on their calm and peaceful bed
> *Our prayers may reach and may refresh the dead—*
> Like airs of heaven amid their bowers of rest;
> Like gales from far, replete with tender sighs,
> *Which wake again their earthly sympathies,*
> And wreathe new cords that bind us with the blest." (p. 243).

In the first place, the lines are unmeaning; for sigh-bearing gales are not the most useful instruments for "wreathing cords." And, in the next, the doctrine is utterly false; for no Scripture warrant can be found for such positions, for "they are not only vainly invented, but rather repugnant to the word of God." We do not join in the vulgar cry which would denounce the author of these lines as a concealed Jesuit—for we feel sure that Mr. Williams, though probably mistaken on many points, is yet mainly opposed to the errors of that Church, which he describes (p. 92) as "encompassed by twofold night," polluted and blood-stained, and which it is "a double curse to seek;" but we do call upon him to expunge such errors from all subsequent editions; for, even on the very lowest ground, we can summon up against him his own words—

> —— "Better far that ocean's depths
> Should overwhelm our pictured themes, than we
> Offend Christ's little ones." (p. xvii.)

Having discharged our duty in severely noting such passages as the foregoing, we shall now advert to some errors which affect Mr. Williams in the character of a poet, rather than in that of a divine, hereby redeeming the promise we made at the outset of the article, that we would throw out a few hints by which poetry can be usefully tested.

We have said that *unreality* is a prevailing fault, and have endeavoured to trace its origin; for instances we have only to read the poem on the first image. It commences with an address to "never-waning rest," or the peace of the blessed after death. In the first stanza it is represented as having its "mansion amid the clouds." This mansion is then apostrophized as itself being "peace to the contentious and release to the prisoner"—"a place where sorrows cease;" and, finally, it passes into the abstract, and is "a stay for heart-sick hopes;" and with yet another return to a concrete idea, becomes a place where saintly men shall see the glories of heaven. We do not demand syllogisms and enthy-

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memes in poetry, or logical exactness, but we must have some one clear leading idea. The secret of all this confusion is, that the author did not keep apart the idea of endless rest, and the place he supposed to be the seat of it. In the second stanza of the fourth poem, prayer is a key, an antidote, a note of life, an atmosphere, and a breath powerful "to still the wave" and "fix the anchor in calm:"

"Quo teneam vultus nutantem Protea nodo?"

Again, in "The Preparations of Prayer," we read—

"In houses of our clay while here we grope,
Who thus with prayer and vigil learn to cope,
Shall see reveal'd o'er things so passing frail,
Walking upon the clouds, bright-visioned Hope,
Having her silver anchor in the veil,
While streaming rays light up her soaring vision pale." (p. 60).

From this remarkable passage the nominative has gone out on a visit; and the "pale soaring vision" of "bright-visioned Hope" is irradiated by "streaming rays." Either *vision* has two different meanings in the same sentence, or we may be allowed henceforth to tell our friends at breakfast, that we had "an uncomfortable-dreamed dream last night."

In "The Balances of the Sanctuary" we have the following vague ideas collected together: it is describing a still autumnal evening:—

"Now Death and Life encountering meet,
And 'tween th' opposing bands
Decay and Beauty *have shook hands;*
Twilight steals on with dewy feet;
While Earth and Skies are meeting
In mutual benison,
Soft-handed Silence near stands calmly looking on.
And cordial is the greeting." (p. 224).

"*O Qualis facies et quali digna tabellâ:*"—Decay and Beauty shaking hands in the back-ground, while Twilight steals on behind them with "dewy feet," which are transformed into "dewy sails" four stanzas afterwards! The Earth and Skies cordially greeting, and uttering mutual benedictions, ought to occupy the foregound, seemingly unconscious of the cool scrutiny of soft-handed Silence. It is but fair, however, to say that these vague passages occur principally in the first part; for in the second part, which is composed nearly entirely of poems in blank verse, or eight-syllable metre, there are passages of some merit, and even instances of unity, both in design and execution. "The Death of the Righteous" is a decided improvement; but even here we

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are hurried from the still churchyard, the three graves, and the good priest, to a forced description of the attendant engraving; so that the beginning and conclusion have no connection with one another. We are, perhaps, old-fashioned, and too fond of Horace; but we are notwithstanding convinced that the *servetur ad imum* principle is equally applicable to characters and poems. "The Pilgrims of St. David's" must claim a high place. The following description of the "ancient pile" of St. David's, duskily seen through the misty evening, might have been written by a person who had not studied poetry at the feet of the writers of the *Tracts for the Times*:—

> "An evening mist which o'er it hung
> A deeper desolation flung,
> While 'neath its skirts were dimly seen,
> Within a shaggy drear ravine,
> Black grazing herds in pastures rude,
> In ivy-walled solitude,
> Signs of wild life, which wandering near
> Made dreariness itself more drear.
> * * * *
> Then wonder not in such a scene,
> If what now is and what hath been
> Come o'er us, with so deep a thrill,
> That, though the surface seems so still,
> They waken thoughts that lie most deep,
> Amid the ruin'd scene to weep.
>
> "It seem'd the gathering of past years,
> The place of penitence and tears:
> And where in cell or roofless shrine
> The saintly dead in peace recline,
> In thoughts of them that slumber by,
> We seem to feel the judgment nigh,
> And from the fellowship that's there
> Shrink with a something like despair—
> To think that when we rise again
> We must awake 'mid holy men—
> 'Mid those who could so live and die,
> With pure resolve and purpose high,
> As thus to leave for days to come
> A fragrance breathing o'er their tomb." (p. 193).

The second error we shall notice in these poems is one that prevails to a great extent in this kind of religious poetry; we may define it a want of legitimate construction. It arises from the conceptions not being clear and distinct, and it is aided and abetted by the indiscriminate use of hyphens, which throw a veil over the most daring violations of her Majesty's English. In a

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word, these hyphens are becoming intolerable. They may be endured in passages where opposition is to be strongly marked, or in vivid enumerations; but when we are indulged with sixteen in six stanzas (pp. 10, 11), it becomes necessary seriously to espouse the cause of the colon family. This remark may not be altogether profitless, for we notice this system of linear punctuation has crept into modern prose-writing. What is the construction in the following hyphen-helped sentence?—

> "On all the ills which upon sin await
> Fain would I tend with thee—the silent cell
> Of want and pain which sit before death's gate—
> If at thy sheltering side I may but dwell." (p. 28).

Or in these luminous lines?—

> "One twinkling star
> Look'd through the trees, silence was on the skies,
> Save waters and a dog that bay'd afar;—
> Stillness kept watch, with nought soft nature's calm to mar."
> (p. 46).

Silence might well listen, as the sound of *baying waters* is an unusual treat. We do not admire such an ellipsis as is needed to explain these words:—

> "The only panacea for all ill—
> The fabled stone transmuting all to gold,
> Yet needs no alchemy but our own will—
> Turning our clouds to lustre." (p. 53).

We forbear multiplying quotations, as they may be found very readily; in fact, questionable constructions and their concomitant hyphens are found in such abundance, that it would seem Mr. Williams had literally acted on the old principle of *nulla dies sine lineâ.*

A third fault, similarly arising from loosely-arranged thoughts, is the confusion of metaphors. This is particularly the fault of young writers and highly imaginative persons, who commence with a metaphor derived from one source, and conclude the sentence with expressions entirely extracted from another. "The Baptistery" will supply us with instances:—

A seal is not usually "riven" on anything (p. 26); nor have we often heard "a low wind, that *sighs* before a storm," "*yell*" deeply (p. 70); as that accomplishment is principally confined to dogs. Passion seldom "wakes the expanse of a blue eye" with a "billow" (p. 133); "hues" are not "*infused* o'er a scene" (p. 153); rays grow dim, but not "old" (p. 156); hinds walk, run, skip, and jump, but never "by taking wings and soaring, leave the nets and dart behind them" (p. 176); nets are me-

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ployed to catch fish, and not "to purify" the souls of mankind (p. 240); and though *Gil Blas* and his wife set the example, yet "a loose villager" would do anything rather than "weave a rustic saraband beneath the moon." (p. 278).

A false use of epithets ought always to be noticed, such as sin-washed spirits (p. 11), which, if it mean anything, would mean the contrary to what Mr. Williams intends. "Eternal" is not the best epithet to a door (p. 43); "golden embassies" can mean nothing; a voice can hardly be "love-endearing" (p. 82); and a "molten looking-glass" (p. 131), would be a thing sufficiently strange to merit a place among "live and speaking furniture." (p. 158).

Personification must be classed as a fourth fault; it closely resembles fire in being a good servant, but a most objectionable master. If a poet once begins to deal with capital letters, he must remember that they are not inserted to beautify a sentence, as *ἀν* in the school-boy's Greek exercise; but that they mean an abstract idea has been introduced into a material world, and must be treated accordingly. If we assign vitality to such notions as hope, fear, contemplation, &c., we must be particularly careful that we maintain them in such an existence by the use of proper images and expressions, and that their return into the abstract state be distinctly noticed. Otherwise we find ourselves struggling in inextricable confusion, and exposed in every quarter to unpleasant ridicule. Mr. Williams delights in personification; this is, of course, natural, as his coadjutor Boetius fills his sketches with such rubbish: but still we think we have too many passages like the following:—

> "All hail! dread Silence, Solitude, and Shade,
> Children of peace!" (p. 59).

And in the preceding stanza, we find—

> "While sober Evening, like a pilgrim grey,
> Looks from *his* western cell and gently dies away." (p. 59).

Here is the confusion we have alluded to. If evening is to be represented as a pilgrim looking from a cell, it ought not in the same breath to "die away;" besides, this consorts but ill with two lines in the stanza but one before this:—

> "When Twilight lets *her* dewy mantle fall,
> Thou goest forth in hallowed time of Even." (p. 58).

We could fill pages with instances of this personification: Care, Penitence, Gaunt Ruin, Guilt, Remorse, Embryo Resolves, Warnings, Judgment, Desolation, Self-Slaughter, Abstinence, and Admiration are some of the strange Frankensteins that roam about "The Baptistery."

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The last peculiarity we shall notice in Mr. Williams's poetry is a fondness for antithesis; and as this is often found in the concluding line of a stanza, we cannot help thinking he has caught the habit from Phineas Fletcher, whose "Purple Island" literally teems with instances. It sometimes gives a certain quaintness to the line which is not unpleasing; but by constant repetition it becomes insufferably tedious:—

"A state which nothing hath, yet all things doth possess." (p. 21).
"Whose word is endless death—whose favour endless grace." (p. 52).
"Of life that never lives, of never-dying death." (p. 56).
"The depth of love, our depth of woe,
The deep of heaven above—the deep of hell below." (p. 143).
"Which prays to live, and lives to pray aright." (p. 243).

A word on the rhymes in these poems. They are generally according to the principles of the best dictionaries on the subject; there are a few words, however, which seem fated always to introduce most barbarous sounds. One of these is the harmless dissyllable "even," which is forced into an antiphonetic intimacy with "driven" and "heaven," in the same stanza (p. 13); and again in p. 207: we meet them yet again in pages 45, 148, and 285. Another word is "dwell," which does not pleasantly respond to "tabernacle" (p. 132), to "unmoveable" (p. 139), to "unspeakable" (p. 138), to "unchangeable" (p. 184), to "untraceable" (p. 209), or to "syllable" (p. 292). "Tread" and "read" (present tense), "won" and "onson" (p. 154), are bad rhymes: "joined" and "mind" (p. *ib.*), abominable: "poor" and "store," "lone" and "upon" (p. 171), "clear" and "interpreter" (p. 173), may be classed in the same unmusical company.

Such is "The Baptistery." Considered in its relation to rhyme and reason, we certainly wish it had more of both; but still it is as it is—the best production of a bad school.

All the other books of the same style, with the exception of "The Christian Year," are little foolish caricatures of one another, exceedingly tiresome and utterly unpoetic. With the sentiments therein we have here nothing to do. They profess to be poetry, and they are not even prose; while they ingeniously exhibit through this neutral tint all the shades of incoherence that we have had to notice in their choragus, Mr. Williams.

We do here entreat the authors of these little books to exercise their ingenuity on ornithology, conchology, ecclesiology, or anything else they please, provided they will steadily adhere to the resolution of versifying only for the amusement of their friends. Prose is much more tractable; colons and semi-colons

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may be freely used, and the rules of grammar may even be complied with. They cannot tell how keenly they will enjoy these literary luxuries: sense and full-stops are not to be met with every day, so we do beg of them, for their own sake, to lose no time in acquiring a taste for such useful enjoyments.

ART. VI.—*History of France.* By Mons. MICHELET, Principal of the Historic Section of the Archives of France.

2. *History of the Germans.* By KARL ADOLPH MENZEL, Royal Consistorial and School Councillor of Prussia.

3. *Theocratic Philosophy of English History.* By the Rev. J. D. SCHOMBERG, B.A., C.C.C., Vicar of Polesworth, Warwickshire.

THE study of history has ever been considered as the noblest employment of the human mind, and historians have always been regarded as benefactors to their country and to mankind. What are we without an accurate acquaintance with the history of those who have gone before us? What pretensions can we have to wisdom and knowledge, when we are ignorant of the sources of experience from whence they are to be derived? Unless we are versed in the annals of our race, our knowledge, derived from experience, will be limited within the circle, or society, with which we are brought into immediate contact. The understanding will be unstored with the treasures which have been accumulated by the past generations of men; the sympathies of the heart untouched with the joys and sorrows which have chequered the pathway of former travellers in the journey of life; the judgment will remain weak and impoverished, unable, from its ignorance of the past, to form a just decision on the progress and direction of the present; whilst the imagination, unpictured with the glowing representations of bygone days, will be deprived of its power to reflect its shadowy splendour on the pathway of existence. The soul will remain almost a blank, upon which nothing will be apparent, except the fleeting impressions of the present, rendered legible only in the misshapen characters of prejudice and selfishness.

Such being the relative importance of historical knowledge, we find that mankind have ever laboured in the preservation of those materials from which such mighty advantages were to be secured. It is a kind of instinct in our race to hand down to posterity the memory of those actions in which they have been engaged, and to record even the thoughts by which they have been agi-

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tated. For this purpose, in the remote ages of history, the rudest and most unsatisfactory methods were adopted; so that a prodigious mass of the primeval records have perished, being swept away by the resistless tide of human vicissitudes.

The mind imbued with the love of its species, and touched with a lively interest in all that has ever marked its progress through its sublunary course, mourns over the blank which has thereby occurred in the annals of mortality. Probably, had these records reached our times, they might have been the source of greater sorrow to us. Indeed, from the brief account of man and his institutions, under the ancient monarchies, preserved to us in the inspired writings of the Jews, we have reason to fear that a more particular history would only have been a record of human crimes and human calamities.

Even in the pages of the Greeks and Romans, to whom we are so much indebted for their historic researches, we find copious details of human weakness and folly, and a heavy balance-sheet, preponderating vastly against the sum of human happiness. But such is the lot of our condition. The full mixture of good and evil belongs to us; and it is the study of these, in their causes, in their inter-comparison, and in their results, from which the historian is to collect the lessons of wisdom, and enlarge the sphere of our moral achievements.

In this view, history has sometimes been explained as moral philosophy, exemplifying and illustrating her instructions by the lives and actions of mankind. Facts are the basis of history, not history itself. Facts are the material substance—history the indwelling spirit. When philosophy presides, and directs and arranges the materials of history, her productions are exalted and durable, and when assisted by the inspirations of religion, they are almost divine.

That prince of moral philosophers, Cicero, though little tutored by the heaven-born sister of philosophy to which we have just alluded, has, notwithstanding, delivered the most just and oracular sentiments upon the subject of historical writing. According to Cicero, an historian must be a man of virtue and integrity: *he must not dare to say anything that is false, or be afraid to speak the truth.* And—

"Because (says he) in great and memorable events we are desirous to know, first, their causes, then the actions themselves, and, lastly, their consequences, the historian should take notice of the springs, or motives, which occasioned them; and, in mentioning the facts themselves, should not only relate what was done or said, but likewise in what manner; and, in treating upon their consequences, show if they were the effects of chance, wisdom, or imprudence."

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Had these simple, natural, although limited instructions for the compilation of history been always adhered to, the dignity of historic composition would have been secured, and its utility to mankind much increased. Nor are we at a loss to divine whence the Roman orator derived the information which enabled him to propound the laws of historical composition. Thucydides was the fountain of his inspiration, as he was also that of the mighty Demosthenes, who is reported to have transcribed the history of the Peloponnesian war eight times—a work in which Thucydides stands unrivalled for the fire of his descriptions, the preciseness of his thoughts, the impartiality of his judgment, and the force of his narrative. Of all the Latins, perhaps Tacitus comes nearest to the Ciceronian model, and of all the historians of antiquity, possesses the most cultivated and polished genius. His writings, without attempt, without any affectation of reasoning, delight, whilst they instruct. His obscurity, so far from being a blemish, gives additional grandeur to thoughts already noble, and sentiments already profound. The philosopher is delighted with the comprehensiveness of his thoughts, and the politician with the sagacity of his reflections. No disguise of the human heart can escape his penetration, and with perfect ease he unfolds the springs of the most secret transactions. The design of Tacitus is to rouse his countrymen to virtuous exertion; and by placing before their eyes the most affecting pictures of oppression and slavery, to rekindle, if possible, the expiring flame of liberty in their bosoms. The design of Thucydides is rather suggestive than manifest. He begins his history with the unhappy state of his countrymen; and in the course of his energetic narrative, sufficiently intimates that their own conduct was the cause of all the calamities they were suffering. But Herodotus, the father of history, whilst he charms with the unbroken simplicity of his narrative, and discovers less of the philosophy of history, yet appears to us, as to his design, to stand on higher ground, and to work out a greater conception. In the commencement of his history he shows, that the barbarians were the aggressors in the wars carried on between them and the Greeks; and concludes with the condign punishment, which, after many ages, they received from the Greeks on that account—a circumstance at once agreeable and instructive—by showing to his countrymen their own favoured position, and the justice of the Gods in retributing upon whole nations the injuries which they have inflicted upon their fellow men.

Herodotus is like the quiet river, winding its way through the tranquillizing scenes of the valley, replete with life and beauty,

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and at length terminating its lengthened course in the ocean's boundless depths. But Thucydides is more the mountain stream, descending from its majestic height—now flashing in the sunbeam, now concealed in the narrow declivities of the rocks, and again appearing, and dashing downwards to its resting place in the valley beneath. But we have other work before us, besides bathing in these classic streams, and must pursue our course amidst scenes of elemental strife and perturbation, through which the genius of man, soaring and "ballooning heaven-ward," hath formed a mighty pathway into distant regions of thought.

The mind is baffled in all its attempts to form any idea of the state of literature, in that remote period of the world which gave birth to such a sublime and finished composition as the "Iliad." All that relates to Grecian civilization lies hid in darkness, till Homer bursts forth at once, like "a day without a dawn." The religion of the Greeks and their literature were embodied in music, and passed from age to age on the "winged words" of mighty song. And when the heart-stirring melody ceased—when her greatness passed away, and she fell under the yoke of all-powerful Rome, yet even then her genius triumphed over her hardy conquerors, and the *mind* of Rome was subject to Greece. The writings of the Greeks were treated by the Romans as "sacred things:" they were exalted as the standards of perfection, and every departure from them was considered as a defect. Yet the Romans were noble imitators, and perhaps the world has rather gained than lost by the circumstance. Had they copied from nature, as the Greeks had done before them, their ruder genius could never have reached the excellence to which it has attained. The Latin writers, in their imitation, had the benefit of choice and selection. And it is in the taste and ability which they displayed, that their surprising excellence consists, giving such a charm to their writings. If there be less to enkindle genius, there is also less to offend taste. The manly character of the Romans rejected from their literature those ornaments which were merely for display. The philosophy of Rome was plain and practical; and the refined speculations of Athenian subtility yielded, among the Romans, to the maxims which directed States, or, were of use to the regulation of private life.

After this noble and successful effort of the Romans to copy, and, in some respects, improve upon the models of Grecian literature, the human mind, as if exhausted with the achievement, sunk for ages into a state of inaction and torpitude; and it was not till the Reformation, and the revival of letters in this

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latter age, that a new and more powerful impulse has been given to the intellectual powers of man, and which is now carrying him beyond the bounds of ancient authority. At the dawn of this era in the fourteenth century, literature was made up of what it derived from the peculiarity of the Gothic genius acting on the revival of classical learning; and as it is much easier to borrow than invent, originality of thought was well nigh lost in the servility of imitation. But the mind, disenthralled, was not again to be shackled, and mighty influences were at hand to direct and facilitate its future progress. And it has been an arduous career.

The Reformers themselves were men of giant minds, and the human faculties had never been so profoundly and universally stirred as in the disputes between them and the Church of Rome. The momentous struggle was not, like many other questions, confined to one country, or to a few speculative individuals in every country, but extended its influence to all, and agitated Europe from one extremity to the other. The effort was vast and simultaneous, and discovered that the long sleep of the human mind was effectually broken; but still the difficulties with which it had to contend were immense.

Whilst the Reformers were busily employed in conducting the religious controversy, and canvassing doctrines more sublime than had ever occupied the attention of the ancient philosophers of Greece or Rome, they entered not upon those subjects of enquiry which were certain, sooner or later, to occupy the thoughts of men, before whose eyes the whole universe was now unveiled. It is a pity they did not speak out on the subjects of moral and metaphysical enquiry. When they did, it was oracular. We may judge of this from a passage in Melancthon, where he combats the pernicious dogma of certain theologians, who insisted, that all moral distinctions took their rise from the arbitrary will of the Deity:—

"Wherefore our decision is this: that those precepts which learned men have committed to writing, transcribing them from the common reason and common feelings of human nature, are to be accounted as not less divine than those contained in the tables given to Moses; and that it could not be the intention of our Maker to supersede, by a law graven upon stone, that which is written with his own finger on the table of the heart."

Such writing as this passage contains makes us regret that a system of ethical science did not emanate from such a pure source. But it was left for others; and when the Reformers had been removed by death from the scene of their pious labours, and the minds of men had been allowed time for re-

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flection and repose, they began to look into the vast accumulation of the materials of knowledge which had been gathering around them, and to try their strength in their arrangement and application. Bacon was the first to apply his mighty powers, and to reduce to order the chaos of moral and philosophical science. But the mind of man, so lately set at liberty, was not yet prepared to submit to the restraints of the inductive philosophy. Many a flight was to be attempted, and many a discomfiture experienced, before it would be willing to limit its pretensions, or own its dependency.

Scarcely had Bacon laid the solid foundations for the future researches of philosophers, than Hobbes, his friend and disciple, disdaining to be trammelled by the sure and permanent principles of his master, dashed at once into all the difficulties which had ever tortured the discursive faculty, and by his bold assertion of the epicurean philosophy, roused his countrymen to thought. The metaphysical mind was now in motion, and that explorative power by which it searches into the nature of its own acts and its connection with the universe. The intellectual action spread like the electric power ; and, in rapid succession, a series of writers arose, whose sentiments must, in some measure, affect the course of our future speculations. In Great Britain, such names as Bacon, and Locke, and Newton, and Clarke, and Bayle, and Hume, and Hartley, and Berkeley, and Butler, and Reid, will identify the period. France will be signalized by the names of Descartes, Condillac, D'Alembert, Helvetius, Rousseau, Malebranche, and Diderot ; whilst in Germany it will be remembered by reference to the names of Leibnitz, Wolfius, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Jacobi, and Reinhald. But these mighty debaters and masters of metaphysical science have passed away, and the vain and elaborated speculations of the majority have perished with them. Not that we consider their enterprize ignoble, or their efforts useless: on the contrary, we consider the struggle in which they were engaged the most noble that can occupy the human faculties. They were the quarrymen, breaking up those mines of human thought which had been interred for centuries. They were the pioneers of other days: nor must their labours be underrated by us, who are reaping the fruits of them. What, although some have broken away from the moorings of long-established truths, and from the fixed doctrines of "the faith," and launched their barks on the pathless ocean of the universe, without star, without guide, relying upon their own resources, and attempting to fathom its depths with the plumb-line of their own reason! Their course was perilous; nor have their explorings been in

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vain to us. Whilst we behold them wrecked on that illimitable profound, let us not withhold our sympathy from their fate, especially as their errors have been the means of enabling us to ascertain the proper limits of human enquiry, and thus to explore its most remote regions with safety. Without attempting to canvass the questions discussed in their voluminous writings, it will be sufficient for our purpose, in progressing towards the point at which we aim, to lay hold of the grand results of their speculations, and thus discover the actual pathway which the human mind is at present traversing.

The *Materialists* confounded mind and matter, annihilating all moral distinctions, and admitting nothing beyond the material world. The *Idealists*, rejecting the guidance of common sense, denied the reality of the external world. The *Realists* admitted that there was a real world, but that it could not be *immediately* apprehended, but *mediately* through our perceptions; whilst the *Sceptics* outraged the convictions of mankind, by maintaining, that as the external object and the conception were not the same thing, the latter might be a very distorted image of the former, and that, consequently, there could be no certainty in any of our enquiries. The difficulties which they found in solving the great problem—the connexion between the mind of man and the external universe, arose from their unnaturally severing the objective and the subjective of human knowledge—that is, the reality and our perception of it. This difficulty no longer exists. Modern philosophy has shown the impossibility of dissociating them, and discovered their *radical identity*; not that the moderns lose sight of the distinction between mind and matter. There is a distinction, or there would be no consciousness of knowledge. By one *law* of intelligence, we separate the objective and subjective; and by another, we blend them into one. They differ in their natures, but they are not separable. The objective light differs from the mind which perceives it; but when it becomes thought, it is amalgamated with the subjective. It is only in union that light can be made a comprehensible thought. This identity obtains as an universal law, connected with our present existence. One cannot be conceived without the other; when the objective is thought of, it is not without the subjective. Hence, the objective comprehends the subjective, and, in fact, is nothing without it—the subjective embraces and comprehends the objective, and is inconceivable without it. They are mutually dependent, and are, as it respects man, in inseparable unity.

But we have been assisted in this important discovery by the labours of our predecessors in metaphysical enquiry; and if we have obtained a place of rest from whence we can with advan-

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tage survey the system of things with which our own destiny is so intimately associated, let us not forget the steps by which we have ascended, nor despise the hands by which they were framed.

Nor must we neglect to observe the prodigious effects of the agitation and searchings of the human mind. Society was stirred up from its lowest depths. The tumultuous workings of thought, which had been imprisoned for centuries, burst forth from their inmost and secret recesses, and swept, like a hurricane, over civilized man and his institutions. Nor has its influence yet ceased to operate; and we may hope that, under the guidance of a beneficent Providence, it will operate favourably upon the destinies of man, as the devastating tempest upon the material world. But it was on France that all its first fury fell. The Necessarian, or physical-cause philosophy, inculcated by such men as Grimm, Diderot, and Helvetius, and nurtured by others into a voluptuous epicurism, was left, without counteraction, to work its pernicious way through every rank of society. Man, reduced by this mad philosophy into a mere machine, acting under the law of a necessary and invincible impulse, like all other parts of creation, and reduced to the level of the "beasts that perish," soon discovered, when divested of those moral principles by which he had hitherto regulated his actions, that he was as superior to the brute in those faculties which are exercised in the perpetration of evil, as he had before been declared to be in the performance of virtuous actions.

The deep-seated volcano of moral evil, which was thus engendered in the very bowels of human nature, soon discovered itself in the phenomenon of the French Revolution. It burst from its dark recesses with such unexampled malignity, as if some infernal crater had been opened, foreign to the very nature of man, hurling the fragments of moral disorder over the blackened face of creation. It seemed as if, in its rage, it would overthrow the solid foundations upon which humanity rested, filling the minds of those removed by some brief space out of its course with terror and amazement. The infuriates, who inhaled the pestiferous influence to the full, rose up in mad rebellion against the laws of their being. They blasphemed against the light of nature—they broke down the distinctions between right and wrong—they rose in tumult against established order, broke asunder the bonds of humanity, and rose in frenzy against each other. They even threatened heaven itself, and, braving its resentment, rushed forth to destroy what remained of beauty or harmony on the face of the intelligent creation. But there was a merciful and presiding power over the interests of man, who controlled the impotent struggle, and after directing its course, retributed back upon it all its insolence, and, with perfect ease,

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after years of fretting, turned it, like the ever-restless ocean, upon the desolation which it had occasioned. Nor has its tumult yet subsided. We still hear its hoarse murmurs as it lashes the barriers by which it is confined. The mind of France is yet entirely unsettled, and every page of their literature shows that it has not found that resting-place after which the mind of man, from its very construction, must aspire. Whatever impression France has received from without, has been imparted by the German philosophy, which took a different course, set out on a different tack, and dashed at once into the boundless and unfathomable ocean of "*pure reason.*" Whilst the French philosophers were confounding mind and matter, reducing every thing to a continuous being, and preparing the way for a universal Atheism, the Germans were oaring their way into the opposite extreme, and were intent in excluding whatever was material from their world of mind. With the former, what was palpable was real, and was everything: with the latter, nothing was real but what was invisible and purely intellectual.

Happily, in England the sober common-sense principles of metaphysical science were much sooner evolved. The same principles which occupied the attention of the continental philosophers gained equal attention in our own country, and were pursued with an ardour and an ability unprecedented in the annals of literature. We have already enumerated some of the names of the champions engaged in this strife of mind; nor was it long before the natural sagacity of the English nation, which has ever manifested a practical tendency in all its philosophical researches, prevailed over that subtle and degrading philosophy which attempted to overthrow all the long-established principles of moral dignity, to confound man with the inferior creation, to remove the distinction between right and wrong, and to destroy in man that self-respect which is the ground of all moral improvement, and which can alone render him serviceable to the great community of mankind. It was this grand practical settlement of the metaphysical question that has given such a decided superiority to English literature. In many respects it will not bear a comparison with the erudition of Germany, which, taking its character from its philosophy, is a literature of literature—an elephantine mass of knowledge, which is with difficulty moved to any practical purpose. But English literature, taking its rise from juster views of metaphysical science, and adapted to the truth of nature, is at once profound and elegant, imaginative and useful, and far outstrips its heavy and encumbered rival in all that constitutes the true glory of learning.

It is an inconceivable injury to the advancement of a country

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when its learning takes a wrong bias from the very beginning, as has been the case in Germany. It is manifest that all the accumulations of knowledge must take their character from that science which includes the mind itself in the range of its investigations. It is from that source that it derives its power, and extends its enquiries into the volume of nature—searches into its depths, surveys its breadth, and mounts to its sublimest heights—extorts its secrets with the crucible, ascertains its limits by numbers, and applies its principles by its abstractive power. Literature itself, apart from nature, of which it is the reflection, is unintelligible. It is the comprehending, adjusting mind that gives to it its particular character, and a tendency for good or evil. Every part of human knowledge, every department of intellectual enquiry, is affected by the metaphysical mind. Every branch of learning is tinctured with the principles which it has assumed as the ground of its decisions. Nor is any branch of study so thoroughly pervaded by its influence as history. When the actions of men—their sufferings, their acquisitions, their institutions—come under the review of the philosophic mind, the indwelling and speculative thought will mix itself with every word and deed of the chequered page, and sympathizes even with inanimate nature itself. What, indeed, can be so calculated to draw out its energies, and to occupy all its reasonings, as the doings and destinies of man? Even in ancient times, when metaphysical enquiries were little known compared with our own age, the mind of the historian could not be confined within those narrow limits which had been assigned to him as his proper province. Livy and Tacitus have both been censured for deviating from what was considered the calm and simple style of narrative into the warmth and colouring of poetry; and it has been thought necessary, by very learned critics, to defend these great writers for being so far transported by the warmth of their minds, in describing great transactions, as to depart, in such instances, from the true simplicity of history. Vain criticism, that would bind the soul of man by the cold rules of an arbitrary logic! What! shall the historian, who records the past transactions of man, with a view of instructing, and improving, and advancing his fellow-men, by deriving to them all the lessons of wisdom which are to be learnt from the dear experience of the past, be tied down by rules which would entirely fetter his intentions? The annalist is one thing —the historian another. Annals are the records of memory—history is their unravelling and their application. Annals are the materials of history: it is the creative, disposing mind, which stamps a worth upon them, and imparts to them true

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dignity, by making them available to the improvement of man. This we apprehend to be the grand design of history, and the only rule by which it ought to be governed; the mode in which it is to be accomplished must be left to the taste and management of the historian himself; and it is the manner in which he accomplishes his undertaking that must become the subject of criticism. Lay down what rules you please, you cannot bind the intelligent principle; you may cripple history, and prevent its full application, but you cannot prevent the complexion of the author's mind from finding its way into the historic page.

In our own country, as we have observed, the mental strife which succeeded the revival of letters in Europe was much sooner composed, than on the continent. Hume, in all the calm tranquillity of an historian, rose out of the clouds and darkness of that elemental struggle; and, although his pernicious system of philosophy was demolished by the strong sense of his sagacious countrymen, yet it lives in every page of his work. Fortunately, he was under the trammels of the old prejudices respecting the nature of history, and, therefore, does not give a very enlarged scope to his philosophic speculations. But still they pervade his history. It has no warmth, no grandeur—it is a cold, cheerless page, and its tendency is to destroy the governing principles of our nature, and to fill the mind with doubt and uncertainty. In this respect, although a work of great labour and learning, it sins against the grand law of history, which must have the improvement of society in view; instead of which, the pages of Hume furnish arguments against his happiness, and sap the foundations of his brightest hopes. The style is painfully elaborate and affected, and, as might be expected, a recurring sameness and profusion of epithets, which render the perusal of it heavy and tiresome, insomuch that Knox, in his essays, predicted that the work would gradually be consigned to "its peaceful shelf"—an elevation however which it has not attained.

But the opposing and common-sense school of philosophy in Scotland produced another historian of great and deserved celebrity, whose works must ever retain a prominent place in the literature of his country. This was Robertson, whose high moral qualities and enlightened hold of truth gave him a decided superiority over the ancient historians. He possesses all their excellences, and searches more fully into the causes and motives of actions, and dwells more largely upon their results or consequences. But he departs from the simplicity of nature; he wants the sympathetic philosophy of mind; he is too much of an observer, and too little of a man; he is too much of a writer —too little of a philosopher. His style is elaborate, but it is

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too generally so. It describes the counsels, the wars, the sufferings, theh appiness of man, in the same diffuse and ornamented style; but these are blemishes on the surface. His works possess an intrinsic merit—a moral power, which will ever sustain his great reputation, and tend to secure the best interests of his countrymen.

But there was yet something to be done. The light of revelation, although manifestly shedding a moral lustre over the pages of Robertson, had not been allowed to shine with sufficient steadiness on the great paths of literature. In France there has been one attempt: the philosophic mind has spoken out from its inmost shrines, in mystic and almost in miraculous words, in the pages of M. Michelet. But in England, literature has been progressively advancing under the guidance of its practical philosophy, and gradually allying itself with that light which comes down from heaven, direct upon the ways of men, and offers itself as a guide to human reason in all its researches into the past, present, and future.

Experimental or practical philosophy, which searches into the condition of the external world, has a necessary connexion with the philosophy of the attributes of mind, which examines and extends its enquiries into the inner shrine of man, and scrutinizes the principles by which he is governed; but when this science is further extended to consider the principles upon which the uncreated or gubernative mind unfolds the operations of his attributes or his moral nature, it becomes something more grand and instructive. The physical appearances of the world or nature are no longer the engrossing subject of its study: it takes a much more sublime flight, and surveys the bright face of truth under a different and more inspiring aspect. Nor is its scrutiny into the nature of the things with which it is surrounded of a less certain character than that of experimental philosophy, or its response of a more ambiguous character. The principles upon which its reasonings are conducted are as infallible, and more easily determined. It takes its rise from the facts connected with, and emanating from, the world of mind displayed in the social condition of man, and bases its determination not only upon the unvarying results which have been observed to attend them, but by a strict and impartial reference to the laws which have been revealed in the indisputable standard of moral right and wrong in the volume of inspiration.

It is upon these principles of a sound and inductive philosophy, derived from actual experience, and supported by the unerring laws of the Supreme Governor himself, that one of the works standing at the head of this article is founded—"The Theocratic

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Philosophy of English History," by Mr. Schomberg. The work is certainly a strong effort, and, we consider, a great step towards placing the history of the human race upon its proper foundation.

The matchless wisdom and unerring skill displayed in the work of creation—the unfailing order of the constitution and course of nature, is full of instruction, and proclaim a God through all his works. Nor are the traces of infinite wisdom, unerring rectitude, and unceasing benevolence, less manifest in the conduct of human affairs. It is impossible to examine the records of times and seasons without perceiving, that in the midst of the conflicting and contending elements of human society there is an invisible Almighty power at work—a grand and pervading agency secretly going on, reducing the apparent chaos to order, assigning to each portion its proper boundary, and making all concur towards one harmonious end. In this view the facts and occurrences developed in the page of history are more astonishing than those displayed in the volume of nature, and which cannot help striking the most superficial with a conviction of the divine superintendence. It is Dr. Chalmers, who, in reference to these views of historical knowledge, has emphatically said—

"It is the scepticism of the heart, and not of the understanding, which denies a superintending Providence. In no other case would a man allow himself to speak of effects without referring them to an adequate cause, or permit himself to indulge the chimerical thought, that the stupendous conduct of the mightiest empires depends upon a mere contingency, a phantom, a creature of the understanding."

Amongst the German authors who have written well, Müller, in his "Universal History," discovers this mysticism, this uncertainty of moral judgment. The creations of his imagination alarm him, and he is afraid to pass a moral verdict on any subject whatever. Herder, also, who is much esteemed amongst German writers, and who has written a "Philosophical History of Mankind," wandered far and wide to bring together the treasures of genius. He was of a plastic, susceptible nature, and had the faculty of divining, "where he could not clearly see his way;" and, like Müller, has verged towards the undecided and indefinite in his speculations. The German philosophers have been led astray by this mysterious light, and their "Titanic achievements" in literature have only rendered them sublime monuments of intellectual power, seen through the mists of their "romantic philosophy."

But whilst the German mind is still tossed on the sea of thought, and lashed into turbulence, and even fury, yet we per-

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ceive the sign of an approaching calm; and they who are now the quarrymen of learning may yet be the master-minds to build up the temple of truth in all its proportion and beauty.

The "History of the Germans," noticed at the head of this article, is a work of superior merit, and brings down their history from the Reformation to the present times. There is a strain of moderate and rational philosophy in the tone of enquiry, and which, carrying out the system of tendencies, gives a comprehensiveness to the spirit of the work, which is of deep interest to the reflecting mind. The Germans are not good writers. Their language is the language of erudition, heavy, laborious. But Menzel writes more like an Englishman, and comes directly to the point, if we may so speak of a writer, who, following in the steps of his predecessors, not only avoids giving a *decided* opinion of his own, but, departing from all German example, has abstained from all speculation whatever. His work is an interesting narrative of the Reformation, in which the various actors are made to speak in their own language. But a great deal of the value of such a work is lost, from the circumstance that many of the persons introduced do not speak *all* themselves. Luther speaks, but it is a garbled Luther, that will not do in England.

M. Michelet's work, although it has not accomplished any distinct purpose, yet has removed the ancient limitations, and enlarged the domains of history. In narrating the events, and recording the actions of men, he has included the history of society in all its varied and ever-changing forms—all that is noble, picturesque, and social in the history of man. Nothing in science, art, language, costume, and manners, is foreign to his purpose: everything that belongs to man and his habitation are mixed up together, and amalgamated by the power of the imagination; so that history, in its old-fashioned dress, is lost amidst the profusion of ornaments. But the capital defect is, that the great and prominent facts of history have no greater meaning than the most trifling incidents, and all its moral lessons lost in the speculations of a vague, adventurous, resultless philosophy.

But whilst man, like any other material thing, is left to be the creature of circumstances, or of the natural and necessary impressions of the external world, yet this philosophy attributes to him something more elevated and sublime—the power of "idea;" and by this term M. Michelet must mean the *abstract* idea, because he applies it to the formation of "civil order." Now this power of abstraction is the essence of the reasoning power, and which has always been considered as the peculiar attribute

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of intelligence which distinguishes man from the inferior animal. But the dubious page of M. Michelet, which considers civilization to begin when man devotes himself to an "idea," would overthrow the system of humanity, and disjoin "idea" from the reasoning power. Man, in the simplest form of his existence, always did devote himself to an "idea," because, whatever were his institutions, however rude and barbarous they might be, as long as they discovered the exercise of the reasoning power, they were the results of "idea."

But the very statement itself, that civilization begins when man devotes himself to the "idea of civil order," is not true; and it is astonishing how M. Michelet could be overcome by such an unpractical statement. That "civil order" is a necessary adjunct of man's condition, and a law by which his present existence is governed, is too plainly established by his past history to require elaborate reasoning. But it is utterly improbable that man ever did devote himself, *à priori*, to the idea of "civil order." It was what he was ever pursuing, always labouring to attain; and after long and searching enquiry, based on past experience, wrought out by slow and painful degrees under the guidance and presidence of the great Being who made him. But M. Michelet would make "idea" a product of accidental forces, or a creation, which might or might not arise in the course of necessity, in like manner as results arise from the necessary workings of nature. Hence it is that, in his theory of the population of France, he considers the various classes of men which have at various times overspread the Gallic continent —"the exuberant and prolific seed-tides of life"—as forming the "chemical" ingredients, out of which the mind of France has been formed. "France (he observes) has made herself out of those elements from which any other result might have arisen!" Throughout this whole passage there appears to run an ideal necessity, dependent upon such surrounding elements as are fitted to work upon it. Without denying that "national character" is dependent, in its formation, upon a great variety of external circumstances, which it would be impossible to canvass at present, we may assert, that it cannot be explained without reference to the moral condition of the people. M. Michelet asserts, that whatever may be the national character of the French—the "mystery of its separate special existence"—yet "any other result might have arisen!" Its formation is a multifarious jumble of things—a chaos, fermenting, decomposing, thwarting, and at length producing a certain result, which might have been otherwise, if other elements had been at work! But what need is there of mystery? The records of the human race

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are before us, and we ever find that their "special" character and institutions have been formed on the exercise of the moral principle, acting upon the surrounding "elements," or circumstances, of their condition. The free agency of man everywhere appears acting, more or less, in conformity with the law of rectitude impressed upon his condition, and rendered illustrious in the revelation of Christianity, and receiving or retarding the beneficial results which the great moral Ruler hath annexed to its observance. But we must not pursue this subject further, but contrast with those subtle, mystic statements, the straightforward, practical remarks of Mr. Schomberg on this subject, which is the distinguishing character of the "English philosophy:"—

"The first settlers in Britain, no doubt, arrived under the most unfavourable circumstances. Immediately after the flood, the descendants of Noah began to spread themselves over the earth, and to recede further and further from the patriarchial seat. The emigrants from every colony, as they advanced to the western limit, would be composed of the bold and adventurous; and these, in general, would be young and inexperienced: the older and wiser would remain stationary. Thus the line of progress would be marked by increasing ignorance; and when they reached the shores of Britain, every trace of primeval knowledge would be lost. We cannot, at this point of advance, conceive anything to exist, save the wildest ignorance and the most ferocious barbarism. Even the primeval language could no longer remain. Every new emigration would impart a new dialect to the mother-tongue; till at length, degenerating with themselves, it would lose its original character, and take a form more in unison with their habits and manners. The knowledge also of the true God would long since have been effaced. Aware how little the minds of young persons are impressed with just ideas of God, however diligently inculcated, we shall not consider it matter of surprise that the younger branches of uncultivated tribes, constantly emigrating to new settlements, should at length become totally ignorant of the true character of the Supreme Being. Had Noah accompanied them to our shores, it might have been otherwise; or had an elder chief been sent out with each migratory clan, things might have been in a better state. But there were, doubtless, many generations between Noah and the first adventurers that reached our shores; and these, let it be remembered, were generations of the thoughtless, the irreligious, and the profane. The only possible conclusion is, that the true God was utterly unknown. The settlers in Britain must have led for a series of years a savage and uncultivated life, till new stragglers coming over from the Gallic continent, the country became better peopled, and having no longer power to emigrate, the inhabitants would form themselves into petty governments, which would continue to be better organized as new emergencies arose. But whilst we are obliged to suppose a probability of improvement in their social state, arising from experience and necessity, yet we can by no train of reasoning discover a principle of regeneration for the mind."

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Mr. Schomberg has shown that the institutions of the Druids, so far from containing any moral germ, which might have been nurtured by circumstances into a state more advantageous to the moral and intellectual improvement of man, contained the death-bearing seeds of *moral evil*, which required to be exterminated, in order to prepare the soil for the culture of the moral principle. Nor was the extirpation of Druidism, or the introduction of Christianity, which was to be the foundation of all the future moral improvement of the Britons, the result of any "idea" which our degraded and miserable forefathers entertained of "civil order" or social happiness, but brought about by the manifest interposition of the moral Governor of the world, who, by the agency of the Romans, rescued the Britons from a state of degradation, moral and spiritual, from which the nature of things could never have recovered them. Mr. Schomberg has shown, as we think, that it is absurd to look elsewhere for any cause which could act as a regenerating principle for the ancient inhabitants of Gaul or Britain. The natural power and action of man's intelligent nature had produced its legitimate fruit, and had sunk him into the profoundest night of ignorance and degradation. The prostrate mind of the creature *unconsciously* appealed to the beneficence of the Creator; and a revelation was preparing, more clear and explicit than that contained in the volume of nature, affording transcendant views both of God and man, and opening to the human mind an entirely new world of thought and action. It is impossible, with the records of these times before our eyes, not to perceive the immediate interposition of the Deity in the events which marked the downfall of Druidism and the introduction of Christianity. But how can this divine interposition be limited or confined to any particular event? It is in vain that the philosopher attempts to exclude the great and blessed God from the world which he has made. The attempt is futile.

The continental philosophy, whether engaged in metaphysical or historical researches, proceeds on the supposition that the revelation contained in the sacred Scriptures is not intended to assist them in their enquiries. They do not reject them as a revelation from God, but consider them as not intended by the Divine Being as a guide through the labyrinths of nature. Certainly the Bible is not intended as a horn-book to science, or granted to the sons of men for the purpose of gratifying their curiosity, as to the frame-work and material working of this mighty globe on which we dwell; but directed to nobler ends, involving subjects of vast and momentous import connected with the immortality of our existence. But if so connected, it

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must involve the principle of every moral enquiry, or else why has the volume of inspiration been superadded to that of nature? If the teaching of nature could have worked out the moral excellency of man, why should a direct inspiration, like the Scripture, have been thought necessary, or such a dispensation as the Church instituted? It is most unreasonable to put the Bible out of our speculations.

There can be no proper application or apprehension of the nature of our moral condition or government without reference to the inspired oracles of God. Man may learn from the voice of nature, if his moral powers be sufficiently attuned, something of the mind of the moral Governor of the world. He may discover his wisdom and power in the stupendous fabric; he may learn his munificence from the teeming abundance of the soil on which he lives; and his beneficence from the harmonious adaptation of all the faculties for the enjoyment of whatever his bounty has provided. But the seeming evil which interrupts all the beneficent arrangements of Deity has a tendency to perplex the understanding and deceive the heart of man. On every side he beholds the most enormous suffering, man, in all his physical powers racked, dislocated, torn asunder—in all his mental powers harassed, excruciated, tormented. Wherever he turns himself his eyes are shocked with sights of pain and disease; his ears are stunned with the wails of anguish and heart-rending grief, and his heart oppressed with the outbreaks of madness and despair. Even the elements themselves confound his speculations into the nature of things. The rolling thunder, the storm, the earthquake, the hurricane, excite his alarm and destroy his hopes. It is true, a more extensive knowledge, a more refined philosophy, might teach him that his fears were visionary—that such appearances are necessary and even productive of good—that if not good absolutely in themselves, yet indispensable in carrying out the general operations of nature, as his own physical and mental evils are necessarily connected with the purification of his moral nature. But where shall he find an infallible guide to allay his anxieties and to assure him with certainty of the benevolent intentions of the Divine Being? Where but in the revelation of his will?

We contend that in everything around us, in everything within us, there is a voice, a loud significant voice; and that in revelation alone can a satisfactory exposition of that voice be found. Where the intellectual power in man hesitates or doubts as to the character of the voice, revelation affords him certainty—where he draws anxious conjectures, revelation secures him demonstration. The voice of nature and the volume of inspiration do not speak a different language. How should they differ?

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They proceed from the same source. Nature is the work of God. Scripture is "given by the inspiration of God." They necessarily agree on all subjects upon which they both distinctly speak. They are different works by the same author—they treat on subjects differently, but not discrepantly. It is the same Almighty Being who speaks in both. They contain the history of what he intends to communicate to his creatures. The two volumes complete the history. It is unreasonable to set one against the other: one is written in signs, the other in letters—one is animated by his Providence, the other by his Spirit. Whatever nature teaches of the character of God—whatever displays she makes of his wisdom, power, and goodness, revelation not only confirms, but extends by enlarging the boundaries of divine knowledge, and making us acquainted with the attributes of his justice, mercy, truth, and beneficence, not only as manifested in the facts of human redemption, but as set forth and displayed in the acts of his universal moral government.

And what is the reasonable course for us to pursue with regard to these two volumes opened to our perusal? We answer —to unite their testimony. Any other course, we contend, would be inconsistent, not only with reason, but common sense. Shall the Almighty God present us with two distinct methods of our arriving at the knowledge of himself and his works, whether physical or moral; and shall we presume to set up one in disparagement of the other, or shall we content ourselves with the information contained in the one, when the all-wise God hath considered both necessary for our instruction? Or shall we, from a false humility of reason, refuse to adopt the principles of God's moral government, set forth in the written word, as those by which he *now* regulates his acts, and rewards or punishes the actions of men, individuals or nations? The waywardness and presumptuousness of reason has manifested itself in attempting to act independently of them, and to work out her way through the labyrinth of human affairs upon systems of her own devising. It is in this manner that reason has erred, and lowered her just pretensions beneath the homeliness of common sense. Soon after the time of Lord Bacon, although he showed them "a more excellent way," the philosophers of England pursued this unhallowed track, and, by rejecting the light of revelation, perverted the instructions contained in the volume of nature so as to perplex the understanding, and deceive the moral conscience of men. Even her divines, for a short way, followed them in their unreasonable attempt to find out God and his will, independent of the broad and manifest principles of revelation.

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Happily, however, England was recovered from the fatal snare, and has been progressing safely in her career of knowledge, whether scientific, literary, moral, or divine. But in France and in Germany their great writers are bewildered in the labyrinth of human speculation; and reason, dubious and uncertain, awakening and re-echoing the responses of nature, rejecting her infallible guide, pronounces a feeble, partial, and erring verdict on every subject on which it is the province of the written word to pronounce.

The divines of Germany to this very day are wandering in this uncertain and unsatisfactory region of half-illumined reason. The Rev. H. J. Rose, in his work "On the State of Protestantism in Germany," called the attention of his countrymen to the state of divinity in Germany, but in tones so dissonant to the current of German thought, that they were thrown into still greater perplexity by his animadversions. In the very able rejoinder to Mr. Rose's work, written by Professor Bretschneider, the amazement is expressed in every word at the accusation of their learned opponent, that they taught "a mass of mischievous and evil opinions."

But the rejoinder itself sufficiently indicates the unhappy state of German theology. It shows that their philosophers and divines, having passed through the sea of scepticism and doubt, have landed on the shores of rationalism: that, having rejected the "speculations, conjectures, and learned hypotheses" of Horus, Bahrdt, Venturini, and "Brennecke, with his idea that Jesus lived twenty-seven years after his resurrection," they advanced to a somewhat more refined system, which included the "moral interpretation of Scripture," its explanation "according to a modern sense," "the natural explanation of the miracles of Jesus:" that these views, in their turn, were left behind with "Steinbart's scheme of happiness," and opinions against the "positive punishments of God;" and that they have now arrived at a higher heaven of rationalism, in which they "separate scriptural from Church doctrine," "distinguish, as far as regards the Bible, between it and the word of God therein contained," "between religious ideas and the exposition of them," &c.; and admit, as distinct "from general providence, a revealed operation of the power of God," in a higher sense than the pure rationalists—a state of theological attainment which, in England, we can in nowise flatter with the term "improvement," which permits its writers, as in the case of Doderlein, according to De Sacy, to have assisted in "le reversement du Christianism," and of whose famous divine and

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preacher, "Reinhard," it could be said, "assignerit a Jesus Christ le premier rang entre les Hommes."

Nor will this state of things be altered or amended till reason submits itself to the dictates of reason or common sense, and takes revelation as its infallible guide in all moral disquisitions. If the voice of nature is not to be suppressed when she utters but equivocal sounds—if every letter and syllable is to be collected and put together, and spelt and interpreted into meaning, why should the voice of revelation be rendered ineffectual by the interlineations and distinctions of reason? If God, in that revelation, has laid down what has been His conduct from the beginning in the moral government of the universe; if He has shown that He has invariably punished the wicked and rewarded the good; if He has afforded examples innumerable in individuals and whole nations; if He has overwhelmed a whole world with destruction for the enormity of their wickedness; if, during the time of Moses, He punished the whole land of Egypt for their obstinacy; if He cast out and destroyed the nations of Palestine for their iniquity; if, in the establishment of the kingdom of David and Solomon, He condescended to notice the most minute details of things, and to reward and punish every act of obedience or disobedience; if, in the establishment of Christianity, He has discovered the same manifestation of His moral attributes; must we now, because He no longer affords us a revelation expressive of His every-day acts—must we reject from our consideration the principles upon which He has declared that He has invariably acted in the government of the world? Are we to suppose that He has now abandoned its government, or that He acts on other and different principles? Certainly not: unbiassed reason has no alternative, but to confess that the principles of the divine government are the same they ever were; and, like the great and blessed God, from whom they flow, unchangeable. It is this view of things which has fully engrossed the mind of Mr. Schomberg, and he has distinctly and unequivocally carried it out in his "History of England."

Are we distinctly assured by revelation that the judgments inflicted upon that atrocious woman Jezebel, Queen of Israel, were retributory punishments for the murder of Naboth and her other cruelties? And shall we refuse to attribute the violent death and ignoble burial of Richard III., King of England, to the same almighty and retributory power? Was the deformed and unrecognized form, or the miserable remnants of the one, more signative of that inevitable doom which awaits the wicked, than the corpse of the other, naked and bleeding, thrown igno-

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miniously over the back of the unconscious beast to be carried to a miserable burial? Or are we to consider the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of England less indicative of the sovereign will of the Almighty Ruler, than that of David to the throne of Israel, after the rebellion of Absalom? On this subject, Mr. Schomberg, after depicting the miserable death of Cromwell, adds—

"At this moment of time nothing appeared more improbable than the restoration of the exiled monarch. Every employment, every place of trust and power were in the hands of his inveterate opposers. The army was entirely at their command; and they were all *sworn* to resist the pretensions of CHARLES STUART.....The eldest son of the Protector was proclaimed his successor without the slightest opposition. Addresses of congratulation poured in from every city and county of the kingdom, and nothing appeared more firm than the sovereignty of RICHARD CROMWELL. He not only received the homage and congratulations of the army and people at home, but foreign potentates, by their envoys, admitted his title and recognized his authority; and every circumstance connected with his succession seemed to promise him a long and uninterrupted rule. But firmly established as his power thus seemed to be, it was doomed to be shattered *without a blow*, and all its fragments so entirely scattered and dispersed, that not a shred of it *should* be found, to say that it ever existed.

"The son had not the sagacity, nor the hypocrisy, nor the arts of management, possessed by his father.....and instead of adhering, in every particular, to the existing system, and symbolizing with the Independent party and its heterogeneous and fanatic train, he discovered his predilection for the Presbyterians. This was enough. The Independents were filled with jealousy and revenge. The flame of discord was kindled, and spread in wild confusion throughout the land. These two great factions once more prepared to contend for the sovereign power; whilst the cavaliers, astonished at the sudden strife, remained silent spectators of the scene. The contest was to end in the discomfiture of both, and in such a remarkable manner, that their destruction must be attributed to a divine hand. It was not to be accomplished by might, or by power; not a drop of blood was to be shed—scarcely a sword to be drawn: but it was to be silent and complete, by the force of circumstances which no human power could direct or control. They attracted each other like two angry and portentous clouds charged with thunders and death; but in the concussion, without ignition, without noise, they were scattered and dispersed into empty air!"

The author of the "Theocratic Philosophy" has traced with distinctness the almost miraculous steps by which the Restoration was effected, and which can only leave this impression upon the mind, that there is ONE that ruleth and judgeth in the world. History, we trust, is no longer to be confined within the narrow limits of simple narrative, or of occasional moral

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remark; but it is progressing towards a more enlarged and important sphere, and to embrace within its ample page all that refers to man, in his multiplied relations as a physical, intelligent, moral, and religious being.

The wise and the learned of all ranks and nations are looking out for, and aspiring after, something more perfect and satisfactory in society than hath ever yet transpired in the history of man. Our own literature may be expected to take the lead in directing the attention of mankind into this hitherto unoccupied but glorious domain of moral and religious improvement.

We look forward with sanguine hope to the time when Christianity shall pervade all our literature, as in the works we have been reviewing, and its influence be co-extensive with the human race in all its relations, institutions, habits, and laws.

ART. VII.—*Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, on the Theophania, or Divine Manifestation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; translated into English, with Notes, from an Ancient Syriac Version of the Greek original, now lost; to which is prefixed a Vindication of the Orthodoxy and Prophetical Views of that distinguished Writer.* By SAMUEL LEE, D.D., &c. &c. Cambridge University Press. London: Duncan and Malcolm. 1843.

2. *The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy: or, a Dissertation on the Prophecies which treat of the grand Period of Seven Times, and especially of its Second Moiety, or the Latter Three Times and a Half.* By GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B.D., Master of Sherburn Hospital, and Prebendary of Salisbury.

3. *A Dissertation on the Apocalypse, and the Period of* 1,260 *Years. With a Supplement on Scientific Chronology, &c. &c.* By W. CUNINGHAME, Esq., of Lainshaw. Fourth edition. London: Cadell. 1843.

4. *First Elements of Prophecy: including an Examination of several recent Expositions, and of the Year-day Theory.* By the Rev. T. R. BIRKS, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Painter. 1843.

THE recovery of this lost work of Eusebius is no less pleasing an occurrence than the discovery of some precious relic of an old friend would be, if accidentally preserved among the piles of a lumber room, or the miscellaneous collections of a broker's

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shop; and we owe our thanks to Mr. Tattam, who has brought the treasure to light, and to Dr. Lee, through whose learning and literary zeal it has been secured by the press from a second loss, and by translation set before us in such a form as to enable all to estimate its value; which, in its Syriac form, very few indeed of the readers of Eusebius, would have been able to do. And although a Greek work, in a Syriac translation, must necessarily appear to some disadvantage, Dr. Lee informs us that this rendering is so literal as to preserve the Greek idiom throughout, which peculiarity is calculated to turn our thoughts the more upon Eusebius himself, and cast us upon his other writings to understand the Platonic thoughts and expressions; of which we can only expect to find the indications, and not the full development, by transference to a dialect so uncongenial in its form and idiom as the Syriac.

The necessity thus imposed of referring to the other writings of Eusebius, in order to the full understanding of the Syriac version of the "Theophania," has given us the benefit of numerous explanatory notes and illustrations, brought together from other fathers of the same age, or the same theological school; and Dr. Lee seems to have left nothing undone by which he thought the reader might be furnished with means for ascertaining the exact meaning of Eusebius. We are of opinion, that even when we are reading the very words which the fathers wrote, and perfectly understand their language, we can fully comprehend their meaning only as we throw ourselves in thought on the same times and circumstances, and so get into the same spirit as themselves—a condition which is quite indispensable in such instances as the present. But to one who does so transfer himself to the times of Eusebius, it would scarcely seem necessary that Dr. Lee should have entered so largely as he has done, in the preliminary dissertations, on a defence of Eusebius from the charge of Arianism, which has sometimes been brought against him, and which the present publication may perhaps revive; and still less will he acknowledge the expediency of discussing the interpretation of prophecies, which occur incidentally, and as it were by the way, in the writings of Eusebius; but which, thus systematically brought forward and argued for, are rather to be considered as the opinions of Dr. Lee, than those of the Bishop of Cæsarea.

It is not our intention to enter upon a minute examination of the treatise now brought to light, the general features being obviously similar to the known works of Eusebius, and it being probable that all those to whom such a review would be interesting will already have perused the work and formed a judgment

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of it for themselves. The competency and fidelity of Dr. Lee none will venture to call in question, and all that we could expect to do would be suggesting here and there a somewhat different rendering, merely from regard to the context, and without presuming to enter the lists of Oriental criticism with Dr. Lee, or being able to assert that the Syriac would admit of such a rendering. A passage, for instance, occurs (p. 174), which Dr. Lee pronounces to be very obscure, and suspects to be in a corrupt state in the Syriac, which passage appears to become very much clearer by a slight change, suggested merely by the context, thus:—

"At any period, too, it must be a singular thing *which He brought to this world* of mankind [that He should come into this world]; and that the only Son of God should, in truth, ever have appeared to those that are on the earth; and that the whole race of man should through Him receive one who should *in His own nature* [in their own nature] so introduce *Him* [them] to the righteousness which is true."

The words which we have put in brackets suggested themselves in place of the words we have put in *italics*, when we read this passage. That such a change improves the sense is obvious; but whether the Syriac will bear it, is a question for Dr. Lee. We might give many other similar instances, but after all it would be only guess work, and might be mere waste of time. It is more within our province, and more to the purpose for informing and interesting our readers, that we should advert to the preliminary dissertations of Dr. Lee, rather than to the work of Eusebius. And the second of these, which treats on prophecy, is in itself so extraordinary, more especially, too, when regarded as coming from one who stands thus high in letters, that some notice of it is absolutely necessary: for which purpose we shall have occasion to refer to the modern interpretations of the Apocalypse, and therefore take Mr. Cuninghame's as one of the best, Mr. Faber's Calendar, and also take the "Elements of Sacred Prophecy," by Mr. Birks, as bringing out some points which do not form part of the interpretation of the Apocalypse, but are touched upon by Dr. Lee.

Eusebius, living in the time of Constantine, when Christianity became the religion of the empire, had some excuse for his mistakes concerning the fulfilment of prophecy; but to adopt the same "prophetical views" now, with the experience of so many centuries intervening, and the falsification of all those expectations which led to these *views*, admits of no such excuse; and we confidently assert that were Eusebius to live now, he would change his views. Before the conversion of Constantine, the power of the Roman empire had been for nearly three centuries

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directed *against* the Church, which not only withstood every assault, but gained ground, and proved itself the stronger of the two; and when *both* became combined, and the power of the empire was exerted *in favour* of the Church, it was not unreasonable to expect, through such an union, that the triumphs of the Church would pervade the Roman world, and spread even wider, and stretch to lands where the Roman eagle had as yet never flown—that the Gospel would thenceforth proceed, conquering and to conquer, till every tribe of the human race should hear and obey, and all the predicted blessings contained in all the prophecies should find their exact accomplishment.

But *now*, after the *failure* of these expectations, and with the experience of fifteen centuries to teach us the unlikelihood of any such success, under the present constitution of things, for men to expect such a fulfilment of prophecy seems passing strange. And when they go a step further, and tell us gravely that the prophecies are *already* fulfilled, and would persuade us that we are actually living in the millennium, or after the millennium—for they are not quite agreed which of the two is our state of blessedness—and that Satan actually is bound, and that men actually have beaten their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, we are at a loss what to say. We can only express our doubts whether absurdities so great would be tolerated on any other subject.

In a note at p. 282 of the "Theophania," Dr. Lee observes—

"From this reasoning of Eusebius, it is evident that he believed that *the end* had come. And in this there can be no doubt, I think, he was right; but as this involves a question very ill understood at this day, it may be right to offer a few words here as to what is meant by the *end*. .....The *end* of the matter is said to be, when the kingdom under the whole heaven shall have been given to the saints (*i. e.*, the Christians); in other words, when the kings of the earth shall have become its nursing fathers, and queens its nursing mothers.....But the kingdom of the saints is never to end (*i. e.*, as far as prediction is concerned); it can, therefore, have no *last days*, *latter days*, or the like. When any such terms are referred to the last judgment, the language is doctrinal, not prophetical. I conclude, therefore, that this *end* did come when the persecution of Dioclesian ceased; for then all the conditions of prophecy had been fulfilled. Eusebius is therefore right."

And speaking of the Apocalypse, in the preliminary dissertation, p. cxlii.—

"To me the Revelation seems to contain three distinct visions: the first, ending with chapter iii.; the second, with chapter xiii.; and the third, to which additions are made, with the end of the book. The first vision contains a warning, perhaps, to the whole Christian Church then in being; the second and third are different visions relating to the same things; the latter, as in the visions of Daniel, being the more full

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and particular.....Add to this its own repeated declarations, that what was then said was shortly to come to pass; and we shall be led to a conclusion, as strong as words and facts can make it, that the purposes of God, as declared by the prophets and generally summed up in this book, have been long ago fulfilled and finished."

And again—

"I need now only say, all these things have been done: the old and elementary system passed away with a great noise; all these predicted empires have fallen; and the *new kingdom*, the *new heaven and earth*, the *new Jerusalem*—all of which were to descend from God, to be formed by his power—have been realized on earth. All these things have been done in the sight of all the nations; God's holy arm has been made bare in their sight; his judgments have prevailed, and they remain for an everlasting testimony to the whole world; his kingdom has come, as it was foretold it should, and his will has, so far, been done; his purposes have been finished." (p. cli.)

What can we say to such passages as these? They are little less opposed to common sense than the ravings of monomania. What exposure can heighten their absurdity? And we know that this is not a solitary instance; others entertain similar opinions, and ought to carry them out the same length, if they would be consistent. This is what few have the hardihood to do, and we are only adverting to it now as a strong instance of the conclusions to which every spiritualizer of prophecy may be driven, if forced to carry out his system. Such loose interpretations of Scripture seem to be treating the most sacred of books with less respect than we show to profane history; but want of reverence is not the fault—want of order and consistency is the evil. Habits of vague and indefinite musing on sacred subjects may be indulged, until the boundaries between the real and the unreal, the lucid and the obscure, are practically obliterated; when we may be brought to regard the creations of fancy, and mere exercises of ingenuity, as realities. And the next step is easy—the expecting others to receive the *views* in which we have become thus confident, without any question; as though these views were associated with the divine verities themselves, and were the only sound and rational opinion which may be entertained concerning holy Scripture.

"If Daniel has, in all his visions, so limited the things respecting the last of his four dynasties, and the commencement of his fifth; and if all the declarations cited from the other prophets and the Psalms do, according to the interpretation put upon them by the evangelists and apostles, fully conspire with the times and events so pointed out—which, I affirm, is the fact—then I say, it will not only be folly, but impiety of the most daring sort, to attempt to fix other limits, and to point out other events, as the mere fancy of the individual may suggest; and

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then to call upon believers to act upon these as faithful indications of the divine will." (p. cxliii.)

And thus we see that the same confidence in the truth of what he holds is felt by Dr. Lee, accompanied with the persuasion that those who differ from him are following their own individual fancies, and not the opinions of the Catholic Church, and still less the mind of God as contained in the Scriptures.

No doubt it is the duty of every individual to check and correct his private fancies by looking to the opinions of the Catholic Church, and also to bring these opinions continually to the test of the word of God. But both parties assert that they do so, and both claim with equal confidence to have Catholic truth and holy Scripture on their sides. And for ourselves we must say, that we think the assertion is made with more historic evidence to support it, and with more consistent interpretation of the Scriptures, by those who take the contrary view, than by Dr. Lee. For down to the times of Constantine, the Church appears to have been all but unanimous in holding the future and literal fulfilment of all the prophecies which we speak of; and they were first led into mistake by exaggerated expectations from the empire becoming Christian. And consistency of interpretation is certainly not on the side of Dr. Lee. For the other party, however much they may differ from each other, have each of them a system to propose, which is consistent in its parts, and, as a whole, agrees in its main features with that of the other interpreters; the differences being nearly all limited to minor, and comparatively unimportant details.

Our meaning will be more clearly seen by an illustration from prophetic *numbers*, and the way in which these are understood and applied by the advocates of past and the advocates of future accomplishment of prophecy. In the prophecies of Daniel various numbers are given, and these so interwoven with the prophecies in which they occur as necessarily to influence every interpretation; and by the confession of all, one of these numbers—the seventy weeks (Dan. ix. 24)—is fixed for its commencement to the return from captivity, and for its conclusion to the coming of Christ. The *exact year* of the beginning or end of this period is not the point we speak of, but its *duration*. The period must necessarily be four hundred and ninety *years*; for no shorter period can cover the space of time between the return from Babylon and the coming of the Messiah. But this principle being established, that the weeks are *weeks of years* in the prophecy of ix. 24, consistency requires that the other numbers of viii. 14, xii. 7, 11, &c., should follow *the same* principle, and *days* be understood to mean *years* in *these instances*

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likewise, unless reasons can be given to the contrary from the prophecies themselves. And in the prophecies of chapters viii. and ix., nothing short of divine assertion of the contrary would suffice, since the vision of chapter ix. is an *explanation* of that in chapter viii.; and the numbers in the *explanation*, and in the *vision explained*, will of course be of the *same kind*, or they would not tally. Furthermore, if the *whole period* of the seventy weeks be four hundred and ninety *years*, the *subdivisions* of that period are *years* also, and proportionate numbers of years likewise; so that a *week* would denote *seven years*, half a week three years and a half, and not uncertain or indefinite periods of time.

The party to which Dr. Lee belongs have as vague an understanding of the numbers as of the events of prophecy. Speaking of the seventy weeks, Dr. Lee says—"This I take to represent a certain indefinite period (*seventy*, *seven*, &c., being occasionally so used), to be determined by the events here foretold." (p. cxi. note). Then of its subdivisions:—

"We have already seen the events of the first sixty-nine of the weeks mentioned, determined; and, what is most important to our question, it is *determined that in the sixty-ninth of these the Messiah shall be cut off;* which, as we know when that event took place, we cannot but perceive was the period of that week's expiration. We come now to the events of the *one* (remaining) *week*, which makes up the seventy, or the whole period here had in view.....The predictions.....although differing in certain particulars from the preceding ones, do foretell the same events. The chief difference is, that they arrange these under a more specific determination of time, reserving to its *last period* all the particulars relating to the establishment of the Christian Church; and this last period it considers under the figure *of a week*. It then proceeds to divide this into two periods, the one preceding the fall of the temple and city—the other that which extends from that event, to the extreme period termed *the end*, when all these things shall be finished.....If, then, we may consider this period as constituting *a week*, we may call each of these its portions as its *one-half*, and we may then speak of them under the terms, 'time, times, and a half;' 'time, times, and the dividing of time;' or, 'three days and a half;' or, if we view the whole as a '*week of years*,' (*i. e.*, seven years) then three years and a half, or, in other words, '*forty-two months*,' or '*twelve hundred and sixty days*,' or any other number of days amounting nearly to the same sum. But if we consider the whole as constituting *a day*, then these portions may be designated by the terms '*the evening and the morning;*' if by a year, then '*summer and winter*' will mark its portions; or, if we take *a thousand years* to designate any one of these portions, then that which falls within the apostolic times will be the first of these; the other, that in which both the temple and city shall be destroyed, and extending itself through the whole of the times of the persecutions. And the same may be said if the period of *an hour* be taken to represent either of these, which,

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in the aggregate, will point out the whole period of this *last of the seventy weeks* given above. It is not pretended that these portions are to be considered mathematically or chronologically equal to one another; all that is meant is, that they should be considered generally as periods of time, to be determined, as before, by the events mentioned, and enounced evidently for that purpose." (cxiv.-cxvi. *Prel. Dis.*)

In a period thus elastic and accommodating, "termed the latter days, the end," &c., and "which may, in the figurative language of prophecy, be called a week," Dr. Lee immediately adds, "we cannot doubt that we have discovered a sure clue to the truth, as it respects this interesting and most important question." For our parts, we can discover in it no clue at all; but, on the contrary, it seems to jumble all times together—days, years, and centuries—leaving all equally undetermined, and so useless, as chronological marks. And it boasts as a *discovery* the strange inconsistency of making sixty-nine out of the seventy weeks to run out their course between the times of Daniel and the Messiah; in this agreeing in substance with the great majority of expositors, yet making the *last* week to require a totally different exposition, covering a great variety of periods connected with very different events, which yet, "in the aggregate, will point out the whole period of this *last* of the seventy weeks." And when it is added, that these portions are not "to be considered mathematically or chronologically equal to one another," we are left in a most uncomfortable uncertainty indeed, in a dissertation which professes to strengthen our faith, by leading us into the truth of the *more sure* word of prophecy. As an oriental scholar we respect Dr. Lee, but we cannot follow him as an interpreter of prophecy; probably we do not understand him fully, but what we do understand we reject.

There is another class of interpreters of prophecy as confident in their own opinions as the above, and as ready to charge those who differ from them with, "not only folly, but impiety of the most daring sort;" who yet understand these prophecies, and the events to which they refer, in a sense diametrically opposite to that espoused by Dr. Lee. The former understand all these prophecies as being past, having been fulfilled fifteen hundred years ago; the latter understand them as all future, none of them having as yet begun to be fulfilled. Against this latter party, Mr. Birks' book, in the greater part of it, is directed, and especially against Mr. Maitland, who is the most prominent person of this party; and against whom a large portion of the writings of Mr. Faber and of Mr. Cuninghame have also been pointed. Total want of accuracy, and treating everything as figurative or imaginary in prophecy, has been the bane

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of the former class of expositors; and too servile an adherence to the letter, instead of the spirit and intent of prophecy, which leads to a similar inaccuracy, has been the bane of the latter class. The opposite errors of both parties proceed from a misapprehension of the nature of symbols; the former confounding them with figurative, the latter with real things. Prophetic symbols are typical representations of future things, which things, when they appear, will have among themselves the same order, and proportion, and relation to each other, which we find in the prophetic symbols; and thus they will answer to each other almost as the wax answers to the seal. Symbols are not arbitrary or figurative, but most accurately adapted to convey a precise meaning; and they are not a representation of the future thing by way of vision or rehearsal, but by means of other appropriate things. The beasts in Daniel are not visions of other beasts about to arise; but they, in the power which they put forth against each other, represent future contending powers, and the effects which should follow from those contentions. In like manner the times given to these beasts symbolize proportionate times of continuance for those future powers; and these *accurately* proportional: so that when we have determined the time of any one number in the fulfilment of these prophetic visions, this will determine the fulfilment of all the other numbers belonging to that vision; because in the fulfilment they all are exactly proportionate to each other, just as they are so in the prophetic vision.

It is from a sense of the great importance of prophecy to the Church, and of the divinely-chosen appropriateness of the symbols with which it is associated, and in which it is often couched, that we are induced to bring the subject before our readers. And sad indeed should we be to think either of the parties we have named to be right in their notions concerning prophecy: for the one party making it wholly past, the other making it wholly future, they both equally and entirely deprive the Church of its blessings. They suppose the Church to have been left to grope on in the dark, without that sure word to which St. Peter says we shall do well to take heed until the day dawn: and they would direct the attention of the Church back to periods of time before her greatest perils arose, or forward to a period when her dangers shall be past; and so are unwittingly, but most surely, taking the very way to disarm her of watchfulness and preparedness for those trials, which our Lord and all the apostles have declared to be the most severe that ever have, or ever shall, come upon the generations of man. We are convinced, with Mr. Birks, that these prophecies refer especially "to the

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Church of Christ in its actual state and present dangers, and a right view of their true meaning is therefore of the highest importance." (p. iv.)

When we examine the history of God's ways in past times, we find that the faithful had always some word of promise belonging to themselves, and to their own times, upon which they could lay hold, as the pledge and earnest of the greater, and future, and heavenly things to which they looked forward. And man being as much the creature of time as of place, time has always formed an ingredient of the revelations made to man; and time so introduced as to be in harmony with the other circumstances, and to give confidence to faith, yet still leave the times and the seasons in the power of God alone; so that of the day and hour of a coming event no man shall know beforehand; while that such events are about to come the Church ought to know, that she may be watchful and ready *at all times*, which she would not be if she knew either *too much* or *too little*. If the Church knew exactly when the crisis would arrive, she would be negligent *beforehand*, and oppressed with apprehensions *at the time*, and so fail in her duty; and total ignorance, as we know from experience, would but issue in total neglect of her duties *at all times*. The four hundred years' affliction in the land of Egypt was revealed beforehand to Abraham, and belief in this formed one of the ingredients of that faith for which he was commended; and on it both Jacob and Joseph laid hold by faith, and desired that their bones should be in the land of promise when the time should come. The seventy years' captivity in Babylon was revealed to Jeremiah, and he evidenced his faith by several acts; and at the end of this period, Daniel, in faith, prayed to God that Israel might be restored to the land, according to the promise in the prophecies. And while Daniel was thus praying in faith for the accomplishment of the events connected with one series of numbers, other events connected with other numbers were revealed to him, the chief of which events is the coming of the Messiah, and in the running out of which times the whole purpose of God concerning this world should be accomplished, and there should be time no longer; inasmuch as there would be no more stages of accomplishment to be measured, but all the designs of God would then stand eternally complete.

This is the great point to keep in view concerning the prophecies of Daniel—*they cover all time*, they fill up the whole period from the return of the Jews until the end of the world; and the different numbers are therefore only subdivisions of this long period, marking particular events affecting the Jewish peo-

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ple, rather than the Christian Church. But since the numbers of Daniel include *all time*, they do include the times of the Christian Church; and the particular events affecting us as Christians are to be found in the Christian records, and especially in the Apocalypse of St. John, which exactly fills up that part of the times in Daniel which is left undetermined and comparatively blank—the time following the last of the seventy weeks, and running on to the time of the end. These three principles appear to us most obvious and most incontrovertible; but simple as they are, if they were held fast and acted on, they would go very far towards removing the difficulties, and ending the controversies which we see and lament.

It must have been observed by every attentive reader of Daniel, that each vision has reference to a termination, called the time of the end (vii. 26; viii. 17; xi. 35; xii. 13). And this is an appointed time (viii. 19; xi. 35), in which all the things spoken of shall be finished (xii. 6, 7), namely, when the vision (vii. 13, 26) and the declarations (xii. 2, 13) shall be accomplished—when the dead shall be raised and the kingdom of heaven shall come. So it is equally evident that the welfare of the Jewish people was peculiarly the desire of Daniel, and formed the burden of his prayer, and that in answer to this desire of his heart the revelations were given. "While I was speaking and praying, and confessing my sin, and the sin of *my people* Israel, &c.....seventy weeks are determined upon *thy people*," &c. (ix. 20, 24). "Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall *thy people* in the latter days." (x. 14). And the Apocalypse takes up the time when the seventy weeks terminate, at the casting off of Messiah, and the abolition of the law, and the casting off of the Jewish people, and runs on through the history of the Christian Church to the same time of the end mentioned by Daniel, when the mystery of God shall be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets (Rev. x. 7), and there shall be time no longer (Rev. x. 6; Dan. xii. 7). Wherefore, if any one shall disbelieve and reject these three principles, which seem to us so indisputable, we can only say to such an one, that he will not feel the force of our arguments, nor are we aware of any that can by possibility apply to such a case.

To one who admits these three principles, the prophecies themselves contain internal marks sufficient to prevent mistakes, and for teaching us not only the order of events, but in a great degree, and within the necessary limits, the time of their accomplishment. So that, as at the time of the incarnation, many of that generation knew that He was about to come,

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though they did not know the very year, nor the exact particulars, so also all the great events of the Church may be known and expected by the faithful of those generations in whose times they are respectively appointed to take place. And there will always be some, however few they may be, waiting for the consolation of Israel, and ready to acknowledge the hand of the Lord in his wonderful works among the children of men. Taking the seventy weeks of Daniel, for instance, and interpreting it solely by internal evidence, we should say, that as in the midst of the last week sacrifice and oblation are said to cease, this connects that point of time with the crucifixion; which, being the true end and accomplishment of all sacrifice and oblation, has abolished them, causing them to cease by fulfilling them. And then, it being also declared that He shall confirm the covenant with many during this last week (Dan. ix. 27), we remember that our Lord's ministry of three years and a half was to the Jews, and the ministry of the first apostles, also exclusively to the Jews, for three years and a half; which, taking the vulgar reckoning of A. D. 30, as the commencement of our Lord's ministry, would give A. D. 37 as the termination of the seventy weeks. But if A.D. 37 be the termination of this period, that number subtracted from 490, will give the year 453, before Christ, for the commencement of the seventy weeks. And as the vision in chapter ix. is only an explanation of chapter viii., and the seventy weeks are cut off, or taken from the larger number of 2,300, in chapter viii., this larger number has also the same commencement, viz., B.C. 453, and its termination will be A.D. 1847. And who shall now call the expectation unreasonable, that before the expiration of four years from the present time the Holy Land may be cleansed from that foul Mohammedan pollution which has lain so long upon it?

Where it is possible to get a general and well-connected view of such prophecies as of those of Daniel, and fix by internal evidence any one of the dates, it furnishes an interpretation sufficiently exact; and also evades many difficulties which appear formidable to ordinary readers, as well as being in general more satisfactory: for the chronological difficulties do not affect such an interpretation, since all the dates become so connected, that whether we follow Hales or Usher, it affects not the practical result. And what is most important to us, it makes our own times an element, and gives the interpretation a practical bearing upon ourselves. In like manner, we find in the other prophecies of Daniel further information given to him concerning things affecting his people, both before the expiration of the seventy weeks, in the contests between Persia and

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Greece, between Syria and Egypt, at the beginning of chap. xi., and also towards the close of the long period succeeding the seventy weeks, called the time of the end, of which it is said that those will be called blessed who are found enduring to that time. It is these latter numbers, which evidently belong to the very end of the latest of the periods referred to in Daniel, that enable us to connect the times of Daniel with those of the Apocalypse. For as the earliest times of St. John immediately succeed the seventy weeks of Daniel, so the latest of St. John coincide with the last chapter of Daniel, and the interval between the commencement and the close of the Gentile dispensation could not be filled up from Daniel alone, without the assistance of the revelations of St. John.

And even in the Apocalypse it is possible to get a connected view of the whole, and to fix on some well-determined point, which will lead to a knowledge of all the dates of these prophecies of the Christian Church, which will be sufficiently accurate and satisfactory for the general reader. In Daniel, the crucifixion of our Lord, determined by the event, forms a fixed point of time from which the other dates may be calculated backwards and forwards. And in the history of Christendom, the French revolution was an event of sufficient importance to justify the expectation of finding it noted in the prophecies of the Gentile dispensation; and that we may find in this event a fixed point of time from which the other dates of the Apocalypse may be calculated. The moderns appear to have good grounds for the generally prevalent idea, that the 1,260 years of the Apocalypse terminated at the outbreak of the French revolution, and consequently began in the time of Justinian, and in those edicts by which, A.D. 533, the Emperor confirmed and established the supremacy of the Pope. But since the power of the Pope extended only to the western half of the Roman empire, we must also find some eastern horn of oppression, whose times may coincide, or be synchronous and parallel, with the western. This can be none other than the Mohammedan imposture, which brought in its own reckoning of time, and has fixed its own epoch at the Hegira, or, in our mode of computation, A.D. 622.

The Roman empire is regarded as one power in the Apocalypse, and is represented by one beast of continuous existence, though varying in form; as, in Daniel, the two legs of the one image represent the eastern and western divisions of the one empire, and so carry Daniel's visions into the latter times of the Roman empire, before which times the division had not taken place. But this also requires that we should be shown, in the

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Apocalypse, that the western half is a continuance of the same empire which is seen as one in Daniel; and as the visions of the Hebrew prophet are carried forward to Christian times, to indicate this future division of the empire, so the visions of the Christian prophet are carried back to times preceding the Christian era, to show the former oneness of the Roman empire —of the one beast, and one city, or dragon. This is done by means of the mysterious number 666; which, being applied to the commencement of the great epoch of 1,260, carries it back, in either division of the empire to an era, which marks more strongly than any other the former connection of that part with its corresponding half, and the former unity of the whole. Thus in the eastern division, going back from the Hegira of 622, we are brought, in 666 years, to the forty-fourth year before Christ; in which year the Julian computation of time began, which has been as universally adopted in the west, as the Mohammedan computation was in the east; and pointing to the first of those Cæsars who did for so many ages hold the dominion both of the east and of the west. And in the western division, if we trace back the Roman history for 666 years before the time of Justinian, we arrive at the year 133 before Christ, when Attalus, by will, left his dominions to the Roman people, which they considered as giving them legal title to possessions in Asia, and which all historians have regarded as the commencement of the Roman ascendancy over the successors of Alexander.

That the numbers given both in Daniel and in the Apocalypse are very important parts of divine revelation, will be manifest to every one that considers the emphatic way in which they are introduced; and being convinced of this, it surely well becomes us to give to this part of the word of God our reverent and diligent attention. As Mr. Birks well observes—

"Wherever there is a peculiar solemnity in the introduction of any statement, there must clearly be something answerable in the truth which that statement was designed to convey. Now, in the case of most of these numbers, this peculiarity appears very striking in the manner of their introduction. They are not given in passing, nor as matters of subordinate importance. On the contrary, the most various methods are used to point out their peculiar character, and the deep significance of the message they contain. It is in connection with one of these dates that our Lord receives the title of the WONDERFUL NUMBERER.....This surely implies some meaning deeper than appears on the first glance at the words of the vision." (p. 330).

And, in like manner, when the seventy weeks are given, it is by an angel expressly sent from heaven for that single purpose.

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The numbers also of the Apocalypse are given in a way to mark them as emphatic portions of the visions; as when it is said—

"Here is Wisdom! Let him that hath understanding count the number."

Surely if men considered this, they would desire the knowledge of these things, and feel greatly obliged to those who endeavoured to facilitate the acquisition of this knowledge. But many, in these days, think it a mark of spiritualiy to neglect such studies, and even sneer at those who are thus engaged.

For assisting enquirers, Mr. Birks' book will be found very useful. He devotes several chapters to answering objections to the "year-day theory," or the interpretation of prophetic days as literal years; and he shows that we must interpret the numbers thus accurately and proportionately, from the conditions of the prophetic problem which is to be solved, from the numbers being all so connected as to require one and the same interpretation, and from some of them being so short a time as to be utterly inapplicable to any great event, it not being possible that such an event could take place in *half a day*, or in *an hour*. Besides, Mr. Birks shows that fractional portions of time, as half a day, were not taken account of in those times; and that the time of our Lord's lying in the grave was therefore reckoned three days, although it was only one entire day, and a fragment of the day preceding and following:—

"How should the half day (Mede enquires) be a competent time to distinguish, or limit, any of the actions there mentioned? In short, we have about thirty passages in Scripture where three days are mentioned to define an interval, and four where four days occur; but nowhere else is the fraction of a day introduced in such a measurement of time. If the Holy Spirit had intended natural days only, would he have used a preciseness in the statement of time, which is nowhere else employed, in nearly forty examples, not even in that most important of all facts, the resurrection of our Lord?" (p. 380).

But those who would understand how deep are the mysteries which are contained in sacred numbers—how many are their aspects, and how universally they have been written by the finger of God, not only in prophetic visions, but in all the cycles which determine the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, so far as they have been discovered by astronomers, should study Mr. Cuninghame's work; the one end of which seems to be, the assertion of consentaneous harmony, proportion, and consistency in all the operations of God. That as he at first created all things

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in an orderly manner, and in regular determinate sequence of time, and constituted the heavenly bodies for measuring by their revolutions the times and the seasons, the days and the years; so, by his providence, which waits upon and accomplishes his purpose, he has governed the world, so as to make the rise and fall of empires, and the revolution of states, to take place at like appointed times; and to harmonize with, or result from what is done at the same times within the Church. And this, in order that men may know that the Most High doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and that none can stay his hand, or say unto him, "What dost thou?"

And not only in the question concerning numbers, and the collateral questions in chronology and history, but on the Jewish question, and on symbols, and all other subjects which tend to elucidate prophecy, Mr. Cuninghame's work will be found to contain fuller and more accurate information than any other work of the kind we have lately seen. Those who may not ultimately agree with the writer in all his conclusions, must be pleased with the earnestness, zeal, and singleness of purpose with which he has for so many years devoted himself to this one pursuit, and qualified himself more and more for prosecuting his object successfully. And from the straightforward honesty, both literary and moral, which he has shown, Mr. Cuninghame has had little to modify, and less to retract, in his long and controversial career; since he has not made assertions without having first taken all possible pains to assure himself of their accuracy; and where he could not be thus sure, he wrote with diffidence, and if uninformed, was content to appear ignorant. There is but one other writer on prophecy who can be put on the same level with Mr. Cuninghame, namely, Mr. Faber; and in consistency Mr. Cuninghame has the advantage.

The points of controversy which take up so large a portion of the works of these writers we cannot examine, both from want of sufficient space, and from not choosing to occupy ourselves and our readers with questions, interesting indeed, but not bearing directly and practically upon the present critical times, which require, and should absorb, all our energies. Not that these points should pass unexamined—not that they will fail in rewarding and strengthening those who engage in the examination; but that the work now before us is not speculation, but action—not what the Church has been, or has done, in any former age, save as the knowledge of it may nerve and arm her now for a present struggle, in which her very existence is at stake. All the writers on prophecy, and especially those whom

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we have named, agree that we are living in the last days of the Church, and that therefore the great tribulation, and apostasy, and last effort of antichrist is at hand. And the prophetic Scriptures teach us that this time will be unprecedented, and cannot therefore be adequately conceived by regarding only the past trials of the Church. Every principle of truth will be assailed by every principle of error which it is possible to conceive. It will be an assault upon the Church "whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceiveableness of unrighteousness." (2 Thess. ii. 10). Each man must be armed, if possible, at all points, but especially in those points where there is weakness. And weakness is to be suspected, and an assault to be expected, in any point in which any of us are deviating from the one Catholic Church, in doctrine or discipline, which may fairly be called universal.

Mr. Cuninghame evidently rejects Episcopacy—an order which has undoubtedly obtained in the Church most universally, and from the very earliest times. This is his weak point, and on this side he is to be regarded with caution. And we shall generally find some other point in exaggeration—not merely in consequence of a deficiency, but as having turned aside the attention from the weak point, by engrossing it wholly in another quarter. The point in excess in Mr. Cuninghame's system is too minute an attention to particulars, both in numbers and events, which sometimes tends to lower the dignity of prophecy from solemn announcements of the Most High—of which mankind is the subject, and the glory of God the end—into ministrations to the narrow and selfish schemes of this or that party, and this or that individual. With cautions such as these, Mr. Cuninghame's work may be read with great advantage by all; and, notwithstanding these drawbacks, they will find an enlarged, philanthropic, and Christian view of all passing events, stated in a clear, candid, and charitable manner; and they can scarcely fail to rise from the perusal without deeper convictions of the importance of the present times, and resolutions invigorated and determined on the side of God and of truth, both to do and to suffer whatsoever he hath appointed, knowing that he will be with them:—

"It is possible to search into the times with reverence, to conjecture with diffidence, and to derive from them, like Daniel, motives to watchfulness, and incentives to confession and prayer. Nay, to those who are wise with a holy wisdom, and who have the promise that they shall understand, they may even furnish a distinct and accurate insight into the nature of some of those events which may be speedily coming upon the earth.

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"On the other hand, that entire rejection of all prophetic chronology which follows, of course, on the denial of the year-day, is most of all to be deplored, from its deadly and paralyzing influence on the great hope of the Church. No delusion can be greater than to expect, by excluding all reference to dates and times, to awaken Christians to a more lively expectation of their Lord's second coming. For, in truth, without reference to such dates, in an open or disguised form, not one solid reason can be given why the Church may not have to wait two or three thousand years before the promise is fulfilled. The declarations, 'the time is at hand,' were true and pertinent, when the event was eighteen centuries removed. And hence they form no barrier to the supposition that eighteen centuries more may have still to intervene. Every sign of the times is either too vague to direct us, or, in proportion as it becomes distinct, assumes practically all the characters of a numeral date, and becomes exposed to the same objections. The prophetic times, indeed, when separated from the context, and viewed in themselves only, are a dry and worthless skeleton; but when taken in connexion with the related events, clothed with historical facts, and joined with those spiritual affections which should attend the study of God's providence, like the bones in the human frame, they give strength to what was feeble, and union to what was disjointed, and form, and beauty, and order, to the whole outline and substance of these sacred and divine prophecies."—*Birks*, pp. 415, 416.

"It may be well to trace the secret spring from which the erroneous theories seem to have arisen. A strong leaning towards a modified Popery, and an instinctive dislike of Protestant truth, appear, in one or two instances, to be the real motive. But there are others, and these are the greater number, in which it would be unjust to offer the same explanation, and where there is no conscious intention of undermining the Protestant faith. The error seems to be of a kind entirely distinct, and requires a deeper search to explain its true nature and origin."

"The word of prophecy, then, has a lower and a higher object. The first relates more directly to man, and has two main subdivisions —the conviction of the unbeliever, and warning or guidance to the faithful Christian. The latter relates to God himself, and the manifestations of the divine counsels in their spiritual glory. The former has reference to the personal interests of man; while the latter raises our thoughts into the light of heaven, unveils to us the scheme of redemption, and the glory of the divine perfections." (p. 422).

"But perhaps the most striking and impressive truth to be learned from these fulfilled prophecies is the sure progress of all history towards its consummation in the kingdom of Christ. When all these visions are loosened from their connexion with the past, their influence must be small. We cannot tell how wide a space may separate us from the current of those great events to which they relate. But when we trace the clear accomplishment of all the opening visions, then we are, indeed, surrounded by the tokens of God's providence before us, and behind, and on every side. We see plainly that we are embarked in the midst of a mighty stream, which is hastening onward to the ocean of eternity.

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We can mark the steady and onward course of the divine counsels in past ages, at the present hour, and in future years, till they open out into the immeasurable glory of the world to come." (p. 429).

The question concerning the interpretation of prophecy has been made far too much a question of details, whereas it is primarily a question of principle. The principle involved is the supremacy of God—his continual supremacy, and in the affairs of the world as well as in the Church, and among those who believe in his presence. None will deny openly, and in so many words, the sovereignty of God; and they do not perceive how near an approach to this men may unconsciously make, while it seems to themselves that they are only resisting the arrogant dogmas of rash or half-mad enthusiasts. Yet God himself, in all the prophecies, calls upon men to mark the fulfilment of them as the very evidence by which he hath chosen to make manifest the difference between the true and false gods—between himself and the idols of the heathen. The pretended gods know not coming events, and are unable to hasten, or delay, or frustrate the orderly march of providence. But this providence is not casual and accidental—is not even a law arranged at the beginning by the Almighty, and then suffered to work out its own course; but God is in the providence. He works by it; and exactly what he intended he also accomplishes. And then, to give us full assurance of this, and entire confidence in him, that which is about to be done is declared beforehand, the plan and the execution being his own, and providence thus the handmaid of the word. Yet, in order that it may be wholly his own, the declarations are made in such terms, that man cannot foresee the mode of their accomplishment, so as to be able, by his short sight and puny hand, to help forward, or retard, the counsels of Infinite wisdom and Almighty power, should he be weak or wicked enough to contemplate such a thing. And thus the expectation of an act, and the unexpected manner of its being done, are mutual corroborations of our faith in the word and in the providence of God, while, in the accomplishment, he has all the glory. These principles, too, have a far more important bearing upon the interpretation of prophecy than men generally apprehend; for the symbols themselves, as well as the declarations, must needs be enigmatic—must needs contain much more than that which meets the eye. The symbols must wait for their interpretation by the providence of God, as the words are in this respect ambiguous, in order that the symbols may not prematurely make known those things which the words are studiously chosen on purpose to conceal. But if days, in symbolic prophecies, meant literal days, there would be no

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enigma—no mystery, no concealment. This part of prophecy, then, would be not only inconsistent, and out of harmony with the other symbols and with the verbal declarations of the prophecy, but would actually frustrate its main intent. The period of time would not be symbolic of another period of time, therefore would not be prophetic, but would be literal assertion inexplicably thrust into the midst of prophetic declarations and symbols.

Those who acknowledge God's hand in all things—whether past, present, or future—will not be at a loss to discover the traces of his workings, corresponding in all points with His prophetic declarations. And those who find a difficulty in discovering this correspondence, have reason to examine themselves, and to search their own hearts, whether the fault may not be rather in them than in the objects of investigation. It is always a formidable thought to be brought into contact, as it were, with God, and to know and to feel that we, and all around us, are so in the hand of God, that everything wrought by us has a bearing upon the destinies of the universe, and the advance of the kingdom of heaven, and the manifestation of the glory of God. From this it is that we are sometimes shrinking, when we vainly imagine that we are only questioning the assertions and the systems of men. But as it is a divine verity, stable as the foundations of heaven itself, that not a sparrow falleth to the ground but by the appointment of God, and the very hairs of our head are all numbered; so also, and *à fortiori* too, the destiny of man, of nations, of the world, is but another word for expressing the purpose of God towards them, which he has known and determined from the beginning, and which he superintends and carries through, in order that no creature may interfere with it, and no creature share with him in these Godhead attributes. Prophecy, rightly studied and truly apprehended, ceases to be regarded as at all partaking of speculation, and becomes at once the most practical and the most sanctifying of religious occupations; a study most conducive to solemnize the mind of man in the consciousness that he is thus the continual subject of the almighty power of God, and most calculated to glorify God, by the witness borne to their fellow-men by those who are thus solemnized and acting under this immediate consciousness.

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ART. VIII.—*The Quarterly Review*, for September, 1843. Murray.

2. *Fraser's Magazine*, for August and September, 1843. Nickisson.

3. *The Dublin University Magazine*, for September, 1843. Curry and Co.

4. *The Real Monster Evil of Ireland.* By A. G. STAPLETON, Esq. Hatchard and Son.

5. *The Portfolio.* August, 1843. Maynard.

6. *Irish Landlords, Rents, and Tenures. With some Observations on the Effects of the Voluntary System, by which their Church is supported; or, the Moral and Social Condition of the Roman Catholic Population.* By AN IRISH ROMAN CATHOLIC LANDOWNER. Murray.

7. *Thoughts on Traits of the Ministerial Policy.* By A VERY QUIET LOOKER-ON. Aylott.

HOW to rule Ireland, so as to secure her welfare, yet maintain her dependence; so as to repress her spirit of insubordination, and yet attach her to her English governors; and so as to cause her to feel, on the one hand, how much she owes to English capital and protection, and yet, on the other hand, to encourage in the minds and hearts of her population a sincere attachment to the soil of their native country, has long been a desideratum in the science of Government.

Various have been the systems resorted to by the successive Governments of Great Britain. Prior to the revolution of 1688, as well as long afterwards, Ireland was made to feel that she was a conquered dependency. She saw her manufactures confined to her own provinces, her commerce oppressed by unwise prohibitions, her Romish population subjected to penal laws, and her sons generally made to feel that they were the descendants of the conquered. But the wise and paternal Government of the great and the good grandfather of our present Queen removed various restrictions, benefitted the coasting trade, and prepared the way for that measure of 1829 which admitted the Roman Catholics to their share of political power.

But the Irish say, "Though you repealed the penal statutes, and though you benefitted our trade and commerce, still you continued to confer power only on Protestants, and refused to open up the road to office and honours to the Catholic majority." Lord Wellesley's Administration gave the lie to this sweeping charge; Lord Melbourne's Administration exceeded the bounds of propriety, and threw the whole weight of Government patron-

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age into the Romanist scale; and at the very moment we are penning these lines even the Papal press is indignant, because, to prove the fairness and equity of the Government of Sir Robert Peel, a serjeant's coif has been bestowed on a Romanist barrister of second-rate merit.

Mr. Stapleton, in his admirable pamphlet, entitled "The Real Monster Evil of Ireland," has observed of these opposite systems of Government, that under the system of conciliation, both to the whole country and to the Popish majority of the population, cordiality on the part of that majority did not increase. This is so true, that even the Repeal movement, which has assumed such gigantic dimensions, has grown up beneath it. It is also true, that neither during the gradual progress, nor subsequently to the complete development of the system of conciliation, has there prevailed any greater degree of internal tranquillity than during the periods when the laws were most severe, and even strictly penal. So true is this in every particular, that a calm and serious observer of Ireland and the Irish is compelled to arrive at this result, viz., either that the Irish so hate the English, and so revolt in heart against their connexion with this country, that nothing but separation, not only of a legislative, but of a constitutional and territorial character, would satisfy them; or else that there is some secret cause for this feeling of deep dissatisfaction, which has not been yet examined with sufficient care, or met by adequate and suitable remedies. For we are not to be drawn from this fact, that a system of conciliation has not subdued animosity, and that internal tranquillity has not been secured by a kind and paternal system. And if any one should feel disposed to question the accuracy of this statement, we would ask whether it was not in 1793, after all the penal laws had been repealed—after important political privileges had been conceded to the Romanists—at the time when Napoleon Buonaparte was heading an army of invasion on the opposite shores, that the moment was chosen by the haters of English rule to organize and carry into effect a fierce rebellion in Ireland, for the express purpose of putting an end entirely to the union of that country with Great Britain? And is it not now, in 1843, after the system of civil equality has been completely established, and subsequent to the pacifying and conceding Administrations of Lords Wellesley, Anglesea, Haddington, Normanby, and Ebrington, that the word "Saxon" is pronounced with bitter malice by the "*Liberator!!!*" of Ireland, who forges chains for those he professes to desire to free?

We are not about to maintain that the cry for repeal, for agitation, and for opposition to England, has only been heard

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under such Governments as those to which we have referred. We know Irish history too well to attempt thus to deceive ourselves or others. We know that it was in 1785, under another system of government, severe and decisive, that first arose those hostile combinations against each other, which, from that period to the present time, have been the bane of society in that country.

But to what conclusion do these facts conduct us? Unquestionably to this, that neither the penal system on the one hand, nor the conciliatory system on the other, have led the population of our sister isle either to be satisfied with their Saxon governors, or to submit in peace and obedience to Saxon rule. Now we are so fully satisfied that the present state of excitement in Ireland is ascribable to secret, as well as to palpable causes, and that the hatred felt for the English and their Government by the mass of the Irish people is much more the result of the secret than of the palpable causes, that we hold it to be our duty, and the duty of all who love Ireland and desire her prosperity, to proclaim, with Mr. Stapleton, who was formerly private secretary to Mr. Canning, that the real monster evil of Ireland, the secret cause of Irish hostility, is *Irish destitution.* That able writer says:—

"Whenever, therefore, any measure is proposed for the benefit of Ireland, the only test which ought to be applied to it, to ascertain its fitness for its end, is asking the vital question, *Will it feed the people?* And if, upon a fair examination, this question must be answered in the negative, then we may rest assured that, however valuable in a different state of things, it will be utterly powerless, perhaps worse, to benefit Ireland as she is."

"*Feed the people!*—Yes, it is easy enough to say, feed the people (some objector will exclaim); but is it quite so easy to accomplish that object?" We admit it is not. Yet to set aside the hope, as impossible of realization, would be nothing else than to consign Ireland to perpetual misery, and England to perpetual weakness. But is it so hopeless as may at first appear? We think not; and as we fully concur in Mr. Stapleton's views of this portion of our subject, we shall submit them without any preface to our readers.

Mr. Nicholl, one of the Commissioners employed by the Melbourne Administration to examine into the state of Ireland, with a view to the establishment of a Poor Law, has said—"Want of employment in Ireland produces destitution—destitution, turbulence—turbulence, want of security—want of security, want of capital—and want of capital, in its turn, want of employment." In this circle the affairs of Ireland perpetually re-

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volve. How is its revolution to be arrested? That is the problem to which Mr. Stapleton has addressed his well-stored mind.

Before, however, he points out the only remedy for Irish dissatisfaction, he glances at the results of other efforts and other remedial measures which have been tried, and tried in vain. *Roman Catholic Emancipation* was so to alter the state of Ireland, that she, who had been a millstone round our neck, was to become the stone of Ajax in our hand! Has this been the case? No. Why? Because the equal possession of civil rights put no bread into the mouths of the hungry. *The Elective Franchise* was extended to the Roman Catholic population; and they were from that moment made more powerful than the Protestants. Did this satisfy them? No. Why? Because political power was not bread, and the Irish remained as hostile to England as ever. Then a *Coercion Act was tried*, and a scheme for the settlement of tithes; but the tithe scheme failed for a time, and turbulence maintained its reign in spite of the Coercion Act. But once more concession was the order of the day, and the Protestant Church and Protestant Municipal Corporations were to be offered up as sacrifices to propitiate the Popish faction. Not only were tithes to be commuted, but a portion of them it was purposed to confiscate for Romish purposes; and it was attempted even to convince Parliament that if the Irish peasantry could but see the Protestant clergy only receiving their just proportion of Church revenues, they would be the happiest and most contented of mankind. Fortunately Lord Stanley put an end to some of these deceptions, and confiscation was, at any rate, postponed. But the *Protestant* corporations fell before the attacks of their Romish assailants; and yet the inhabitants of those spots are now as rabid, violent, distrustful, inimical towards "the Saxons," as well as towards "the Protestants," as ever. And why? Because the people have found their pockets as empty and their bellies as unsupplied, their cabins as dirty and dreary, and their backs as exposed to the rain and the cold, as when Protestant, instead of Roman Catholic mayors, wore the chains of office.

Nor has education been more successful than emancipation; for it is idle to attempt to teach either man or child whilst suffering from the pangs of hunger; and as Mr. Stapleton truly says, "Of this we may rest assured, that every effort to raise the mass of the Irish population in the scale of civilized society must fail, unless you first feed those millions of reckless beggars, whom starvation lashes into madness, and madness into crime."

So, then, let it be admitted, for it is the truth, that both the Legislature and the Executive in this country have been foiled in

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all their well-intended schemes, where repressive and severe, or conciliating and inviting, because they have attempted to extinguish turbulence before they have conquered destitution!

We know it will be urged that the *Irish Poor Law* was a measure adopted to meet this evil of destitution; but we look on that reply as wholly inapplicable; for are there not two millions of persons in Ireland in a state of destitution, very many degrees below what in England would be deemed worthy of that appellation? And are there not two millions more who would in England be entitled to relief? How can an English Poor Law remedy such a state of things as this? How can sufficient poor-rates be levied to meet such an amount of beggary as this?

What, then, is to be done? Is O'Connell to be allowed to proceed with his system of deception, and to persuade his ignorant and priest-ridden followers, in nearly all the counties of Ireland, that the evils which exist are to be remedied by the Repeal of the Union? He told them that emancipation was the one only panacea, and the priests cried "amen;" and the masses of the people believed him. He told them that the Irish tithes were the great curse of Ireland—and they were commuted; but his coatless followers were as ragged as ever. He told them that if the elective franchise should be extended, Ireland would be

> —"Great, glorious, and free—
> First flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea;"

and the measure which was to render Ireland a very land of "milk and honey" was passed. And still the Irish Papist peasantry increased in misery as they added each year to their numbers. "It is of no use to have our Parliamentary franchise increased, without our municipal corporations shall be purged and cleansed," cried O'Connell—and the Protestant corporations were sacrificed to please him. But what then? Was Ireland tranquillized, pacified, contented, happy? No! And now the cry which is raised from one end of Ireland to the other, at meetings of hundreds of thousands of individuals, is, "REPEAL THE UNION!"

Mr. Stapleton has asked them an important question, at the same time that he has given a clear and satisfactory answer. His question is, "What is the real cause of the past and present agitation in Ireland?" And his answer is, "The *real* cause, which O'Connell can neither alter or remove by any of his schemes of agitation and revolt, repeal or confiscation—is DESTITUTION!" The remedy for this deplorable state of "destitution" he indicates with brevity, but perspicuity; and we should delight to see his statements and views referred to a select com-

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mittee of the House of Lords, at the commencement of the next Session. Mr. Stapleton has suggested the only feasible and practical measure which ought to be adopted to meet and put down the Repeal agitation in Ireland. We believe in our consciences that the attempt now making by O'Connell to divert both the Government and the people from the real cause of their discontent, "destitution," is another effort of the Papal Church to keep the Irish peasantry in a state of subjection to their Romish priests, by causing them to believe that political preponderance would ensure them food, clothing, firing, and habitations. And why does he so act? Because his own rank and position in life, his own ambition, his pride, his family, his everything in this world, as a demagogue and a public beggar, are all bound up with the cause he advocates and with the Church to which he belongs. He knows that all his former plans have proved to be abortions; that all his former promises have been total failures; that not one prophecy he has ever uttered has even by chance turned out to be correct; and dreading that day when even the priest-ridden peasantry of Ireland, refusing to be cajoled any longer, shall exclaim—"Give us bread—give us bread! We care not for the Protestants—we care not for the tithes—we care not for the Protestant clergy, for the Irish Parliament, or for College-green—give us bread—we will have bread!"—fearing the arrival of that day and of that cry, he is now attempting, by a series of tricks and manœuvres, to gain time, to procure delay, and to frighten Irish landlords and proprietors into concessions which would be ruinous to themselves and prejudicial to the whole country.

We are of that number of persons who do *not* believe that O'Connell expects to succeed in his Repeal agitation! When he declares to the "monster meetings" that he is "happy" to announce to them that "Repeal is close at hand, and cannot be resisted," he says that which he knows to be false. If he believed Repeal to be irresistible; if he believed that the Queen was with him; that the Government could not rely on its army; that Irish Protestants were Repealers as well as Roman Catholics; that he could enrol such an army of soldiers for his cause as Wellington could not have collected at Waterloo (and all these statements he has frequently made), O'Connell is too impetuous, too irascible, too ambitious, too selfish, not at once to make the movement he so much desires before Ireland shall be occupied by British forces, before her fortifications shall be put in order, her forts be supplied with provisions for a two years' siege, her ports be occupied by British frigates, and that Act be carried into effect which authorizes the seizure of fire-

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arms, and the marking or branding of those which are carried. No; O'Connell does not believe, does not dream of success. But by this show of fight, by these monstrous collections of the starving and discontented, he prevents the *real* state of Ireland from being known; he postpones an enquiry which must one day be made, and which will terminate in the conclusion that "destitution" is the real cause; and he obtains his objects and secures his ends by keeping the mass of the people in a state of gross ignorance, abjection, and misery; for he knows quite well, that if the plan of Mr. Stapleton should be carried into effect; if the peasantry of Ireland should find, that though the Union were not repealed, yet that bread, and plenty of it; clothing, and abundance of it; firing, and no lack of it, could be procured by them with their honest and adequate wages, they would no longer raise their "sweet voices" in favour of Repeal, since the Union would have conferred upon them all the benefits they could hope to enjoy.

The true method, then, to be adopted by the enemies to Repeal is to found such a national society or corporation as shall supply, in the manner pointed out by Mr. Stapleton, the sixteen millions of money to which he refers:—

"Powerful objections may be started (he says); serious difficulties may present themselves; but let neither the British Government nor the British public be scared by difficulties and objections: let the question be with them, will the scheme answer to its end? Reject it, if after a patient and anxious investigation your judgments and consciences tell me that it will not; but if you come to the conclusion that it will, then all objections must be set aside, and all difficulties must be overcome. Shall twenty millions be given for the sake of one million of blacks, and shall sixteen millions be denied to eight millions of whites?"

Again, then, we say, this is the true, practical, straightforward, and irresistible mode of meeting O'Connell and his "monster meetings," his Jacobin priests and his mountebank coadjutors. Take capital to Ireland—*Saxon* capital; the capital which the Union would then have to say *it* had procured, and from that moment there would be no more "*Tara*" demonstrations or Repeal rent; for let it be made a *sine quæ non* to employment, that those who would profit *by* the Union should at least not call for its repeal. If the noblemen and gentlemen in Ireland who lately signed the Ulster requisition, and then the Ulster address, would place themselves at the head of such an association or enterprise as this, O'Connell would soon blow his trumpet of rallying in vain, and "destitution" being displaced by occupation and plenty, agitation and turbulence must cease.

"No, this would never be the case (cries one who is an enemy

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to the Irish landlords) whilst the present state of the law, as well as of the present customs and usages exist, with regard to landlords and tenants." And this objection conducts us to notice another very able pamphlet which we have prefixed to this article, entitled "Irish Landlords, Rents, and Tenures." We think we could name the able, honest, and public-spirited Conservative "Irish Roman Catholic Landowner" who is the author of this talented *brochure*, but as he has thought proper not to publish it himself, we will only add, that he is one of those who *is* bound by his "Catholic oath," who is not the slave of the faction of the Corn Exchange, and who loves truth, honour, and patriotism, before party, ambition, and self-aggrandisement. In other words, he is an "Anti-repealer."

The author of this pamphlet has undertaken the defence of the Irish landlords from the attacks made upon them both in and out of Parliament; and that defence, in our opinion, amounts to a most signal victory:—

"*As a body* (he observes), the Irish landlords of *the present day* may, in so far as regards humanity and indulgence towards their tenants, safely bear comparison with those of either England or Scotland. If they be compelled by public opinion to keep their estates in the same condition as they found them (to their own great pecuniary loss), it is their misfortune, not their fault; they are sincerely desirous of remedying the evils produced by the neglect and misconduct of their predecessors; but they encounter, in the system adopted for the support of the Roman Catholic priests, an obstacle which obstructs all their plans, and frustrates all their measures; and until this be removed by the establishment of some State provision for the Roman Catholic Church, it will be in vain to hope for a good understanding between landlord and tenant, or for that co-operation between the higher and lower classes which can alone secure the prosperity of the country."

We cannot say that the "Irish Roman Catholic Landowner" has satisfied us fully with regard to this latter point, especially as the Romish priests in Ireland are vastly the gainers (pecuniarily speaking) by the present voluntary system, as applied to their support. From this cause arise all the solemn protests made by the Irish (so-called) *bishops* of the Church of Rome at the Sunday evening dinner banquets, when the "secret still" whiskey is drunk in much abundance, and when these *bishops* declare that nothing could induce them to accept of any salary, remuneration, or endowment, for themselves or their churches, from the *Saxons* and their English Government. This disinterested (!) determination—this wholly martyr-like resignation to their fate, must not, however, be mistaken. They know that they would lose *pecuniarily* by any such arrangement, and therefore they reject and abjure any State provision.

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But let us turn our attention to the statement of the author of this pamphlet with regard to Irish landlords, tenants, rents, and tenures. In the debates which have taken place during the late Session of Parliament with regard to Ireland, its condition has been ascribed to one or other of the following causes:—

First—Mismanagement on the part of the landlords, exorbitant rent, want of security to the occupying tenant, the powers given by law to the proprietors of the soil.

The remedy suggested—a new legislative arrangement between landlord and tenant.

Secondly—The existence of the Protestant Church; the disproportion of its income to its duties; and the injustice of compelling the majority to support the Church of the minority—some recommending the total overthrow, others the rendering the Establishment commensurate to the wants of the Protestant population.

Thirdly—The state of the Roman Catholic Church: some advocating a *concordat* with the see of Rome, for the purpose of restraining the political violence of the priests; and others for avowing the necessity of a State provision for the Roman Catholic priesthood.

With regard to RENT, one of the chief subjects of complaint and reproach on the part of the Corn Exchange faction, the author of the pamphlet we are now examining observes:—

"As regards rent, let us take four counties in Ireland, with a corresponding number in England, as equally circumstanced as may be—for instance, Meath and Northamptonshire, Roscommon and Leicestershire, Tipperary and Warwickshire, Down and Shropshire—and what is the result? Rent in Meath does not average more than fifteen shillings the statute acre, in Northamptonshire it exceeds two guineas; in Roscommon it will be about thirteen shillings, in Leicestershire two pounds; in Tipperary seventeen shillings, in Warwickshire full two pounds five shillings; in Down about twenty shillings, and in Shropshire two pounds. Thus we find land, of fully equal value, let in the one part of the empire for nearly one-third what it brings in the other."

In those provinces of Ireland where the condition of the people is best, the rent is highest. As a proof of this, in the province of Ulster, where there is the least political excitement, land of equal value produces a third more rent than in either of the other provinces where O'Connell holds his "monster meetings," and from which such loud complaints of overcharge and oppression proceed!

It is evident then, with regard to rent, that the Irish landlords are free from reproach.

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If we turn to the question of TENURE, we shall find them equally irreproachable. The leases are generally made for one life, or for twenty-one years. The English landlords never grant more, and a vast many (including the *Liberal* noble lord who is omnipotent along the south-eastern coast of England) grant no leases at all. As long as the Irish tenant pays, in Ireland, his rent, the landlord has no power to eject; and even if a year's rent is due he cannot proceed to evict in the sessions court for at least *three* months after the day on which it becomes due. Surely the law cannot be justly accused of favouring the landlords, to the injury of the tenants, when a year, and nearly an additional half year's rent, must become due before they can take any remedy for the assertion of their rights.

"There is always a year's rent due on Irish estates (says the author of the pamphlet we are noticing), even by the most solvent tenants; and there is no property on which there are not defaulters to the amount of many years' rent; so that there are very few instances in which the proprietor could not take proceedings if he would."

With regard to the evictions, or ejectments in mass, of which O'Connell complains, the vast majority are caused by political dissensions. The assertion of the freeholder's independence is generally accompanied by acts of violence, and personal abuse of the landlord. The landlord, thus irritated, asserts his rights, and looks for a debt which, under other circumstances, would not have been demanded. The tenant cannot pay: the law takes its course; and he is, of course, evicted.

"It has now become the fashion of all parties (says our author) to abuse the Irish landlords; the man who receives six pounds an acre for his farms in the Lothians, and he who pockets four guineas an acre for his estate in Northamptonshire, agree in accusing him, who has better land let at fifteen shillings an acre, of extortion. Every frothy article and silly piece of declamation is wound up with the demand of a new arrangement between Irish landlord and tenant. What would these men have? Must two, three, or five years' rent be due before the landlord can proceed? Must the proprietor in Ireland be restricted to a certain rent, while the Englishman and Scotchman are allowed to receive what their property will bring? If so, it is to be hoped that the prices of all articles of commerce will be regulated in a similar manner; the value specified, and the length of time arranged for which the trader must give them on credit. If a landowner in Ireland has a pauper tenantry, and *promising* to pay him a much less rent than he would actually *receive* from solvent persons, he must hold them on, to his own ruin, in order to avoid the charge of cruelty; and at the same time, along with the loss of his income, he must bear the taunts of every superficial tourist for the mismanagement of his property and the neglected state of his tenants!"

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We confess that to us this is unanswerable, and we congratulate the Irish landlords on having so enlightened and zealous an advocate. The truth is, there has been so much twaddle written, printed, and spoken, with respect to Irish landlords, rents, and tenures, that it required some of the plain facts, indisputable statistics, and home thrusts of this able pamphleteerist, to set the whole matter right with the English public.

But what are the conclusions then at which we arrive with regard to Ireland? They are the following:—

First. That the *secret* cause of all the agitation which is from time to time got up in Ireland by demagogues and rebels is destitution.

Secondly. That that destitution ought to be met by the adoption of the plan of Mr. Stapleton; and that this plan should be carried into effect by Irish landlords and capitalists, but joined by those of England, Scotland, and Wales. That this company should be incorporated by royal charter, and have every wise and proper privilege conferred upon it, but be entirely unconnected with the Government.

Thirdly. That such a measure would more effectually defeat the Repeal agitation of the Romish bishops, O'Connell, and the Corn Exchange faction, than any Arms Bill, however excellent that measure; than any concession on the subject of tenures and landlords, however popular such a step might be, *for the time being*, with the rebels; or than any coolness towards the Irish Protestants, such as at present displayed by the Government, just as though the Repeal leaders were to be conciliated by such unwise and disheartening proceedings and conduct as those to which we refer.

Fourthly. That the Government has acted wisely in not dispersing with cannon-balls, or at the point of congregated bayonets, the "monster meetings" collected by O'Connell.

Fifthly. That the Government has also acted wisely in preparing for a military repression of disturbances, should they occur—for a military occupation of the country, should it become necessary—and for the carrying into effect its oft-repeated declaration, that, come what may, it is firmly and fully resolved to maintain the Union—and that the Irish Arms Bill was an indispensable measure.

Sixthly. That the Government has also acted in such a manner as to entitle it to respect and gratitude for the declarations made by her Majesty the Queen, in her royal speech, delivered at the close of the Session; and that those declarations have tended already to convince the enemies of peace and union in Ireland that they must not expect her Majesty's countenance or most distant support.

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But then comes the question of *repression;* and upon this we shall *not* concur with our able contemporary, the *Quarterly Review* of Mr. Murray. That contemporary is of opinion, that on this, as on all other points, both of domestic and foreign policy, the conduct of the Government is perfect. We cannot think so too. The steps it *has* taken we approve; the policy it *has* announced we commend; its determination to maintain the Union, and to repel all attempts at Repeal, we rejoice at with exceeding joy; but we greatly fear that it calculates too much on the discretion and prudence of O'Connell, and that it does not sufficiently take into its calculation that he is not the only demagogue now who stands pledged to the multitude to repeal—or death!

It is not because O'Connell does not expect eventually to accomplish his object; it is not because he has been greatly disappointed by the speech of the Queen; it is not because the honourable conduct of some of the leading English Catholic families has withered his hopes in that quarter; and it is not because *in the end* he *must* be defeated, *therefore* that he will not in the meantime involve the two countries in civil war. We fear that the British Government has not sufficiently taken this into its calculations, we fear that it hopes for such a termination of this agitation as will not arrive, and that "swords will be turned into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks." We are not thus sanguine. When we look at the destitution of the Irish, at the turbulence of the Irish, and at the awful influence of the priests over the mass of the Irish people, exercised for evil and not for good; when we think how many are implicated in the foul treason which has been so long hatching in Ireland; and how next to impossible it is for them to escape alive, should they venture on abandoning their object, and on proclaiming to the multitude of Repealers that for that object they should agitate no longer; and when we think of the frantic rage to which all the warden Repealers and their millions of hoaxed subscribers to the Repeal rent would be driven by such an announcement of abandonment, we confess that we cannot believe that such will be the course which O'Connell will adopt.

We say, then, to the Government, to Irish Protestants, and to British Conservatives, whether English or Irish, Protestant or Catholic—do not deceive yourselves! Do not rely too much even on the cowardice of O'Connell! Do not hope for such a settlement of this question as would give a pacific, but a signal triumph to the laws and the constitution! But prepare for the worst—repress sedition and treason before they shall become too powerful; trouble not yourselves about small offenders, and

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secondary offences committed by understrappers and placemen, but make signal examples of the chiefs, and teach Ireland and the Irish to feel, that whilst by your most hearty co-operation in all measures for the relief of that country, and for meeting the evils of "destitution," you are prepared to act kindly and paternally, yet that the law must triumph, the constitution must be defended, and the Union must be maintained.

Unhappily for Sir Robert Peel, and for his manly and able coadjutors, IRELAND is not the only part of her Majesty's dominions which just now demand their special attention and peculiar watchfulness, for WALES is in a state both of moral and physical revolt, and the causes are of a social, rather than of a political, character.

It has often been observed, during the last quarter of a century, that "the press has become the *fourth* power in the State." And really when we look at the proceedings of the *Times* newspaper during the last few weeks with regard to Wales, and when we consider the influence which that paper has exercised over the minds of the population of the southern portion of the principality during that period, simply by sending to it two able and active correspondents; when we see those correspondents admitted to the secret assemblies of the Rebeccaites, at hours and on occasions the most extraordinary and even romantic; when we see one of the same correspondents convoking assemblies of farmers, of miners, of colliers, and of the working and middling classes generally, at which he enregisters their complaints, records their griefs, and transmits them by the same post for publication in the most widely-circulated journal of Great Britain; when we see the Welsh generally inviting the correspondent of the *Times* to proceed to other towns and districts, and to collect on the spot to which he is invited, the facts connected with their poverty and their misery; when we see them comforted, relieved, consoled, by being able thus to find a vent to their griefs, and an organ which shall express, not any feelings of disloyalty or disaffection, but simply their privations, miseries, and oppression, we cannot but feel how mighty an organ is the press of this country for evil or for good. And to the credit of the Welsh, as well as to the honour of the *Times*, it should be remembered that they have confided their griefs to, and sought the aid of, the Conservative, and not of the Radical press. If their object had been to excite political disorganization or revolt, their conduct would have been just the reverse; and in that case the *Times*, instead of being their calm and friendly ally, would have been their powerful and decided opponent. But the *Times* has said and felt that there really were grievances which ought not

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to be overlooked; that it formed no part of Conservatism to oppress; that the essential feature in a Conservative Government was to protect and defend the people; that to the Conservative classes of society were entrusted the guardianship and the happiness of the poor; and that it was the duty therefore of Conservative journalists to take or to keep the Welsh malcontents out of the power and influence of Radical or Whig-Radical priests, and to prove to them, by facts, that in order to obtain redress it was *not* necessary for the Welsh rioters to make an appeal to physical force, or to secure sympathy to appeal to the habitual fomenters of discord and rebellion. And we lay great stress upon this matter, because we are fully satisfied, that whereas if the Rebeccaites and their coadjutors had fallen into the hands of the bad portion of the press, or if they had not been defended and protected by the press at all, the rebellion would have become much more extensive and violent; so that, owing to the wise and useful conduct of the *Times* and its correspondents, much bloodshed has been averted, many lives have been saved, property has been preserved from destruction, public excitement has been kept down, animosity has been appeased, vengeance has not done its worst; and it is greatly to be believed, as well as hoped, that, owing to the system of enquiry which has been pursued, remedies may be found out for existing evils, and some satisfactory settlement yet be accomplished.

And indeed already, owing to the intervention of the *Times* and to the admirable conduct of its correspondents, some evils have been gone into and remedies at once partially applied. The system of toll-bars which existed was exceedingly oppressive. Those who have read with attention from day to day, as we have done, during the last month, the reports of the *Times* on Welsh affairs, must be convinced that it was impossible that such a state of things, with regard to the road trusts, as that which existed, could become permanent. And greatly as we are opposed from principle to all revolt, and firmly resolved as we are on every occasion to resist that spirit of turbulence which too often conducts to revolution, still if even ignorant and violent men could be justified in proceeding with sticks and with stones to destroy objects which were sources of so much real exaction and oppression as the South Wales toll-bars, those Rebeccaites might, at least, claim excuse. Already, however, those toll-bars are giving way to the calm and just remonstrances of the *Times*, and in spite of the epithets applied to, and the odium heaped upon, its correspondents, they and it are well entitled to the respect and gratitude of the country. But for its valuable and wholly gratuitous and spontaneous aid, in at

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once enquiring into the state of the principality, and in preparing or proposing remedies for indisputable evils, long before this the whole of Wales, from one end to the other, in its length and in its breadth, would have been one vast volcano, which no human power could have possibly repressed. The Welsh are a thoughtful, moody, persevering, and most determined people: their quiet habits, their mountain scenery, their constant intercourse with nature in its wildest and most uncivilized forms, render them, generally speaking, thoughtful, unmoved by political events, indifferent to that which excites and agitates the English, the Irish, or the Scotch; and cause them, on the whole, to be calm, serious, meditative, and pious. But when the Welsh *are* roused; when they resolve on a movement; when they believe or feel that, resembling their own beautiful cataracts, they must rush into the valley and sweep all before them in order to obtain redress—ah! then, indeed, their impetuosity and violence are terrific, and death to them has its charms. Of this nature of enthusiastic violence some of the recent movements have partaken, and the Welsh Calvinistic-Methodist, Independent, and Baptist preachers, have greatly aided, by their addresses, sermons, and even prayers, to excite their hearers to yet darker and more desperate deeds. One of the correspondents of the *Times* deserves the thanks of the Church of England for the pains he has taken in procuring the most precise and positive information on this subject. The state of Dissent in Wales was not generally known in England. It was believed that the Welsh Methodists and Dissenters were simply indifferent, and not hostile to the Church; but the *Church and State Gazette* has recently shown, by the most convincing facts, that in no part of the united kingdom do modern Dissenters labour with such unremitting and intolerant zeal against the Anglo-Cambrian Church as they do in the principality.

The physical and social condition of Wales is deplorably bad. Recent events and investigations have brought this to light, and it would be worse than folly to deny it; but let it be remembered that this state of things has grown up under the patronage and influence of Dissent. In both North and South Wales that influence is quite irresistible. Yet the poor are grossly ignorant; the children are shamefully neglected; superstition rears its head in a thousand frightful forms; sectarianism is rampant; destitution is as great, and even, if possible, greater, in some Welsh districts, than it is in Ireland; the coarsest food, in but small and inadequate quantities, is the daily support of the peasantry; the mining population is obliged to submit to the smallest amount of wages on which human nature can support itself;

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rents cannot be paid; taxes and poor's-rates cannot be levied; the New Poor Law system is hated and loathed; and the Dissenting teachers of the people, without knowledge, gentlemanly feeling, good breeding, or any interest in the soil, or in the permanent institutions of the country, seek to render bad worse, by their violence, their party spirit, their hatred of authority, order, and obedience, and excite the moody Welsh to become intolerant and violent. Now, if ever a case could be brought forward as precisely in point, showing the total inefficiency of the voluntary principle to render man happy, and to improve the state of the society in which it was still dominant, that example would be found in Wales. In proportion as Dissent has increased and as Church influence has diminished, in the same proportion have base disloyalty, sedition, and a spirit of reckless insubordination prevailed. This spirit has, of course, operated most injuriously on the physical condition of the masses; and as there is an intimate connection between mind and body in each living man, so is there between the ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism of a people, and their physical wants and degradation.

To rescue the Welsh people from the teaching and influence of their present religious guides should be one of the first objects, with relation to that country, to which the wise and good men of our Church and Government should direct their attention. For this purpose it is necessary to disabuse the public mind in Wales of its ignorance and prejudices with regard to the Anglo-Cambrian Church and its clergy. They, as well as the Irish, are labouring under the disadvantage of utter ignorance or misapprehension on the subjects of tithes, endowments, and the real *bona fide* incomes of the clergy of the National Church. This ignorance the Welsh Dissenting teachers rejoice in and desire to see perpetuated, for the most obvious reason—that through that ignorance they themselves profit, and the grosser and darker it is, the more certain are these voluntary principle men of securing the adhesion and support of their victims. But this is not all. In no portion of her Majesty's dominions is *Church Extension* so much required as in Wales. Our statistics with regard to the principality are precise and positive. In very many parishes there is not church accommodation for one-tenth of the population. No wonder then that the Welsh, who are a thoughtful, reflecting, and even religious people, should be led away by the unauthorized teachers of multiform Dissent. It is in Wales especially that the Act just passed, and now in operation, for providing a fund out of which the clergy may be endowed, and sent to large parishes, even where there are no district churches in which to preach is required. These home clerical missionaries

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are more needed in Wales than in any portion of England; and we hope they will be sent out in considerable numbers. But then it must be remembered that, in order to their usefulness, it is quite indispensable that they should be Welshmen. They must not only understand the grammar and the dictionary of the Welsh language, but they must think in Welsh, clothe their Welsh thoughts in Welsh imagery and Welsh idioms, and converse with fluency in their own tongue. The fields are white for the harvest! We trust that the labourers will not be few, and we pray that the God of the spiritual harvest may go forth with his servants in this glorious and much-needed mission.

That the grievances of which the Welsh complain will be redressed we feel certain; and the results already arising from enquiry and investigation fully warrant and justify this persuasion. What will be done with the mining portion of the population is less clear and positive, and their condition excites in us some anxiety and misgiving. The demand made for the reduction of rents has already, in several cases, been met by a considerable diminution. That the Welsh landed proprietors are interested in the peace of the country it is not necessary to prove, especially to men who are already disposed to make any necessary sacrifices for the general welfare. Had this been otherwise, Parliament must have been appealed to; but even then Parliament is *not* omnipotent.

And this declaration, that Parliament, with all its union and force, is still not all powerful, naturally leads us to glance at the events and measures of the LAST SESSION.

That Session has been called "*the do-nothing Session*," and that, too, by those who availed themselves of their Parliamentary privileges to impede the progress of every useful measure, to divide the house in committee twenty times on one clause of one bill, and thus to prevent the Government from carrying into effect its wise and beneficent intentions. It may be said that an Opposition so powerful to oppose and to delay, to disturb and to destroy, has the right to expect that ere long it will arrive at power, and will be able to carry its own measures and promote its own views. But this is *not* the case. The Opposition is powerful to evil, but it is not powerful to good. It can delay excellent plans, but it cannot propose or carry excellent measures. It is destined, by its weakness, divisions, and inconsistencies, to be the *Marplot* of the Parliament; but it cannot found a Government of the majority. How long this state of things will last in the House of Commons must depend a good deal on the march of public events, on the success of the present Government, on the support given by her Majesty to the

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Premier, and on other circumstances, to which, purposely, we do not more distinctly allude. If it shall be deemed advisable, in the course of next year, to resort to a general election, the present majority might not be diminished, but it would be greatly changed, and we might have a better class of Opposition returned, more in harmony with the principles of Lord Grey.

It is very possible that, on *divisions*, the majority on a Government measure might not be greater in a new House of Commons than it was during the late Session; but it is also very likely that the minority forming the Opposition would be composed of more Parliamentary materials, and that we might get back to those days when Mr. Tierney could speak to George III. of "his Majesty's loyal Opposition." The existence of an Opposition, when really parliamentary and constitutional, is much to be desired; and greatly as we respect and confide in the Administration of Sir Robert Peel, we should be sorry that he should be freed from a vigilant and honourable Opposition. But the Opposition we desire would not condescend to the unworthy manœuvres and tricks resorted to during the last Session, but would, when the sense of the majority was fully and deliberately expressed, leave the measure and its operation to the Government who took on itself the responsibility of proposing it.

The late Session has been marked by the failure of several measures of great importance. At some of those failures we cannot grieve, much as we are disposed to support with an humble countenance the present Administration; whilst the failure of others we deplore. We rejoice that the *Ecclesiastical Courts Bill* was withdrawn; and we believe that the opposition offered to it will lead to a wise and suitable measure being hereafter proposed. We rejoice that the educational clauses of the Factory Bill were abandoned, though for very different reasons to those which led to that withdrawal.

We deeply regret that the *County Courts Bill* of Sir James Graham has not been passed, owing to the obstruction thrown in the way of the other measures of the Government, and which, therefore, did not admit of time to debate this bill. The County Courts Bill, if wisely framed and passed, will be a great boon conferred on the country, and it is therefore we sincerely desire its enactment.

The *Irish Arms Bill* was a measure of great national importance, and the determination of the Government to resist all infractions on its *principle* did it harm. The opposition made to it in every stage was captious and unparliamentary, and the measures of obstruction resorted to were wholly unusual. But in proportion as the Opposition evinced, by their malignity, that

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they felt the importance of the bill as a most formidable weapon in the hands of the Government against rebellion, in the same proportion did that Government insist on carrying, by aid of its majority in both Houses of Parliament, that much-opposed, but greatly-needed measure.

The *Chelsea Hospital Out-Pensioners Bill* met with violent opposition, but the Government felt that so important a class of persons it ought to have the power to call into active service, should partial or general insurrection take place in the country. By this bill many thousands of valuable soldiers are placed at the disposal of the Government, provided that Government should find it necessary to call for additional military aid.

We rejoice that the various attempts made during the late Session by the enemies of the Government to obtain a total or partial repeal of the CORN LAWS most signally failed; and we cannot, therefore, feel surprised that "the League," despairing of bringing about any change, notwithstanding its unparalleled efforts at Manchester, its convention, its pamphlets, its petitions, its lectures, its meetings all over the country, its dissemination of tracts by and for the millions, its harangues at Drury-lane, and its exertions everywhere, have actually taken a twenty-one years' lease of a house in Fleet-street, in which in future its operations are to be conducted. What may occur in the space of *twenty-one years* we will not, of course, attempt to predict; but it surely shows little confidence in the *celerity* or promptitude of their system, to bind themselves by lease to premises for twenty-one years! The refusal of Parliament, by vast and even increasing majorities, to disturb the present Corn Laws, has, of course, tended to disturb the projects and to cast down the hopes of the Leaguers; and it is only now for the agricultural interests to remain true to themselves, in order to prevent the further derangement of the settlement of the Corn Laws, so recently adopted and approved.

We regret that the Session closed without the expression of a decided opinion on the part of Parliament with regard to the present iniquitous and unpopular POOR LAWS. If we turn to the meetings in Wales, to the present state of agitation in Ireland, or to our own manufacturing and agricultural districts, we shall hear proceeding from all ranks and classes a deep and solemn protest against these laws. Let not the Government deceive itself. By its obstinate adherence to this Whig-Radical measure, and by its resolution to uphold the centralizing system of the Somerset-house Commissioners, it injures itself with the mass of the people, it identifies itself with a party long since

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distrusted, and now loathed by the country, and it causes it to be generally believed that the Conservatives are as much disposed to support the despotism of Whiggery and the democracy of Radicalism, as were any of the members of Lord Melbourne's Cabinet.

On the whole, however, the late Session was not justly liable to the epithet of "*The do-nothing Session,*" which has been attempted to be stamped upon it. Undoubtedly, as we have seen, the nature of the opposition to some of the Government measures was such as to render their adoption impossible without resorting to intimidation; and as the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel is constitutional and legal, it would not think of availing itself of such aid; but, on the whole, it was very far indeed from being an useless Session, and the results *may* show that it was, on the contrary, one of great utility.

What, then, are our NATIONAL PROSPECTS? The Queen, redolent of health, activity, and grace—full of domestic love, happiness, and peace—has of late paid a visit of amity and good neighbourhood to the truly Conservative, able, and enlightened monarch of France. That this was no visit of ceremony, no homage paid to the revolution, no denial of our national policy of observation with regard to the country over which that monarch rules, we need not explain or enforce. Her Majesty Victoria had shown, on all occasions, such sisterly affection and kindness to the children, both married and unmarried, of Louis Philippe, that she had won his heart by her conduct towards them; and nothing could be more cordial or sincere than the whole of his Majesty's proceedings during her short and welcome visit. But will that visit lead to the removal of the restrictions on our linen and thread trade with France? Will it facilitate our exportation of coal and iron in large quantities to that country? Will it conduct us to the conclusion of that commercial treaty which Dr. Bowring was engaged in negotiating seven years, but at last failed in obtaining? We would desire to look at the bright side of every question where truth and facts are not opposed to that view; but we cannot conceal from ourselves that the French Government has by no means a tractable Chamber to govern—that the French press is as violently opposed as ever to the English alliance—that the Chamber of Deputies was not long since officially assured by M. Guizot that the commercial treaty with this country should be entered into without its assent: and that assent to a beneficial treaty, we fear, cannot be looked for.

With regard to PORTUGAL, and the long-pending treaty of commerce between it and Great Britain, we are assured that the

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celebrated negotiator for all parties, the Portuguese Talleyrand, but without his vices, the Duke de Palmella, has arrived in this country charged to terminate the negotiation in question. We trust this will be the case, and that Portugal will once more feel towards us that we stand in relation to it almost as a parent to a child. But, on the other hand, we cannot close our eyes to the fact, that the sister of Donna Maria, the Queen of Portugal, is now related, by her marriage with the Prince de Joinville, with the royal family of France; and that the son-in-law of Louis Philippe, Leopold, King of the Belgians, is also the near relative of Donna Maria's consort. It is not then, we think, either unfair or hypercritical, it is not distrustful or unnecessarily suspicious on our parts, when we add, that we do not feel by any means certain that the Duke de Palmella will be disposed to satisfy us with such a treaty as we should desire.

With his Majesty the King of Hanover a treaty has also been for some time negotiating, relative to the Sound duties. That monarch has recently visited this country for the space of three months. His reception by all the higher classes was such as might have been anticipated; and he is said to have returned to the kingdom over which he rules rather with tendencies to abdicate in favour of his son, and to spend the remainder of his days in England, in consequence of the great confidence in, and kindness towards him, here everywhere displayed. The treaty will probably be soon concluded.

With regard to EUROPE generally we have no interests at stake of any pressing urgency, or in any imminent peril, at the present moment. The affairs of SERVIA must, for the present, be considered as settled. BELGIUM and HOLLAND are quiet. RUSSIA has just been gratified at the turn which affairs have taken in Servia. There have been some disturbances in ITALY, but Austria is always ready with her legions to repress partial insurrections. In SWITZERLAND there has been some agitation. The KING OF PRUSSIA'S visit to England has certainly tended to increase his affection for this country and its Conservative Government. We hear no more of the PORTE for the present; and the Viceroy of Egypt, if he is intriguing against his Sultan and master, is doing so very quietly. In SPAIN, indeed, we have lost a fast and true friend, by the abdication of the *Regent*, and French manufactures will be benefitted, and English injured, by the change. Of this there can be no doubt; but in the present distracted state of affairs in that country the issue must remain doubtful. It is by no means impossible that the principles of the Regent's Government may yet be triumphant. As to AMERICA, the Oregon question remains in *statu quo*, and our

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commercial relations are somewhat improved. As far, then, as our *Foreign relations* are concerned, especially with regard to China and India, our condition is ameliorated, and our prospects, on the whole, are satisfactory.

With regard to the DOMESTIC PROSPECTS and policy of the country, we cannot be expected to adduce new facts, or pronounce any novel opinions. It is, we think, incontestible, that the manufactories, commerce, and trade of the country are somewhat improved; and it is still more certain, that the Almighty Giver of all good gifts has blessed us with a rich and abundant harvest.

"The seed (says the author of 'Thoughts on Traits of the Ministerial Policy') has been sown for general improvement. We are not yet thriving, but our people, from descending, are beginning to rise. There be hope and promise in the times. *The change* is no longer from bad to worse, but, to the measure of its extent, from worse to better; and this from a predicament which was denounced as desperate. With practical truths like these before us, I cannot avoid the conclusion, that if not thwarted by baneful agitation, by puerile panic, and by the tactics of factious opposition, the ultimate recovery of our country's prosperity may be rationally anticipated, under councils which have already solved the great political problem—which have accomplished the grand decisive result—of halting in the eddying career of ruin, and moving up, against the downward current of adverse circumstances, a step towards the retrieval of our fortunes. I do, therefore, feel that the social and physical happiness of the landed class, of the mercantile class, of the working people, and of every great component section of our mighty multifarious community, is most profoundly concerned in the maintenance of the present ministers; and for these reasons, as a Christian and honest man, I feel imperatively called on to give them my thankful support."

We cannot go the full length of praise of our contemporary the *Quarterly Review*. We think the sharp-sighted editor of *Fraser's Magazine* has ascribed the failures which have taken place, in some measures, too much to "the coldness and the reserve of the Ministers," and too little to the unparliamentary conduct of the Opposition. We agree with him on the Repeal question, that the first thing to do is to enforce obedience to the laws; but we think he keeps out of mind the fact, that *destitution* is the cause, not the result, of *disturbance*. We agree with the *Dublin University Magazine*, that a good understanding between the landed aristocracy of Ireland and the British Government may enable a wise statesman to procure that deference for British law in Ireland which has been already achieved in India, and which was once, at a time of much peril, won for the aristocracy of ancient Rome; when, as the historian observes, "Nec

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quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fecit."

And for these reasons we rejoice to believe and feel, that whilst many clouds, thick and impervious, yet hang over us as a country, still that a small bright cloud appears in the horizon—small indeed it is true, but still perceptible—and that that cloud shall extend until it shall cover with its brightness the whole universe. OUR PROSPECTS ARE IMPROVING!!

Ecclesiastical Report.

ANOTHER Session is now closed, and parties are enquiring what has been done by the Conservative Government? The Whigs are asking this question, and answering it after their own fashion, alleging that *nothing* has been done. There are also Conservatives who are too ready to join in the same cry, though for different reasons. The latter, of course, could not be satisfied with measures which would be acceptable to the former. The Whigs, however, are glad to chime in with any party against Sir Robert Peel's Government; though were they and the dissatisfied Conservatives, who are extremely few in number, to meet together to settle *what ought to have been done*, they would not be agreed upon a single point, for the measures of the one party would be condemned by the other. The cause of dissatisfaction is different in the one case from the other, though the Whigs are making good use of the fact, with a view to damage the Government. That the Whigs expect any benefit to accrue to themselves from the dissatisfaction expressed by a small section of the Conservative body, we do not for one moment believe; for they are well aware that, on any important question, the very men who are somewhat dissatisfied would rally round Sir Robert Peel, knowing that no greater calamity could happen to the country than a Whig Government. Our readers are aware that the Conservative section to which we allude have given expression to their dissatisfaction on two grounds especially, namely, the conduct of the Government with respect to Ireland, and with respect to the Church. With regard to the first, we are quite willing to leave the question to the decision of her Majesty's Ministers, feeling the fullest confidence in their ability and their integrity, and knowing that they are in a position to form a better judgment on the subject than those who complain of their want of decision and their dilatoriness. But

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with respect to the other ground, the Church, we have a few words to offer. We shall, therefore, venture certain remarks

ON THE PROSPECTS OF THE CHURCH.

The Church, in our opinion, has gone on prosperously ever since the accession of the Whigs to power in 1830. To the Whigs, however, no sort of credit is due, for they were guilty of a series of "*heavy blows and great discouragements;*" and they contemplated a great many more, only they were warded off by the friends of the Church, who, though the Whigs were superior in numbers in the House of Commons, were stronger than their opponents in the House of Lords and in the country. Though oppressed by the rulers of the State, still the Church flourished. The truth is, the people of the land were aroused. The Whigs imagined that the mass of the population were against the Church, and that the time was come for any changes, however destructive in their character. In this supposition the Ministers of that day were mistaken; and they found that many persons who were ready to unite with them in the Reform Bill, viewing that measure as final, were not willing to touch the Church. Nay, the Church was the rock on which the Ministry of Lord Grey, or what may be termed the Reform Ministry, was wrecked. An attempt was made to touch the Church, and the Ministry was broken up, because the honest members of it, who had regarded the Reform Bill as quite sufficient, without further and greater innovations, would not unite in a measure which their own consciences condemned, and which must have paved the way for such radical changes as would not only have destroyed the Church, but also endangered the Constitution. During the domination of the Whigs, therefore, though their efforts were unceasingly directed towards weakening the Church, or levelling it to the standard or footing of Dissent, the Church continued to gain ground in the country at large. The very measures adopted by the Whigs respecting the Church proved their own ruin. They opened the eyes of the people to their ulterior object; and thus many forsook their ranks and marshalled themselves under the banners of Conservatism, in defence of the ecclesiastical institutions which have been handed down to us by our ancestors. Had the Whigs foreseen the consequences of their own measures, they would, for a time at least, have left the Church untouched. Their success in the matter of the Reform Bill so blinded their eyes, that they imagined themselves competent to the work of reforming the Church. Soon did they find out their mistake; but it was too late to recover themselves, for the eyes of the nation were opened, and

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retreat was impossible. We believe, then, that the measures of the Whigs which were directed against the Church have tended very materially to strengthen her, and to plant her still more deeply in the affections of the people. No thanks to the Whigs. They intended evil, but their attacks were overruled for good. The country was aroused; and though Papists, Dissenters, and Radicals raised a great outcry, yet they could not arrest the progress of the *movement* in favour of the Church.

Since the year 1830, therefore, the Church has been steadily advancing. The people of this country are not prepared to quit her communion for the ranks of Dissent. They know that Dissent is unscriptural, and contrary to the primitive pattern. The great bulk of the community will always adopt sound and scriptural views on Church matters, whatever may be the case with a mere section of the population. The enemies of the Church may make a great noise, but they will never be able to bring over the people to their own views.

During the last twelve or fourteen years there has been a very extensive diffusion of sound and consistent views on the government, constitution, discipline, and ceremonies of the Church. The efforts of the Whigs to weaken and destroy the Church led her friends to examine afresh her claims; and the result was a conviction that she was apostolical in her constitution, as well as in her doctrines. Hence the determination to resist innovation, and to preserve inviolate our ecclesiastical institutions.

What, then, are the Church's prospects? In our opinion, they are of the most cheering description. Notwithstanding the clouds which sometimes arise to darken the horizon, we have no fears whatever respecting the issue of the contest which is now going on between the Church and her opponents. She has advanced under the most trying circumstances, even under Whig ascendancy, which was employed against her; and, therefore, we may reasonably anticipate a continual progression, now that the Government are her friends. We expect to see her making her way against Popery and Dissent with still greater rapidity. The religion of Dissent is now extinct, or nearly so; and Dissenters have no creed except a political one; consequently there is no comfort in their system for the poor and the distressed—for those who have nothing to look for in this world; but, on the contrary, the Church holds out the prospect of support, of consolation in trouble, in poverty, in affliction, and the hope of a glorious immortality beyond the grave. The clergy, as the ministers of the Church, are the friends of the poor. To them the needy can look in their distress; nor will

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any efforts on the part of Dissenters shake the confidence of the great mass of the people in an order of men who have been tried and not found to be wanting in the day of trial.

We therefore assert that the Church's prospects are cheering. At the same time, we must caution our readers against lukewarmness or listlessness. They must not imagine, because the Church has prospered under circumstances of an unpromising character, that no exertions are necessary on their part. The enemies of the Church are all activity; and the ground which was gained by Dissent during the twenty or thirty years previous to the passing of the Reform Bill, was gained, not so much by the energies of Dissenters as by the apathy of Churchmen. Activity, therefore, is a duty. Every member of the Church must feel that he has something to do—that a task is committed to him—and that inactivity would be sinful, and a desertion of a sacred cause. He must resolve to do something for the Church in that station in which he has been placed by the providence of Almighty God. Every man is the centre of a circle, larger or smaller, according to his situation, over which he has considerable influence; and it is his solemn duty to use that influence in favour of the Church. Let this rule be observed by all her members, and it will not be possible for Dissent or Popery to injure the Church of England. If ever the Church is injured, the evil will arise more from the indifference of her members, than from the hostile attacks of her enemies.

CHURCH EXTENSION.

We have given our opinion respecting the Church's prospects. We have pointed out the necessity of exertion on the part of her friends; and one of the means to be used is *Church Extension.* Our readers are aware that the building of churches and the appointment of clergymen are comprehended in the object of Church Extension. Our manufacturing districts have an overwhelming population, which must, unless churches are erected, be left a prey to infidelity or dissent. Her Majesty's Government are alive to the importance of the question. A scheme, as our readers know, was sanctioned by Parliament during the last Session, by which certain revenues, accruing from the suppression of certain canonries and prebendal stalls, are to be devoted to the support of additional clergymen. A considerable sum will also be raised by private liberality. But we view the measure as most important, inasmuch as it is the commencement only of a great work, which can never be left unfinished. As Parliament has sanctioned the plan, it will not be possible, at a future day, to refuse a public grant, in order that the scheme

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may be completed. It is not our intention, at present, to dwell at length on this important subject. We shall wait a little, until the measure is carried into effect, and then it will be our business to submit the various details to the notice of our readers. In the meantime, we urge upon all the members of the Church the duty of constantly keeping the object in view, and of raising funds by all means in their power in support of the measure. After private liberality has been tried, it will scarcely be possible to refuse a public grant.

THE EPISCOPAL FUNCTIONS BILL.

This bill, we believe, originated in the state of the diocese of Bath and Wells, the bishop having for a considerable period been prevented from attending to his episcopal functions. It was necessary to devise some means for securing a due performance of episcopal duties in that important diocese; and hence the present bill, which will be applicable to any see, when circumstances may render it necessary.

We do not hesitate to avow our sorrow that the bill should have been passed; for we are of opinion that the archbishop could have interfered, and have appointed one of his suffragans to administer the affairs of the diocese, without resorting to Parliamentary interference. We do not like Parliamentary legislation in such matters. If Parliament interferes in one case, what is to prevent the same interference in another? The Church has its own legislature; and if any new regulations or rules are necessary, they should be framed in that assembly, and not in Parliament. Our objection, therefore, lies against the principle of Parliament interfering; and we are fearful of the measure as a precedent. It appears to us to be a most objectionable course to resort to Parliament on all occasions. In many of the cases in which Parliamentary legislation has been called in, the law, as it stood, was sufficient for the purpose. Such we conceive to have been the case with respect to the end contemplated by the present bill. And the necessity, in other instances, of procuring Parliamentary authority, shows the greater necessity of allowing the Church to legislate for herself by means of her own Convocation. We hope that our bishops will unite in a representation to the Crown to permit the Convocation to assemble, in order that the necessary laws may be enacted in that assembly, which alone possesses authority to legislate in Church matters. We say that the Convocation alone possesses such authority, and we make the assertion with a full knowledge of what we are saying. Of course we know full well that the authority of Parliament cannot be resisted; but still we

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contend, that the constitution recognizes the Convocation, and that, by the constitution, Church matters are to be settled in Synod, rather than in Parliament.

Having stated our objections to the principle on which the bill rests (for we have no objection to its provisions), we proceed to give a brief account of the measure. In the first place, it is provided, that when an archbishop (or in the case of the archbishop, the Lord Chancellor) has reason to believe that any one of his suffragans is unable, by mental incapacity, to discharge the functions of his office, it shall be lawful for him to issue a commission to enquire into the state of such bishop's mind, and to make a report to the metropolitan. After the report, the archbishop is authorized to appoint another bishop, of the same province, to superintend the affairs of the see of the prelate who has been declared to be incompetent. But as there are many things in a diocese which may be executed by commission, and are not peculiar to the episcopal office, the bill enacts, that it shall be lawful for the acting bishop and the archbishop to nominate a spiritual person, who shall attend to those duties, which may be performed by a clergyman. To the person thus appointed, one-sixth, or a sum not exceeding one-sixth, of the income of the see is to be assigned, out of which are to be defrayed the expenses incurred by the acting bishop, in his necessary attendance in the diocese for confirmation, ordination, and the consecration of churches. There will, of course, be an appeal from the spiritual person to the bishop appointed, and to the archbishop, in all cases in which parties may feel dissatisfied. The remainder of the income of the see will necessarily belong to the family of the diocesan. Such is a brief sketch of the main provisions of the bill. In itself we see no objection whatever. Our objections lie solely to the principle of appealing to Parliament for authority to do what we believe might have been settled by the archbishop, or what, supposing there was no provision for such a case, should be settled in an ecclesiastical assembly.

CHURCH AUTHORITY.

During the last session the Archbishop of Dublin presented a petition in the House of Lords, praying that some power might be created to which all Church questions might be referred for settlement. As we understood his Grace, he did not himself care one way or the other about the Convocation: he was only anxious that some authority should exist by whom doubtful points might be decided. His Grace contended that ecclesiastical matters could not be permitted to remain in their

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present state. We gather, too, that the Archbishop sees the inconsistency of allowing all Church matters to be settled in Parliament. On this point he and ourselves are agreed. At the same time he is not anxious for the revival of the Church's lawfully constituted assembly; but he will be satisfied with any other plan which will secure to the Church a power of acting and deciding in cases of doubt and difficulty. His Grace did not even hint at any particular plan: he merely pointed out the necessity of doing something. The Bishop of Salisbury, however, spoke plainly on the occasion. We are grateful to his lordship for directing the attention of the house to a power or authority already in existence, possessing all the requisites alluded to by the Archbishop of Dublin, but which is not permitted to act, namely, the Convocation. His lordship remarked that no other assembly was necessary. He also alluded to the objections usually urged against the revival of the Convocation, showing that they were of no weight whatever. It appears to us that an objection might just as well be raised against Parliaments. It is urged, that when the Convocation met last for business, the two houses could not agree, and that the members spent their time in disputes. Now certainly, whatever may have been the errors of Convocation in this respect, the disputes were not to be compared with those which occur every Session within the walls of Parliament. It will, however, be replied, admitting the truth of this statement—we cannot help having a Parliament, since the business of the State could not be carried on without it. We grant all this; but who does not see, that while the civil legislature is necessary for the State, the ecclesiastical legislature is as necessary for the Church? We trust, then, that the views entertained by the Bishop of Salisbury may be entertained by the Bench of Bishops, and that they will make such a representation to the Crown as to cause the assembling of Convocation. That Parliamentary interference will become common, unless such is the case, we are convinced; for every year, in the present state of the Church, some new measure is necessary, and this is settled in Parliament, instead of a Synod. Our hope is, that the clergy will bestir themselves—that they will see the necessity of action; and that they will not shut their eyes to the danger of allowing all Church matters to be settled in Parliament, instead of being arranged in the lawful assembly, which undoubtedly is THE CONVOCATION!

THE EDUCATION BILL.

It is not our intention to go over the ground which we have so frequently trodden respecting this bill. Our object is simply

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to notice the slander of a portion of the press relative to the rejection of this measure, and to direct attention to the exertions of the friends of the Church to supply the deficiency.

With regard to the first point, we observe that the *Record* and some other papers have broadly asserted, that the opposition of the Methodists originated in their apprehensions of *Tractarianism*. The assertion is false, as the *Record* ought to know; for had *Tractarianism* never been heard of, the Wesleyans would have found out some pretence or other for opposing the measure of the Government. The plea of *Tractarianism* was all a pretence; and the real ground of their opposition was, as some of the party were honest enough to admit, the apprehension of a falling away of children from their own schools to those in connexion with the Church of England. The *Record*, however, to suit its own crooked purpose, seizes the pretence, and argues upon it as if it were a reality. There is a parish in which a Wesleyan, who knew perfectly well what he was about, went to the houses of the poor and actually told the parents, that if they did not sign the petitions against the bill, the Papists would come and take away their Bibles; and further that if the bill was carried, all the poor must send their children to a particular school, where they would have to pay one shilling a week, besides a shilling whenever they were absent. This was done in a country village; and the same thing, with some variety in the manner, was done in hundreds of villages. The *Record* would argue, that all this arose from the apprehension of *Tractarianism*. We deny the assertion. *Tractarianism* was not the cause of the opposition; it was only the pretence. The cause was jealousy of the Church, or an apprehension that their race in proselytism would soon be ended.

But with respect to the second point, namely, the exertions of the friends of the Church to supply the want of Christian education, we may remark, that the anticipations of the enemies of the bill are not likely to be realized. They have, it is true, succeeded in setting aside the measure for a season; but, so far from arresting the progress of Church education, they have roused Churchmen to exertion; and the Dissenters may rest assured that, being once aroused, they will not sit still until the great object be accomplished. That a measure for general education on sound Church principles will ere long be carried, we feel convinced; but in the meantime, to meet the pressing wants of the people, something must instantly be done. Dissenters have no other wish than to prevent the Church from educating the people. Having for the present accomplished this end, they are satisfied to permit the poor to remain in

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ignorance, without any additional effort to alleviate their condition. But, as a contrast to the conduct of Dissenters, let that of Churchmen be noticed. Already the voluntary contributions amount to the greater part of a *hundred thousand pounds:* and probably, by the time that these lines are published, that sum may be exceeded. The contrast is most striking. Dissenters talk and make professions, but do nothing: Churchmen say very little, but do a great deal. The latter show, by their acts, that they really care for the poor; while the former afford the strongest evidence that their sole object is the support of their own party. We commend the fund to the attention of our readers, trusting that they will embrace every opportunity of furthering the work in their respective circles. Let the Church now come forward, and prove that she really cares for the poor, and that she does something better than a few vain and empty professions.

THE SCOTTISH NON-INTRUSIONISTS.

The Non-intrusion leaders are not content with separating from the Church of Scotland, but they are now labouring, by all means in their power, to injure the character of the men who adhere to her communion. A most striking contrast is furnished in the conduct of the Church and the seceders. While charity and moderation mark the proceedings of the former, violence and uncharitableness are the characteristic features in the conduct of the latter. The want of charity is always a sign of a bad cause. If the Non-intrusionists are satisfied with their own movement, why cannot they leave their brethren to follow the dictates of their own consciences? The Popery of the Non-intrusion leaders is quite as great as the Popery of Rome. They will not allow persons to think for themselves, but denounce all who differ from them. In England their cause is advocated by Dissenters, some of whom have opened their purses for pretty considerable contributions. But efforts are made to gain the support and sympathy of Churchmen. We are happy to say that no success has attended those efforts, beyond gaining here and there a solitary clergyman, who is either forgetful or regardless of his ordination vows. We have heard of a few such cases, but the clergy generally are consistent. The method adopted by those few clergymen who have taken up the Non-intrusion cause is that of bearing false witness against their neighbours. They choose to assert that all the good men are amongst the seceders, and that the truth can only be preached to the people of Scotland by that body. This is actually asserted by some English clergymen. How these men can support the principle of Non-

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intrusion, and yet remain in the Anglican Church, is a problem which we are quite unable to solve. They might just as well support any individuals who secede from the Church of England. Probably, indeed, such is actually the case. Seceders, of course, say that all the good men are with them; and so say the parties to whom we allude, of the Scotch separatists. We cannot conceive how men, making a pretension to piety, can put forth such unblushing statements. To sit in judgment on their neighbours is surely an act which the Gospel forbids: "Judge not, that ye be not judged." But these persons hesitate not to pronounce a decision respecting a large body of clergymen, who still adhere to the Scottish Church. The parties, therefore, are guilty of falsehood, in putting forth such statements respecting the Scottish clergy. But what can be expected from men who can break their own vows? To support Non-intrusionism is to support Dissent; and for a clergyman to support Dissent is to break his most solemn pledges. If they are curates, their licenses ought to be withdrawn; and if incumbents, their cases ought to be brought before the Ecclesiastical Courts. The man who can promote the cause of Non-intrusion is dishonest if he does not quit his own Church, and thus follow the example of those whose cause he advocates. In Scotland the principle has issued in a separation; the same results must follow from the same principle in England, if men are consistent and honest. Nay, the obligation is, if possible, stronger in England, inasmuch as the principle of patronage is, perhaps, of more force here than in Scotland. We do not, therefore, hesitate to declare our conviction, that no clergyman who advocates the Non-intrusion cause can remain within the Church, except at the sacrifice of honesty and consistency.

We hear, on good authority, that the anticipated funds do not flow in freely to the Non-intrusion coffers. Some persons, who put down their names for large sums, have refused to contribute a shilling, on the ground that they were deceived; and others, who subscribed their names for 1,000*l.*, give only 200*l.* Some time since, the engagements of the Non-intrusionists were 40,000*l.*, while the sum actually promised amounted to only 30,000*l.* In a little space the streams will be exhausted, and the Non-intrusion ministers will seek to return to the Church, that they may procure a subsistence.

We recommend our readers to read a pamphlet by Sir William Hamilton, in which the assertions of the Non-intrusionists, respecting the former practice of the Church of Scotland, are proved, one and all, to be positively false. The Church of Scotland never did allow such power to the people as is claimed for them

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by the separatists. But we need not pursue the question further, for our object was simply to expose the inconsistent conduct of some few English clergymen, who are labouring to gain over their brethren to an expression of sympathy with the Non-intrusionists.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

The temperance movement, by the mission of Father Mathew to England, has assumed a partly religious aspect, and consequently falls naturally under our observation in our Ecclesiastical Report. Into the question of Temperance Societies we do not intend to enter. Our opinion is, that persons must use their own judgment in all such matters. But we have no hesitation in reprobating the recent proceedings of our countrymen with respect to Father Mathew. Until now, the temperance pledge was taken by subscribing the name in a book for that purpose, but Father Mathew administers it in his own way. The parties absolutely kneel down to this individual! Dissenters, and even Dissenting ministers, were among his followers. They came and knelt down before this Popish priest, who certainly, whatever others might think, considered the giving of the pledge as a religious ceremony. Now it is very strange, that some of the very men who are constantly charging the English clergy with Popery should be among the foremost to kneel to a Popish priest. Surely there was more Popery in such an act, than they can discover in the Church of England. This proceeding must be numbered with the many other acts of inconsistency of which Dissenters are guilty.

DR. PUSEY AND THE "CHURCHMAN'S MONTHLY REVIEW."

Our readers will find a notice of Dr. Pusey's sermon at the commencement of the present number; from which it will be evident that we are quite as much opposed to the doctrine of the sermon as the *Churchman's Review*. Having entered upon the doctrinal question, it is not our intention to resume it; but we have a somewhat serious charge to make against our contemporary—nothing less than the charge of culpable ignorance of the history of the Church of England. Before a man sets up for a castigator of others, he should know well on what ground he himself stands: he should be quite sure that he is competent to the task, and that his knowledge of the subject on which he writes is accurate. Now we contend that the reviewer is not acquainted with the history of his own Church; and our charge is built upon the following passages from an article on Dr. Pusey's sermon in the number for August:—

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"Dr. Pusey not only selects what divines happen to suit his taste, and thus dignifies such people as Bishop Bilson, Bishop Morton, Bishop Forbes, Bishop Hacket, Thorndike, Leslie, and Brett, with the title of 'the *great divines of our Church.*'"

"We pass over a crowd of people like Bishop Forbes, Sutton, White, Thorndike, &c., who, if they yet lived, would stare to find themselves among our great divines of the English Church."

"As to what the minor names in the series—Bilson, Forbes, Johnson, Sharpe, Hickes, and Hacket—have said, we really do not care to enquire."

The contemptuous manner of the writer in the preceding extracts is as culpable as his ignorance. It is contemptuous to use such terms in speaking of such men; but it is quite clear that the writer knew nothing of the names which are enumerated. The writer knew that all his assertions would be received by his party as little less than oracular; consequently he did not even give himself the trouble to ascertain the character of the great men whom he attempts to depreciate. Thus to falsify history, however, is a most heinous offence. Yet the ignorance of such men is no bar to their being viewed as guides by their party, who, of course, are as ignorant as themselves.

We take the names of Bilson, Morton, Hacket, White, Thorndike, and Sharpe; and we venture to affirm, that in all respects they were equal to the individuals selected by the reviewer—Ridley, Hooker, Donne, Jackson, and Beveridge. The reviewer positively declares that these are the only great divines in Dr. Pusey's list. To argue with such a writer is out of the question, because his ignorance of the subject incapacitates him for argument; but we give the extracts, in order that our readers may understand how the *Churchman's Monthly Review* is conducted. Assuredly it is necessary to pray to be delivered from such instructors.

But we select another instance of the reviewer's ignorance respecting matters of fact. Professing to write about what he does not understand, he says, in reference to the Prayer Book—

"The next step was the preparation of a Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer, which was published in 1548; but this, having contained many superstitious observances and practices, was revised by the Reformers, as they saw their way more clearly out of the darkness in which they had previously lived, by the help of Gospel light, and republished with its corrections, confirmed as the former one had been, in the year 1551."

Now it is evident that the critic never saw a copy of either of King Edward's books, or he would not have said that the one was published in 1548, the other in 1551. The fact is, that

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the Communion book was published in 1548, but not the Liturgy. The *first* book was published in the year 1549, the *second* in the year 1552. The man who could be guilty of such a blunder on such a subject is not competent to be a guide and director of others, as he professes to be in the article from which the preceding extracts have been taken. Let his assertions on all other subjects be carefully examined before they are credited.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON AND THE CHURCHWARDENS OF WARE.

We have already expressed our opinion that the laity would not trouble themselves to oppose the return to all the directions of the Church, if they were not secretly supported by clergymen of loose principles and inconsistent conduct. At Ware the churchwardens have ventured to address the Bishop of London on certain customs observed by the clergyman in the performance of divine service. They have chosen, too, to designate these customs as innovations and unauthorized practices, though, with one exception—turning to the east—they are all positively enjoined by the rubrics, and consequently are obligatory on the clergy. At Shoreditch, also, the most scandalous scenes have taken place in the church, under the pretence of opposing *Puseyism;* though, with perhaps the single exception above alluded to, the clergy merely complied with the directions of the Church. For the laity to interfere with the clergy, so as to dictate to them how they are to conduct public worship, appears to us to be a species of tyranny to which no one can possibly submit. It is unbecoming too, on the part of the laity, to interfere in a province which does not belong to them, and which is entirely under the control of the laws and of the ordinary. But that a set of men at Ware and at Shoreditch should call certain rubrical injunctions "innovations," surprises us: and we should be still more surprised, did we not know that certain disaffected clergymen are at the bottom of the whole affair. We think that the Bishop of London adopted the only course which, under the circumstances, was open to his lordship. It would not be possible to continue a correspondence with men who could so far forget themselves as to publish his lordship's letters without his permission. As long as the clergy comply with the directions of the Church, the bishop cannot interfere; and we are quite sure that the Bishop of London will not attempt to stop practices which are enjoined, even though they may have been disused in some places. If the laity in some parishes are so sensitive on certain points, how is it that they are not equally so in cases where clergymen mutilate the services, and violate

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their vows by gross rubrical irregularities? The men of Ware and of Shoreditch, who are so extremely sensitive in this matter, and who wish to abide by the *customs of their fathers*, never venture to complain of those clergymen who violate the injunctions of the Church by altering the services. Their consciences are very tender, but only on certain points. The bishops and clergy must not swerve from their purpose in consequence of such representations. Let the parties threaten to quit the Church if they please. The very threat proves that their Churchmanship is questionable; for no man could desert his principles because a clergyman complies with the letter of the rubric. To such men it is a matter of indifference whether they attend the church or the conventicle; and we feel sure that it is perfectly indifferent to them whether they quit the Church or remain within her pale. It is perhaps better in every way that they should leave the Church altogether, than profess to remain in her communion, while they secretly hate her ordinances.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.

The bill for the regulation of these courts was not carried through Parliament, consequently the law remains unaltered. That certain alterations are necessary we freely admit, but we could not approve of the changes contemplated by the bill which was introduced in the last session. We rejoice, therefore, that it was not passed into a law. The changes were of too sweeping and too radical a description. In these days of change, it behoves the friends of the Church to proceed with all possible caution. Any extensive alteration in the structure of our ecclesiastical polity would lead to still more radical changes. Indeed, it would be impossible to stop if the work of destruction were commenced. In all probability, a measure of ecclesiastical reform will be introduced in the next session; but we trust that it will be of such a character as to commend itself to all the friends of the Church. Into the particulars of the measure of the last session we need not enter. We notice the subject for the purpose of keeping awake the attention of the public; for we may rest assured that the supporters of the views contemplated by the recent measure will be ready to introduce another, not materially different, unless the friends of the Church are on their guard. Let it be our object not to be taken by surprise next session. We could, indeed, wish that some ecclesiastical lawyer in Parliament would prepare a bill to submit to the two Houses as early as possible after they are assembled, for we think that a sound and safe measure of ecclesiastical reform could easily be carried.

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CHURCH SOCIETIES.

Nothing can furnish a stronger reply to the assertion, that the Church is not the Church of the majority of the nation, than the state of our various societies. Vast sums of money are annually raised by Churchmen, and expended in Church objects. The erection of churches and schools may be marked in every direction. Two points, therefore, are clear—the one, that much money is raised by Churchmen for churches and schools; the other, that the people are ready to attend the one and to send their children to the other. Were the Church unpopular, as various Dissenting organs pretend, we should see empty churches and empty schools; but the reverse of this state of things is the case. But besides the sums raised by the Church for home or domestic purposes, a very large amount is collected for various foreign objects. The voluntary subscriptions of Churchmen constitute a very large annual amount; and we appeal to these contributions as an evidence of the falsehood of those who assert that the Church of England is declining.

We take this opportunity of strongly recommending to all our readers, especially to the clergy, Mr. Sinclair's circular in behalf of the National Society. It is most important to support this Society, since it is, and must be, the great instrument of Church education throughout the country.

All our societies are in a flourishing condition; and though so many fresh objects for pecuniary aid are continually presenting themselves, yet the old institutions are not only supported, but supported with increasing zeal and energy. It is quite refreshing to contemplate the great works which are accomplished by the voluntary contributions of the members of the Church of England. May the divine blessing rest upon our societies! May they be eminently instrumental in diffusing the knowledge of eternal life both at home and abroad.

THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA AND THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

In our last number we stated, as a fact, that the Bishop of Calcutta had printed the charge of the Bishop of London, for circulation among the clergy of his diocese. We found afterwards that the circumstance was also mentioned in the *Christian Observer*, in which the matter was treated with candour and liberality. Since our last, various letters have appeared on this subject; the writer of which, in addition to the fact above-mentioned, states, that he had seen a letter from the Bishop of Calcutta, in which his lordship expresses his approval of the sentiments of the charge. This was, it appears, communicated to the *Record*,

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because a series of attacks had been circulated in that paper against the Bishop of London. The writer very naturally thought that a paper, professing to be conducted on Christian principles, would readily give insertion to a letter containing a statement which, if incorrect, would easily have been disproved. In this reasonable expectation, however, as we learn from the letters which were subsequently published, he was disappointed. After some time, the *Record* reluctantly admitted the fact, that the Bishop of Calcutta had reprinted the charge; but it asserted that his lordship's views of the charge were similar to their own. The writer then addressed a second letter to the *Record*, stating that he had seen a second letter from the Bishop of Calcutta, written three months after the former, and re-asserting his lordship's approval of the course taken by the Bishop of London. This was unnoticed by the *Record*, and the letters were published elsewhere. The *Record* then, in its answers to correspondents, alluded to the letters without alluding to their publication, stating that they could not publish statements on anonymous authority; and adding, that the Bishop of Calcutta had cautioned the clergy of Islington against such innovations as were recommended by the Bishop of London. In reply to this statement, another letter was sent to the *Record*, in which it was stated that the Bishop of Calcutta had spoken in the strongest terms of approbation of the charge of the Bishop of London, on those very points which were condemned by the *Record*, and that it was impossible to imagine that his lordship had given any such caution to the Islington clergy. We give the purport as far as we remember it, for we have not the letter in our possession. This letter, however, was refused by the *Record*, and it was printed in the *Morning Post*.

Now let our readers mark the dishonesty of the whole proceeding. The *Record* had made many attacks on the Bishop of London, and had quoted the names of such persons as were calculated to give weight to their opinions. The Bishop of Calcutta expresses his approval of the charge: the fact is made known to the *Record*, in the hope that the editor would gladly allow his readers to know the opinion of Bishop Wilson; but still the insertion is refused, and the supporters of that paper, who were not likely to have seen the letters elsewhere, were permitted to remain in ignorance of a fact which, from the character of the individual alluded to, would have very materially influenced many of the parties who had formed their views of the charge from the *Record's* statements. Let us suppose that Bishop Wilson had pursued an opposite course, and had condemned, instead of approving of the charge; can any one

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doubt that the *Record* would have been the foremost to quote his authority against the Bishop of London? The refusal, therefore, to insert the letters, after so many ungenerous attacks, was most unjust, and consequently unchristian. Nothing could furnish stronger evidence of the prejudices and party feeling of this *religious* newspaper. To suppress facts, which may tend to set the public mind right respecting a man whom we have injured, is a crime of no small magnitude.

But where are the *Record's* proofs that the Bishop of Calcutta has cautioned the clergy of Islington against the practices recommended by the Bishop of London? We deny the thing altogether. The Bishop of Calcutta has not called the practices recommended in the charge innovations; neither has he cautioned the Islington clergy against compliance. We defy the *Record* to the proof. The assertions of a paper, however, which can suppress the truth, are of very little value. With respect to the *Record's* assertions in this matter, we can state that they are untrue. We know, on the best authority, that the Bishop of Calcutta has approved most cordially of the charge. Had he not approved, indeed, he must have been little better than a madman to print the obnoxious charge for circulation among his own clergy. We will add only one other remark, namely, that in our estimation the opinion of the Bishop of Calcutta would have more weight with the reflecting portion of the community, than that of the *Record*. So thought the editor, or he would never have refused to do an act of strict justice.

General Literature.

Of the Moral Principle of the Atonement; also of Faith: and of its two sorts, Conviction and Confidence; and of the connexion between them. By the Rev. John Penrose, M.A. London: Fellowes. 1843.

Much praise is due to any theological writer who brings the doctrine of the Atonement prominently forward, especially in these days, when so many attempts have been made to keep it in the background. *Reserve in preaching*, commonly so called; or, in other words, the drawing a veil over the cardinal doctrine of our faith, has been the great error into which the new Oxford school has fallen: and perhaps this has got them more enemies and opposers than any new opinions they may have endeavoured to circulate. The true Christian will not have his

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faith veiled; he will not have a code of dry morals, in the place of that life-giving doctrine which has ever been nearest his heart; nor will he ever be ashamed boldly to acknowledge his Saviour, the efficacy of the cross, and the real value of the one great sacrifice; nor will he, if he be authoritatively commissioned, ever be backward in preaching the great doctrine of the Atonement, in all its mysterious fulness, to others: for he must know, that upon that alone all other doctrines take their rise—that they, like the various streams that issue from the river, one and all are dependent upon the spring.

The work before us certainly contains a great body of divinity; but it does not come up to our standard of excellence. It is extremely heavy, and is wanting in force and energy. We sincerely wish that it had been written in a more popular style, in order that we might have been able to have recommended it for general use; but it is quite out of the question. Our readers, however, shall not be guided upon this occasion by us; the author shall speak for himself:—

"I come now to show (says he, while speaking upon the moral importance of the Atonement), that even in building on this right foundation, it is yet but too common to *disturb* the superstructure; and perhaps, as was also said before, to do *more* mischief by infecting the language of devotion with notions derogatory to the goodness or power of God and his consentience with Christ, than is necessarily done by contracting *inadequate* notions of the moral import of the sacrifice made by him. And this it is, moreover, quite clear, both may and will be done, if we allow of the germination of any feeling that He, the Father of mercies, the God of all consolation, the original Author of our salvation and Sender of Christ, is not *himself* as long-suffering and as full of love to us, as the Christ whom he sent."

This short quotation is sufficient to show the style of the author. In our selection we endeavoured to find the most lively; our readers, if they be not satisfied with what we have said, must purchase the volume; but if they find it heavy, as we have observed, they must not blame us, for we do not recommend it. We conceive that at this moment a fine field is open, and an excellent opportunity is given, for theological writers to produce a good work upon the Atonement, treating it in all its bearings, looking upon it in all its mightiness, and relieving it with a cautious hand from all its mystery. This is merely a hint which, we trust, will soon be taken and carried into execution, that the work may not only shame those whose object is to keep so important a doctrine out of sight, but be of real service to those who consider the Atonement the highest blessing which possibly ever could be made for man.

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Immanuel; or, God with us. A series of Lectures on the Divinity and Humanity of our Lord; as well as on his Descent into Hell, Resurrection, Ascension, and Second Advent. By Richard Bingham, Jun., M.A. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1843.

It appears that the substance of this volume was delivered by the author, in a course of sermons, during the year 1839. After some consideration, he resolved to give to the world the fruit of his labours, not, however, in the form of sermons, but in a regular and connected treatise. Such was the origin of the volume before us, and we can assure our readers that the work is one of considerable importance.

The subjects embraced in the volume are most important. They lie, indeed, at the very foundation of the Christian faith; for if Jesus be not God, our belief is all a delusion. The author starts with an enquiry into the doctrine of the Saviour's Godhead, moving his position from Scripture. To give an abstract of such a work is not practicable within the compass of a brief notice, and extracts would scarcely enable the reader to judge of the character of the book. The lectures on the descent into hell are valuable, and will be read with much interest by those who are accustomed to consider such difficult subjects. Indeed, the whole volume deserves consideration, and our hope is, that it may have an extended circulation.

Mr. Bingham is a descendant of the learned author of "The Antiquities of the Christian Church;" and from the preface to this volume we learn that he contemplates a new edition of the works of his distinguished ancestor. We shall rejoice to find that the circulation of "The Christian Antiquities" is advancing, for we regard the various editions which have been published of this great work during the last few years as an indication of a healthier tone and a better feeling on Church matters than had existed for a considerable period; but we very much doubt whether a new edition would be likely to succeed just at the present time. An edition, a very valuable one, was published by Mr. Straker, which is now in a course of republication. This is enriched with notes, and the quotations are given at length. In short, it is well edited; so that unless Mr. Bingham has additional materials in his possession, which would create an interest in and add value to his edition, we do not see that it would make its way against Mr. Straker's. At all events, it would be desirable to wait for a season.

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An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church, that flourished within the First Three Hundred Years after Christ. By LORD PETER KING. With Remarks and an Appendix, by A CLERGYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley. 1843.

THE object of this work, as its title professes, was to ascertain the usages of the ancient Church within the first three centuries, for the purpose of conciliating Churchmen, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists. The object, doubtless, is a good one; but we can never suppose that by these means it will be gained. Dissenters will not be guided by primitive custom. They argue that the men in the first centuries were just as likely to err as the men of this; and though there may be truth and force in the argument, we see not why, in many cases, primitive practice should not be, in a measure, and when not opposed to Scripture, more regarded. Those who lived in the succeeding ages to the apostles certainly had a better opportunity than any other men of recording the then existing customs; but whether they did so faithfully and minutely must for ever remain a question, and if so, then undue reverence should not be given to ancient practices. And, again, we are rather inclined to conclude that some respect should be given to the general order of society, to the manners and to the opinions of the present age, before primitive customs be universally forced upon the men of this generation. As documents, the practices of the primitive Church are most useful; but if those practices have become obsolete, why should they be revived?—or, if revived, why should they not be revived with caution?

The work before us is valuable as a text-book, and rendered more so by the additions and the sensible remarks of the editor, who certainly had no occasion to have withheld his name.

Puseyism in London. Reprinted from the *Morning Post.* London. 1843.

THIS tract consists of six letters which appeared some time since in the *Morning Post.* The title, perhaps, would lead the reader to expect that it is an attack upon the *Tracts for the Times.* It is, however, nothing of the kind. The writer describes the conduct of some of the London clergy, in observing the directions of the Church: he then states that such compliance is termed *Puseyism.* In much of what he puts forth we agree; but we cannot give our assent to all the statements or opinions advocated in his letters.

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A Historico-Geographical Account of Palestine in the Time of Christ; or, the Bible Student's Help to a thorough knowledge of Scripture. By D. JOHN FREDERICK ROHR. Translated by the Rev. David Esdaile. Edinburgh: Clark. 1843.

THIS little volume forms the *forty-third* of a series called "The Biblical Cabinet; or, Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library." It is a work of very great interest to the biblical student—indeed to all who are anxious to be made acquainted with the history, the former and present condition, and the inhabitants of the *Land of Promise.* A vast body of materials is collected in the notes, on a great variety of subjects. The book is popular in its style; and the translator has our best thanks for supplying us with a volume on Palestine, which we can put into the hands of our children and also into those of the upper classes in our various schools. A geographical account of Judea is given first. This is succeeded by a description of the general state of the country in the time of our blessed Lord. There is, in short, a large mass of information on all subjects connected with Palestine; so that the volume may be used as a work of reference by those who wish to become acquainted either with the past history or the present state of this interesting country. We, therefore, recommend the volume to all who are interested in the state of the holy land. Nowhere, perhaps, will so much information be obtained at so small an expense; for though the volume is well got up, it is yet exceedingly cheap.

A Manual of Devotions for the Holy Communion. Compiled from various sources. London: Toovey. 1843.

THIS little volume, as its title indicates, consists of devotional forms for the holy Communion, selected from ancient and modern sources. There are many works of this description, but we never regret to see an addition made to the number, because the variety is useful, one individual being profited by one, and another by another. The present work may be serviceable in assisting the devotion of some who approach the table of the Lord.

A Companion for the Penitent, and Persons troubled in Mind. A new Edition. London: Burns. 1843.

THIS is a reprint of Kettlewell's work. A brief memoir of the author is prefixed to the volume, which will be read with considerable interest. Of the work itself we need say nothing more than that it was written by Kettlewell, and therefore that it needs no commendation from us.

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The Order of Morning and Evening Prayer, the Office of the Holy Communion, &c., according to the use of the Church of England, with the Musical Notation authorized in the Reign of Edward the Sixth. Small 4to. London: Burns. 1843.

THIS is truly a splendid work. Considered as a specimen of typographical excellence, it is one of the most beautiful productions of the press which we have seen for a long period. It is printed throughout in red and black, the initial letters are all ornamented, and each page is surrounded with an elegantly designed wood-cut border, printed in black. What we particularly admire in this volume is the correct taste and good keeping which are preserved through all its pages, and which distinguish it in so marked a manner from many of the imitations of ancient art which we see in the present day. With regard to its contents, it may be considered almost as an original work, since it contains, in addition to the order of morning and evening prayer, not only the musical service which is generally used in our cathedrals at the present time, but also the whole of the musical service published by John Marbecke in the reign of Edward VI.

The editior, Mr. W. Dyce, has enriched the work with a preface of some length, in which, among other matters, he has treated with much ingenuity and research the subject of *plain tune*, or chaunting, in its several kinds. The whole of the preface deserves a careful perusal. The Psalter, together with the office for the burial of the dead, which will complete this very curious and interesting work, we understand is almost ready for publication. We cannot conclude without expressing our sincere hope that the spirited and enterprising publisher will be rewarded by an extensive sale, for the great exertions and expense which he must have incurred in bringing out this very beautiful and unique volume.

Elements of Christian Theology. By GEORGE TOMLINE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester. Fourteenth Edition; with additional Notes, and a Summary of Ecclesiastical History, by HENRY STEBBING, D.D. London: Cadell. 1843. Two vols. 8vo.

THIS new and beautifully executed edition of a well-known and justly-valued work, is rendered yet more acceptable to its readers, by numerous notes, in which the editor, Dr. Stebbing, has indicated fresh sources of information on various topics to students; who will find his "Summary of Ecclesiastical History" a concise and accurate outline of the principal occurrences in the history of the Church.

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Eight Sermons: being Reflective Discourses on some Important Texts. By the Rev. ROBERT MONTGOMERY, M.A., Oxon. London: Baisler. 1843.

THIS very thick volume, consisting of nearly five hundred pages, closely printed, contains but eight sermons; so our readers may form an idea of the length of each of Mr. Montgomery's discourses. We can scarcely suppose that each was delivered in full, but that additions were made, for the purpose of conveying to his congregation as much divinity and eloquence as possible.

That Mr. Montgomery is a man highly gifted is a fact which is at once seen from the sermons before us; but as a preacher he certainly has not yet arrived at the most perfect point. He has a command of language, which he too often strains to a very great disadvantage; and his object appears to be to carry his hearers up to heaven long before they are prepared for the change; or, in other words, he is anxious to give them the strong meat instantaneously, without commencing with the milk, or the milder food, as a preparative for that which is more substantial. He talks of "the preacher whose genius can waft you, on the wings of seraphic language, almost into the third heaven," of "descriptions about Christ and praises of Christ;" as if, indeed, he had an imparted confidence that he was that preacher, and could, by language, accomplish more than the simple, yet forcible, style in which the Gospel was delivered. There are, indeed, some serious defects in the sermons before us, which we fear the vividness and the freshness of the author's mind will never allow him to overcome. We allude to high-wrought expressions—fanciful ideas—glowing metaphors—bombast and balderdash—and, above all, a high and remarkable talent, that, as it were, involuntarily carries him far beyond his subject. There certainly are times when the author of these sermons is unintelligible, especially when he attempts to distinguish himself from the rest of the ministry, by novel expressions and extraordinary ideas. In his first sermon he speaks of our Lord as being, "in truth, the very orphan of creation;" and also of "a young faith;" "the pupil of the Holy Ghost;" "sheathing the lightning;" "the winged faith;" "the waters of Gennesareth sparkling in the mental eye, before they served as a *liquid* carpet for his human feet to tread;" "the evangelic exquisiteness of the inner experience." Many such expressions as these occur throughout the volume; but, if possible, more wild and senseless. But stay—are we speaking harshly of an author who already has gained great popularity as a preacher? It is a question whether he has really done so. The author of "Luther, or the Spirit of the Reformation," and "The Messiah," perhaps

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justly commended, may have secured for him a reputation, and have induced people to be delighted with him as a preacher; but for him ever to be truly effective, he must renounce the wildness of his expressions, and the cant—for we can use no milder term—of his divinity. Let him grapple with these defects, for he has the energy, and we will venture to predict, that in his new field he will soon become valuable in his position and serviceable to his Church. As a volume, the work before us, taken as a whole, may be recommended; and to those who are not so fastidious as ourselves, or have no critical eye, or duty to perform, it will be acceptable and of real value, especially to the author's congregation at Glasgow, whom, we hear, he is about to leave.

A Statement of Facts, in Relation to the recent Ordination in St. Stephen's Church, New York. By Drs. SMITH and AUTHON. New York. 1843.

THIS pamphlet will be read with interest in England, inasmuch as it relates to the American Church. It refers to the ordination of an individual of the name of Carey, against which a protest was entered by Dr. Smith and Dr. Authon. Mr. Carey had expressed himself in terms of approval of several Romish errors, and these gentlemen felt it to be their duty to oppose his ordination. The ordination, however, took place; so that we may conclude that Mr. Carey was supposed to have renounced his erroneous views at the time. Drs. Smith and Authon, however, published this statement in their own justification, or they would have been under the imputation of raising false reports against Mr. Carey.

The History of the Church of Scotland, from the Reformation to the Present Time. By THOMAS STEPHEN. London. 1843. Parts II., III., and IV.

WHEN completed, this will be a truly valuable work, if we may judge, as we imagine we may, from the numbers which have already made their appearance. The author's other works, indeed, are a sufficient guarantee that he has not undertaken a subject with which he is unacquainted. At the present time this work will be especially valuable, inasmuch as it will be seen that the assertions of the Non-intrusionists respecting the state of matters in the Scottish Church of a former age, relative to patronage, are altogether contrary to the facts. We wish the author all possible success in his undertaking; nor do we doubt that the work will have an extensive circulation.

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Mens Corporis. A Treatise on the Operations of the Mind in Sleep. By F. H. Elwin, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn. London: 1843.

This is a production of more than ordinary thought, and though the subject may appear unattractive at first sight, yet we are convinced that no one will take up the volume without being led on to examine its pages and to feel an interest in its contents. The author states his views with great modesty; but we are sure that numbers who may be induced to peruse the volume will readily admit that it is a work of very considerable merit. Perhaps there are but few reflecting persons who have not, at some time or other, been puzzled, when they considered the operations of the mind during sleep. Every man knows, from his own experience, that the mind is never inactive; that though the body sleeps, the immortal part sleeps not; and consequently most persons are interested in the subject—perhaps more than they themselves are aware of. We, therefore, commend this volume to their notice, assuring them that the perusal will afford them considerable interest.

The Student's Cabinet Library of Useful Tracts. Vol. IX. Containing Sketches of Modern Philosophy, especially among the Germans. By James Musdock, D.D. Edinburgh. 1843.

The author tells us that he is no philosopher—that he merely comes before the public in the character of a historian. As such, his principal object is to describe the German philosophy. The book will, therefore, be useful in enabling the public to understand the character of the philosophy now prevalent in Germany. Most of our readers have heard of the opinions of the philosophers of Germany. In this little volume, then, a succinct and lucid history of the system will be found. It is not for us to enter into any elaborate criticism of the work, neither can we touch upon the character of the prevailing philosophy of the Germans; but we can cordially recommend the book to the notice of all reflecting persons, on account of the vast mass of information which it contains.

A Peep under the Hood. By "Bo-Peep," of Oxford. London: Sherwood and Co. 1843.

The author might have spared himself the trouble of writing this pamphlet, for we are quite sure that very few will read it, and even by them it will not be understood. Indeed, we very much question whether he understands his own production.

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Sacred Hermeneutics Developed and Applied. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, LL.D. Edinburgh: Clark. London: Hamilton.

IN this book-making age it is refreshing to meet with a work which has grown out of a want which has been felt, and which the author is competent to supply; and such is the book, the title of which we have given above. And the book is praiseworthy in its condensation, as well as in its excellence; it not only is a treasury of valuable information, but it contains scarcely anything but that which is absolutely necessary to the critical student of holy Scripture. Dr. Davidson seems quite at home, and what we should call a sound scholar in Hebrew and Greek; he seems to be well acquainted with all the commentators, from the earliest to the latest schools; and he has made large use of the laborious German critics, fully aware of the infidel tendencies of many of them, and diligently guarding his readers against the infection. One part of his work will be found especially useful, where he has extracted all the quotations from the Old Testament which occur in the New, and printed opposite, for comparison, the Hebrew and the Septuagint version, subjoining explanatory notes. There is also a brief, but sufficient, account of the writings and prominent doctrines of the fathers; an account of the principal oriental versions; an estimate of the importance of the knowledge of the cognate dialects; and a notice of chronological and other scientific works subsidiary to the accurate knowledge of holy Scripture; all which subjects are treated in an intelligent and masterly manner. And we may say, in a word, that nothing seems to have been left undone which could be brought within the prescribed limits; and all that is done appears to be well done.

Dr. Davidson is an Independent, and it appears has been lately appointed Professor of Biblical Literature in the institution founded by that body at Manchester. We do not perceive any traces of a sectarian spirit in this work, and think that it speaks much in favour of those who have made the choice, and augurs favourably for the institution over so important a department of which he will have to preside. And having said so much in praise of Dr. Davidson, we are sure that he will not be offended at our expressing regret that he does not belong to our own Church, and that the work did not proceed from Oxford or Cambridge—to either of which it would have done honour. But, notwithstanding this regret, we recommend it strongly to our readers, and hope we shall never become insensible to merit of such a kind in any one, though he should belong to a denomination we disapprove.

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The Psalter, or Psalms of David, with the Canticles, Pointed for Chanting. By ROBERT JONES. London: Burns.

IT would be a most desirable end gained if every member of the Church would evidence their sincerity by joining in with the service. Many inducements are held out, many encouragements are given, and many exhortations are enforced, but often with little effect; either from listlessness, or from other causes, the people will not testify their zeal by their responses or by their sacred song. It is as incumbent upon them to raise their voices, as it is their hearts, to Jehovah; and as necessary to preserve harmony, as it is order and regularity. The little work before us cannot fail of its desired end. If the excuse be, that people do not sing because they cannot sing, the difficulty is almost momentarily removed. The hymns and the psalms are so simply arranged, that they who have not the slightest ear for music can, with little practice, by the use of this *pointed* Psalter, become proficient. As we are anxious to recommend this little work to the clergy, that they may introduce it to their congregations, we give the following sample and explanation:—

"VENITE, EXULTEMUS.—PS. XCV.

"O come, let us sing un | *to · the* | *Lord:* let us heartily rejoice in the | *strength · of* | *our · sal* | *vation.*

"Let us come before his presence | *with: thanks* | *giving:* and show ourselves | *glad · in* | *him · with* | *psalms.*

"For the Lord is | *a great* | *God:* and a great | *King a* | *bove · all* | *gods,*" &c. &c.

In this arrangement the upright lines answer to the bars in the music, so that the words printed in Roman letter are all to be sung to the first note in each division of the chant—those in italics to the remaining notes.

The point (·) which is placed between the words or syllables shows, that those before it are intended for the first note in the bar—those after it for the second.

Where there is only one syllable in a bar, both notes are to be sung to it.

When the hyphen (-) occurs instead of words, the note or notes must be sung to the previous word. Thus, for instance, praise | - - | - - | : the word "praise" must besung to five notes.

The last bar consists of one note, to which one or more syllables must be sung, as it may happen. Thus, wilderness | tempted me |.

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Graphic Illustrations of Animals, showing their utility to Man, in their services during Life and uses after Death. Twenty-one Coloured Plates; exhibiting fifty Animals, and upwards of two hundred Illustrations. London: Varty. 1843.

We have before had occasion to allude to the class of works produced by Messrs. Roake and Varty, for the instruction of youth, by means of graphic illustration, with satisfaction. We have now a work designed to show the utility of animals to man during life and after death, and to deduce results calculated to excite interest and to evince the goodness of the Creator. We cannot better show the plan than by letting the author speak for himself:—

"Coloured prints of animals are always inviting to the eye of children; but to limit the uses of graphic illustrations to an exhibition of external form, or as a means of appreciating symmetry and beauty alone, would be to impart very imperfect lessons, and to leave the mind uneducated and unimproved.

"But very different is the result when there is unfolded to the view the wonderful connexion between animals living and after they are dead, and the interests of man, whose dependence upon them for food and clothing, as well as for innumerable other comforts and pleasures, is so entire, as to suggest lessons at once of humility and of devout gratitude. By tracing the various purposes they serve in exciting the healthful exercise and activity of the higher faculties—suggesting mechanical contrivances—furnishing profitable occupation—acting as the prime movers of many of our manufactures, and hence becoming the life of trade and commerce, and the source of national wealth, the young mind will be led to a just appreciation of the intrinsic value of each creature, independent of its external form—to observe that those most useful in life are frequently not so after death—and that some of those which, while living, are regarded with aversion, contribute largely when dead to our comforts and enjoyments.

"There is in this collection of 'Graphic Illustrations' an almost inexhaustible source of instruction, in the hands of a judicious teacher. In directing attention to the Horse, for example, how interesting it is to trace it through its several stages of usefulness, whether contributing to pleasure or to the business of life—facilitating the rapidity of transit on the road or canal—assisting in the sad scenes of war—promoting the enduring blessings of peace—in agriculture and commerce—giving speed to the courier—or winding up its active existence in the unvarying round of duty at the mill; while still serviceable after death, in the application of its skin to various domestic purposes, and of its flesh sometimes as food for man and often for domestic animals. Then, to advert to the amount of human employment to which it gives occasion, and also in the occupations of ploughmen, carters, the post-boy, stable-keepers and grooms, coachmen, cavalry, the parade of state, tanners, shoemakers, millers—too many classes, in fact, to enumerate—all in connexion with this animal.

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"If the Sheep is selected, what a fund of instruction may be extracted from it! The thousands to whom it gives occupation—the importance of its fleece to our country, as a staple commodity—the looms, mills, and steam-engines that it sets in motion—the inventions it occasions—the covering for our bodies it provides; and then the wholesome food which its flesh affords, and the value of its skin as parchment, leather, &c.

"But, to complete the circle of instruction, the relations of animals to man must be viewed under their most interesting aspects. Animals may justly be regarded as the cement of society. Man discovers that he cannot live independently; and such a discovery begets humility, encourages affability and kindness, and evinces how completely dependent each one is upon his neighbour for individual and general blessings—the rich equally with the poor; that there is not a grade in the scale of society which does not add stability and compactness to the entire structure; and shows that in the appointed duties of life, whether the station assigned is a lofty or a lowly one, there is a sphere of usefulness which cannot be dispensed with without deranging the general harmony."

The work is beautifully executed in lithography, and coloured. The parent will find it an invaluable aid in the instruction of his family. It ought to be in every school in the kingdom.

A Visit to the East. By the Rev. N. Formby, M.A. London: Burns. 1843.

This is a good-tempered, amusing sort of a journal of a traveller, by the very interesting route of the Danube, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Idumea, to Palestine; in which the incidents are fairly and faithfully set down: and the reader is further assisted by spirited, though small sketches, which represent the most striking of the scenes visited by the travellers. It appears that in a great part of the journey, and that through some of the most interesting countries, their progress was impeded, and their plans often frustrated, by indecision, arising from all feeling themselves on a footing of equality, each being entitled to exercise his judgment on the best course to be pursued, and having as much right to expect the others to give way to his opinion, as he to theirs. From this republican spirit every movement became a subject of debate, not only producing such loss of time as to frustrate the very object of their journey, by rendering it impossible to visit the places they had come so far in order to see; but opening them to the exactions of those who witnessed these dissensions, and were not slow in turning them to profit, and this not only to the inconvenience and loss of the whole party, but often to their great peril—one mode of exaction and plunder being the prelude to a worse. Mr.

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Formby, therefore, recommends all persons who embark on such expeditions, or who are thrown together on any such common object of interest, to appoint some one of the party absolute dictator, who should be entrusted with plenipotentiary authority to negotiate, and from whose commands or decisions there should be no appeal. Notwithstanding these little drawbacks, Mr. Formby does not represent their difficulties as very great; and he rather leaves us to infer that Mr. Stevens, and some of the other travellers in the East, have made the most of their privations and sufferings, if they have not even exaggerated them, and raised a difficulty to have the credit of overcoming it. There are no pretensions to science in this little volume, and rather an ostentatious disclaimer of it, as if there were higher and better objects to occupy the attention of a traveller. But we do not see why the two things should be incompatible—why scientific as well as moral observations may not be made; and we think that this volume would have been all the better for being scientific. But as it is, we are very well pleased with it, and think it creditable to the author.

An Outline of Bishop's College, and of its Missions in the Neighbourhood of Calcutta. By the Rev. S. C. MALAN, M.A., Curate of Alverstoke, Hants. London: Burns.

THE object of this little manual is to give a sketch of the institution of Bishop's College, and to make known the present urgent wants of the principal missions connected with it. As our readers are aware, this college was projected by Bishop Middleton, and built by the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the purpose of educating and instructing the native and other youth in the principles and discipline of the Church of England. Its object is a good one, and ought fully to be carried out. The little work before us gives full particulars respecting it, and concludes with an earnest appeal, to induce all Christians to come forward to its support. A very beautiful engraving, from the sketch taken by the author, accompanies the manual.

A Memoir of Hilmar Ernst Ranschenbusch. By the late W. LEIPOLDT, M.A. Translated from the German, by R. F. WALKER, M.A., Curate of Furleigh, Essex. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1843.

THIS work is full of interest, but it neither requires, nor can it demand, a lengthened critique from our hands. The memoir has been preserved chiefly as a family record.

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An Original History of Ancient America; founded upon the Ruins of Antiquity; the Identity of the Aborigines with the People of Tyrus and Israel; and the Introduction of Christianity by the Apostle St. Thomas. By G. Jones, R.S.T., M.F.S.V., &c. London: Longman. 1843.

This is a book of imposing exterior, finely got up—a medallion of the author for frontispiece; two title-pages, the one engraved, the other with a vignette after Smirke. And the title is attractive: Aborigines—Tyrus and Israel—and the Apostle St. Thomas. Added to which it is dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the recommendation of an illustrious Prince; his Royal Highness having thought it a work which should thus be ushered into the world. The author has endeavoured also to lift the style and language of his work into keeping with these lofty pretensions, and by all these means has raised expectations which it will be difficult to satisfy. And he may rest assured, that by these circumstances a spirit of criticism will be provoked, by which his work will be severely tested; and we apprehend it will not pass wholly unscathed through such an ordeal.

This is only the first volume of the intended history, and as there certainly is great originality in the idea, we would rather encourage than damp the ardour of the author, and reserve the expression of any positive opinion on his whole system until we see the remaining volume. But it may even now be allowable to point out *desiderata* which have been suggested by the perusal of this volume, which may tend to the improvement of that which is not yet published. And first with respect to the style: it strikes us as being too ambitious of fine writing, and wanting in simplicity. We should call it even stilted, and an affectation of Lamartine, and that class of writers; which, however it may pass in France, will not, we trust, for many a day, pass current in England. Yet there are passages of great power and beauty in this volume, which the reader will scarcely perceive or enjoy, for want of quiet simplicity in the narrative which precedes and follows them.

Then, concerning the matter of this history, we desiderate many things, both in the way of proof and in the way of explanation. It cannot, we think, be questioned that Mr. Jones's fundamental position is correct; that the North Americans and the Mexicans are two distinct races—distinct in person, languages, and habits, so entirely, that we cannot conceive any circumstances which could so modify the character of either as to make them amalgamate, or enable us to refer them to the same family of the known races of mankind. But this distinction between the two does not help us a single step forward in referring

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the one to the Hebrew and the other to the Tyrian stock for their origin. We require stronger proofs of such descent than those which are commonly adduced, and proofs in *man himself*, not in supposed similarity of customs or superstitions. We want proofs that the Jews and North Americans have some resemblance as men; for they appear to us diametrically opposed. The Jews are a small race, short-limbed, with coarse, curly, wiry hair, the ears set high, and a peculiar curl in the nostril and upper lip. The North Americans are tall, long-limbed, with straight pendent hair, and the general form of feature much more Egyptian than Hebrew. The very thought of comparing the Apollo Belvidere to a young Jew provokes ridicule by its utter absurdity; but West did compare that model of graceful symmetry to a young American, and Mr. Jones, and every one else, feels the truth of the comparison. Perhaps the bow in the hand of Apollo heightens the absurdity of the comparison; for though Ishmael was a wild man of the desert, he was contrasted in this with the descendants of Isaac and Jacob; they living by flocks and herds, and latterly by commerce and traffic, and never having, as far as we know, shown the least propensity to the hunter life, to which the North Americans are entirely and irreclaimably addicted.

Then of the other, or Mexican race, whose entire character is so different that they may be called civilized, or men of the city, in contradistinction to the men of the forest; yet, with the abundant records which they have left of an advanced state of civilization, they have left no trace whatever of letters, or of the least conception of, or approximation to, that most wonderful of all arts—the art of writing. If the aboriginal race of Mexicans came over as barbarians, and the arts of civilization grew up among them by degrees, and during many ages of undisturbed prosperity, it is not extraordinary that writing should not be amongst their inventions, since there is no instance of any people having invented this art; but all nations who have an alphabet, notoriously and confessedly derived it from intercourse with another people who were acquainted with the art of writing. But if the Mexican race were already civilized, already acquainted with the art of writing, as is supposed by those who derive them from the Tyrians, or any other people of the time of Alexander, then it is to us inconceivable that writing should ever disappear from among them, while any trace of civilization remained. Men would not lose it if they could; men could not obliterate its traces if they would. With these few suggestions we take leave of Mr. Jones for the present, hoping to meet him in his second volume shortly, and to take up the enquiry *as a whole*, which alone can do it justice.

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A Catechism of the Common Prayer. By the Rev. ALEXANDER WATSON, M.A., Curate of St. John's, Cheltenham. London: Burns.

THIS little work is an attempt, as Mr. Watson informs his readers, to supply a manual illustrative of the Book of Common Prayer. He has drawn considerable supplies of instruction from Dean Comber, and other writers upon similar topics of theological interest; and so far as we have been able to examine his production, it has afforded us very great satisfaction. We recommend it to our youthful readers especially, or to those from whom youthful readers are accustomed to receive directions for their studies. We give a short extract, which will sufficiently explain the nature and objects of the volume:—

"What do you mean by rubrics?—Rubrics are the rules or orders directing how, when, and where all things in divine service are to be performed.

"Do they contain directions for the clergy, or for the people?—For both.

"How do you know which are the *rubrics* in the Prayer Book?—If a Prayer Book is properly printed these directions are printed in red ink. In other Prayer Books they are printed in a different type from the prayers—called *italic* type.

"Why are they called *rubrics*?—From *rubrica*, or *ruber*, which, in Latin, means a red colouring."

Conciones Academicæ. Ten Sermons, preached before the University of Cambridge. By J. W. BLAKESLEY, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College. London: Fellowes.

THE first of these discourses is an Assize Sermon; the following form the course delivered by the author, as select preacher at Cambridge, upon one occasion; and the remaining four were delivered before the University upon another.

There is an extraordinary announcement in the "notice," commonly called the preface, of these sermons, which we must not fail to notice:—

"The nature of the subjects discussed renders them obviously unfit for any but an academical pulpit."

Now, we ask, with every feeling of respect, why the author of these sermons should deem it necessary to preach in a different style before the University from that which he would preach in any other parish church? Are the graduates and undergraduates, before whom these sermons were delivered, of different material from the rest of the world? Or is it only learning, and philosophy, and morals, apart from spirituality, that can do them real service? We must ever protest against the absolute dryness of which the sermons before us so largely partake.

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That they are learned, and philosophical, and studied, we cannot deny; but that they are spiritual, we cannot assert. The author has not, indeed, drawn his materials from that rich treasure-house which never fails, or from that pure font of living water which is never dry; but he appears chiefly to have founded his ideas upon several of the heathen writers, and to have quoted them in his sermon most unadvisedly. Tacitus, Juvenal, Aristotle, Persius, Plato, are quoted one after the other; and then, as if for the sake of variety, a quotation from the "Sonnet to Venice," by Wordsworth, is introduced, and another quotation from Shelley. All this may tell well for essays, but cannot possibly be countenanced for sermons.

The author would do well, should he again be appointed select preacher, to impart scriptural knowledge to his hearers, and to carry out the great and vital objects of preaching; or he may rest assured that he will rather injure than promote the cause which he professes to advocate.

But, to speak definitely of the work before us, we must say that it contains compositions learned, and occasionally eloquent; but it is very deficient, if not injudicious, as a volume of sermons.

Village Pencillings, in Prose and Verse. By ELIZABETH PIERCE. London. 1842.

IT is not every lady who ventures to publish poetry that can claim the title of poetess, and certainly not the authoress of "Village Pencillings." But we must refrain from speaking harshly. The motive of this work is good, viz., to promote among the youth of England the true principles of religion and virtue. Besides the poetry, several tales are introduced of a religious nature; and we are happy in being able to give them our approbation and meed of praise. They are well adapted to effect their desired end, and alone have secured our recommendation of the work. Parents cannot do better than purchase it for their children.

Instructive Biography. London: Burns. 1843.

THIS is a very nice and interesting book indeed. It is illustrated with several wood-cuts, which makes it more valuable. Its contents are the "Life of William of Wykeham;" "Histories of Bishops of the Ancient Church;" "Stories from Bede, with a Sketch of his Life;" and the "Life of George Herbert;" all popular characters, and characters which should be well known by every Churchman. The work, which is worthy a place in any library, is well adapted to be of service to every one of its readers.

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Rome as it was under Paganism, and as it became under the Popes. **London: Madden and Co. 1843. Two vols.**

THIS is one of those endeavours which are at the present moment making to infuse Romanism in an attractive form into every species of English literature; and in this, as in many other instances, no name appears to indicate personal vanity as the motive for publication; nor is the subject so attractive as to enable us to assign gain as the motive for writing a romance about Rome, and weaving it into all the most striking associations which occur to the mind of a Roman Catholic when thinking on that spot of ground which forms the centre of unity for the faith of his Church. And it seems evident that a desire thus indirectly to propagate the Roman Catholic faith is the only intelligible motive for the publication.

We do not write this in the way of blame, and would that all the arts of the Romanists were as irreprehensible; we only mention it that our readers may know what the book is, which they would not gather from its title. The matter does not profess to be original, but gathered from those whom the writer considered as the best historians; and it is accompanied by two plans of Rome, taken from the publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. It also contains engravings of Rome in its present state, and Rome restored to what it may be supposed to have been before the buildings fell into decay. These plates are dry and liny, with no pretensions to picturesque effect, and aiming only at showing what the forms and proportions were.

We never look on works like these without profound melancholy, as symbolical of that unnatural combination which Rome has endeavoured to effect between Paganism and Christianity, or rather between the natural and the spiritual man; by which both are sufferers, and it is difficult to determine which has suffered the most. Look at ancient Rome and at the old Romans—with all their faults, how grand! how imposing! Look at modern Rome and at the Italians—with all their religion, how wretched! how contemptible! And why is this, but because the Papacy has lain like an incubus upon earth's choicest region and man's noblest race! And instead of doing the stern work of Christianity, and slaying the old man with his affections and lusts, that so the new man, renewed in Christ Jesus, might appear, Rome has endeavoured to adopt and incorporate Paganism into Christianity, to the injury of both.

Although this book is not at all to our taste, and therefore we write thus, we must in justice say that it is well written and

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contains a good deal of useful information on the early history of the Church—the Romanists always assuming that the Church at Rome and the Roman Church mean the same thing; whereas for many centuries the Church at Rome was Catholic, and held the doctrines of all the orthodox throughout the world; and those doctrines which are peculiarly Roman are of much later growth. It is against these comparatively modern doctrines that the term Romanist is properly directed.

Aids to Catechetical Teaching; being the Church Catechism illustrated by Parables and Anecdotes. By a CLERGYMAN. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1843.

A GREAT proportion of the illustrations of this work, as the author tells us, particularly the anecdotes, have been extracted from books in which they occur, and applied to the Catechism; the object of the author being to select such as he met with, which appeared suitable, and to supply the remainder from original sources. The anecdotes are very interesting of themselves; but certainly, in most instances, the effect of the application fails. The Church Catechism should be explained and enforced, and if it be not then received and understood, we cannot suppose that either fiction or anecdote will be the means of making youth understand it, or adults receive it, as a Catechism upon the chief articles of their faith.

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1. *Family Prayers for One Month; by various Clergymen.* Arranged and Edited by the Rev. CHARLES HODGSON, M.A., Rector of Barton-le-Street, Yorkshire. London: Seeley and Burnside.
2. *Devotions for the Morning and Evening of every Day in the Week.* London: Burns. 1843.

As this is a collection of Family Prayers by different clergymen, we were not surprised to find them varying both in style and merit. The object of the work is to procure a sum of money for the purpose of supplying the necessary means for the erection of a new school-room in the parish of Barton-le-Street. It is more painful to us than our readers can possibly imagine not to be able to give our hearty recommendation to works that have so good an object in view as have the Family Prayers. But, as honest reviewers, we cannot flatter, or give praise when no praise is due; and this is the reason why we are compelled to withhold it on the present occasion from both the above works.

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A Treatise on Astronomy, displaying the Arithmetical Architecture of the Solar System, &c. By E. HENDERSON, LL.D., F.R.A.S. London: Cotes. 1843.

DR. HENDERSON is a lecturer on astronomy, and this is a sort of text-book, giving the substance of his lectures, in the magnitudes, distances, and periods of the heavenly bodies; with every other particular concerning them which it is in general necessary that we should know; the whole illustrated by very good woodcuts, in which the relative magnitudes of the planets are preserved by their being all drawn to the same scale. We are always glad to see such popular treatises as these, in which some of the most sublime discoveries of science are brought down to the capacities, and placed within the reach, of the common people; for the only way in which instruction can be safely extended to all is by furnishing them at the same time with subjects upon which their newly-acquired powers may be safely exercised; and next to the Bible, the heavens, which declare the glory of God, and the firmament, which showeth his handiwork, is the noblest and most ennobling object of contemplation which can occupy the mind of man. These are the occupations which, as education is extended, would be the most likely to save many, who are out of the reach of the clergy, from becoming the prey of the infidel or the tool of the demagogue. And any contemplations, which lift man so far above the narrow and local every-day occupations of ordinary life, do in their very sphere and objects associate our thoughts with God and eternity, and so open the way rather to him who is the minister of religion and of the Gospel of peace, than to those whose every word breathes discontent, turbulence, and strife.

Even as a book of reference, to lie upon our library tables, Dr. Henderson's book will be found very useful. It is so clear and concise that we can at once turn to any fact we want; and all the calculations are given, not only in the text and in the explanatory notes of the appendix, but also in the tables, where we may at once compare any one number with all the others of the same class. The phenomena of eclipses, and the theory of tides, are also clearly explained and illustrated by corresponding figures; and the many comets and their times and orbits, together with the various kinds of stars, double, revolving, and nebulous, are noticed: so that it forms a complete synopsis of all that is at present known concerning the heavenly bodies.

Elegiac Poems. London: Moxon. 1843.

SUCH is the brief title of the small volume which we submit to the notice of our readers. The work contains some excellent pieces, which are calculated to excite serious thought and reflection. Many may read it with profit.

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Puseyism Confronted with the Church of England, and its true Character shown. London: Edwards and Hughes. 1843.

THE object of the writer is to show that what is termed *Puseyism* is nothing less than the doctrine of the Church of England. We feel assured, however, that the writer has failed to show that the peculiar views of the *Tracts for the Times* are those of the Church. He selects some points on which the writers of the Tracts are perfectly sound, and contrasts them with the views of the Church, adding, that they are the chief "points of difference between the Puseyites and the Evangelicals." This, however, is far from being true. The really objectionable views of the Tracts are not touched at all.

Wayman's Melodia Sacra. The one hundred and fifty Psalms of David, according to the authorized Version of the Church of England, with Music by ancient and modern authors, arranged for one, two, three, or four voices. By DAVID WAYMAN, late Vicar Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral. A new Edition, by Dr. John Smith, Composer to the Chapel Royal, Dublin. Dublin: Marcus Moses.

OF the utility of this volume there can be no question whatever. It is not a work of which an extended notice need be given. As the title states, it consists of the one hundred and fifty Psalms, with music adapted to them. It will, therefore, be very useful in parish churches, as it will assist those who conduct the singing. We recommend the volume to general notice.

Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. By JOHN KITTO. Parts IV. and V. Edinburgh.

WE have already expressed our opinion of this work in former numbers. It will be exceedingly useful to those who are unable to obtain more expensive publications. As far as we have examined it, the editor appears to us to have acted with judgment and discrimination in the selection and arrangement of his materials.

The Life of Edward VI., compiled chiefly from his own Manuscripts, and from other Authentic Sources. By the Rev. R. W. DIBDIN, M.A., Minister of West-street Episcopal Chapel, London. Dalton. 1843.

THIS is a very entertaining little book, and, if the documents are from the sources from which the compiler professes to have taken them, must be valuable.

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The Character of the Rev. W. Palmer, M.A., as a Controversialist. Considered in a Letter to a Friend, by A LATE MEMBER OF THE UNIVERSITY. London: Dolman. 1843.

THIS pamphlet refers especially to Mr. Palmer's charge against Dr. Wiseman, respecting certain quotations from spurious and heretical productions. It is written by one of those gentlemen who have quitted the Church of England for the corruptions of Popery. Of course the author attempts to damage Mr. Palmer's character. This failure, however, is remarkable. This will be demonstrated, should Mr. Palmer condescend to reply, which, indeed, we think is altogether unnecessary.

Foxe's Book of Martyrs. Edited by the Rev. J. CUMMINS, M.A. London: Virtue. Parts XXV. and XXVI.

THIS work is advancing towards completion. The execution and the plates are beautiful. We rejoice to see John Foxe in any form; and, therefore, we wish the publisher every success with the present edition. He deserves every encouragement, indeed, for his laudable endeavour to furnish a family edition of this important work.

Seven Lectures on the History of Gideon, for Domestic and Village Congregations. By a COUNTRY CURATE, M.A. London: Longman and Co.; Hamilton and Co. 1843. 12mo.

AN unpretending little volume, full of practical piety and useful moral lessons, which a devout and attentive reader cannot fail to peruse with pleasure and edification. The language is simple, earnest, and affectionate, and the work is eminently adapted for family reading. We wish it an extensive circulation.

The Bishop's Charge: not as it was, but as it should have been.

HAD the writer of this pamphlet possessed the gift of divination, he could have substituted his version for that of his lordship. It may have tended to alloy the contemptuous scorn which Tractarianism has engendered among the people, and have checked that spirit of schism which is now so prevalent among the younger clergy. The sentiments of the writer breathe the true spirit of Protestantism.

W. E. Painter, *Church and State Gazette* Office, 342, Strand, London, Printer.

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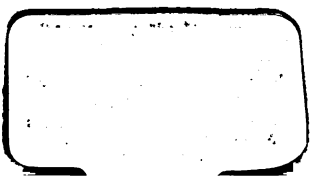

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